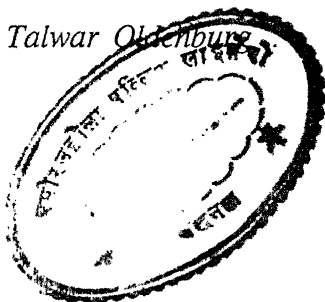
THE LUCKNOW OMNIBUS

Lucknow
The Last Phase of an Oriental Culture
Abdul Halim Sharar
Translated and edited by E. S. Harcourt and Fakhir Hussain

A Fatal Friendship
The Nawabs, the British and the City of Lucknow
Rosie Llewellyn-Jones

NOT TO BE ISSUE

The Making of Colonial Lucknow
1856–1877
Veena Talwar Oldenburg



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Lucknow
The Last Phase of an Oriental Culture

Abdul Halim Sharar

Translated and edited by E. S. Harcourt and Fakhir Hussain

in memory of
Late Raja of Mahmudabad

Preface to the Omnibus Edition

The Construction and Destruction of Lucknow

Pahle-Aap, 'after you', was a phrase of welcome in old Lucknow.

Presently imbued with the connotations of humour and satire, this phrase refers to the elaborate and flippant mannerisms of Lucknow's past. This is not unusual. Alterations in the vocabulary of most languages reflect the changes brought about by the underlying political and economic forces in their respective societies.

The life and times of the people described in this book offer a detailed description of the affluent section of Lucknow society in its search for knowledge, academic achievements and activities, hedonistic pastimes, social and religious ceremonies and artistic pursuits. Largely free from the struggles of existence, the people of this class were able to engage themselves in these activities. The agrarian economic order provided them with their privy purses and the various practices of the feudal era obligingly removed the burdens of physical existence from their shoulders. The conventional patterns of morality based on religious codes left little or no room for anguish in moral conflicts.

The region was free from the strife and fierce struggles otherwise prevailing all over the country. Peasants were reasonably well off. Lakhnawi culture permeated all sections of society in varying degrees. There seemed to be inner harmony and an outer peace, although they could have been stagnating and stultifying as well.

The British were watchful of intrusions from any outside Indian ruler, for their own reasons and at a price. In any event, the successive Nawabs and ruling circles had to follow the directions of the British Resident. Their will to strive and win gradually disappeared. Valour, chivalry and battlefields were things of the past. Life was sweet in Lucknow.

As time went by, as is the case with most cities and places at certain times, new realities emerged. These demanded their own appraisal, and the discarding of the old as redundant. What remained were derelict stately homes inhabited by aristocratic ghosts; and legends about the erstwhile assemblies and audiences therein, grew.

Lucknawi Culture followed the same pattern, with some minor alterations, as the one in the court of Delhi. Like Mughal culture, it also remained more or less confined within the esoteric boundaries of royal and aristocratic circles. The cultural phoenix that once burned in Delhi, rose from its ashes in Lucknow. Here it burned again, as it appears, for good.

I am thankful to Oxford University Press for the publication of this edition.

Fakhir Hussain
June 2001

Note to the Oxford India Paperback Edition, 1999

Sharar witnessed and recorded the twilight of his culture before its journey into the night. His scholarship and insight provided additional credence to his study. The book became a classic in his lifetime and has survived the test of time. May I add that a majority of works on Lucknow and related topics seem to have benefitted from Sharar's account in one way or another.

As expected, the process of evolution has transformed the physical, social, and cultural landscape of the people of Lucknow beyond recognition. The parks in Aminabad have been converted into shopping centres. Qaisarbagh, with its desolate gardens, neglected and near derelict architecture looks more like a ghost town, rather than the former fairyland enclosure. Animals performing their tricks, clowns, and jugglers their acts, groups of carefree youth at the betel shops on the pavements and stalls at street corners have disappeared. The old life-style of the people, their pursuits, manners, customs, and social practices might as well have belonged to the bygone era. The meaning people had given to their lives as reflected in their folklore, professed ideas, religious beliefs, and aspirations have changed.

The culture of Lucknow like that of other countries at different times and places could not retain its status quo. It required a constant re-examination of its value system for the quest of new goals in order to infuse fresh vitality in the society, which seems to have ended at the death of Nawab Saadat Ali Khan. Its depreciatory effect over a period of time disturbed the apparent tenuous internal equilibrium people had acquired between humans, morals and society. From the external side, a slight push from the British proved to be a sufficient catalyst for its destruction. People appeared to have neither the will nor the strength to strip away the layers of style before substance.

Fine arts, architecture objects d'art, and belles letters flourished. What was missing were the acts of chivalry, even aggression, necessary for survival, the trials of strength. Hence the social institutions and the arts remained dormant and incapable of revitalizing themselves. This becomes apparent after the reign of Saadat Ali Khan, when the military, along with the civil administration and, later on some other major affairs of the state as well, began to deteriorate. This internal decay appears to have changed peoples' patterns of living, behaviour and their relationship with the arts.

Later on, the sober realities of Indian independence swept the people of Lucknow aside. Politicians became the new rulers, masters of administrative machinery and industrialist, and commercial houses the new bourgeoisie. This new élite, quite naturally, had it own predilections for entertainment, etiquette, and patterns of social interaction. The demand to identify themselves differently made the lifestyle of the people of Lucknow archaic, redundant, frivolous, and even ridiculous to some. Though in some ways it seemed to have remained elegant, refined and exotic from the distance. To some extent it continues to be so, till the present. No wonder then that the notion, *'wazadari', noblesse oblige,* one of the essentials of social interaction in Lucknow appears to have been consigned to oblivion in the name of propriety, efficiency, and profit.

Lucknow points out, like other seats of culture before it, the moralizing aspect of glory passed and passing away.

I am thankful to Oxford University Press (Delhi) for the publication of the present edition.

Fakhir Hussain
London, August 1999

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Introduction

Like all civilizations, the Indo-Mughal was grounded in a powerful set of ideas related to a specific social context. These ideas, expressed in institutions, ceremonies, ritual and language, underlined a markedly class-based society that, however unrepresentative and élitist, was in itself cohesive and harmonious. But inevitably, such a civilization could not remain static. New forces emerged, old ideas were challenged and the framework of the established order was disturbed. It is on this period of Indo-Muslim civilization, at its zenith which was also its last phase, when its centre was transferred from Delhi to Lucknow, that the present work concentrates. In *Lucknow: The Last Phase of an Oriental Culture*, the essayist, historian and novelist Abdul Halim Sharar (1860–1926), himself a native of Lucknow, describes in detail many aspects of this civilization and particularly its more tangible manifestations in everyday life. In effect, he also deals with the religious, political and socio-economic patterns on which it was based, and the power of those ideas which provided its vitality. Whatever aspects he is dealing with, he makes the importance of the underlying ideas very clear. When they were powerful, so was the society embodying them; when they declined, so also did the society, though of course there were many other contributory factors.

The Indo-Mughal civilization developed during the long reign of the Mughal[17]* Emperors. These Mongol-Turks, who originally came from Central Asia, established themselves in 1526/7 in parts of north India and later expanded their empire in the sub-continent. Their rule effectively lasted until the middle of the eighteenth century, though it nominally continued until 1857. It is generally agreed that it reached its peak during the reign of Akbar (1556–1605),[73] and started to show signs of decay during the rule of Aurangzeb (1658–1707).[76] Thereafter, military and political strife became rampant in the capital as well as in other parts of the empire. The ensuing turmoil was brought about by the rapid rise and fall of many rulers in Delhi and those parts of the empire that had become independent. The chaos was quickly exploited by invaders from the north-east and political unrest did not end until the British gradually began to intervene. They became de facto rulers of Bengal in 1764. It took them another century, however, to establish themselves throughout the sub-continent.

The Mughals were the last group of invading Muslims who brought with them to India their own distinctive religious ideas, Islamic customs and social institutions. The contact of Islam with India had begun long before the Mughals'

* Index superior numbers throughout this book refer to the Notes which begin on page 233.

arrival, and Muslims had even established themselves as kings in parts of north India before 1526/7: consequently the Mughals' impact was far more profound than that of their predecessors. In part this was due to the longevity of their dynasty. But more particularly it was due to the new social style, religious spirit and system of administration which they introduced. However, the new home of the Mughals also had a civilization of its own, which was later to have important repercussions.

The Indus Valley civilization, as it is known today, existed in parts of the north-west of India in the third millennium before Christ. These people were invaded by the Aryans, who are presumed to have come from southern Russia. They conquered the non-Aryans, fought among themselves, looked after their cattle and organized pastoral life in villages. 'It was they who gave us the gift of the Sanskrit language, the horse and a religion' (Gokhale, p. 21).*

Indeed, the all-embracing influence of the Aryans still survives, since the *Rig Veda*, the book of their religious beliefs concerning the thirty-three Gods and ritual practices, remains the most holy scripture in India up to the present day. This survived from one generation to the next through oral tradition, and there later developed from it the texts known as *Brahmanas*,[34] which concern the correct performance of rituals. By 1500 BC the Aryans had extended their rule to the present region of Delhi. Their civilization seems to have reached its high-point with the legends of their wars and high-minded warriors which became the subject of the national epics *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata*.[5] From the Aryan sense of values evolved a pattern of social organization having a strict code of behaviour, with ideas of moral and physical courage at its centre.

Aryan values dominated India almost totally until the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries when the Muslims became dominant in the north of India. Even after their arrival, however, these values remained supreme for the non-Muslims and are still important today.

The source of this value system was the religious spirit formalized in the *Rig Veda*: polytheism and incipient monotheism with leanings towards pantheism, and a constant concern for correct ritual. This gave rise to the study and development of the books of revelation, the four *Vedas*,[362] the *Upanishads*, explaining the doctrines of Brahman, Karma and Atman—creation and re-birth in the process of life and death—as well as a body of literature which elucidated these doctrines, such as the *Sāstras* and the law codes of *Manu*. In addition, there was the *Bhagavad-Gita* dealing with the manifold aspects of religion in relation to the complexities of everyday life, and also the literature propounding the Buddhist and Jain view-points. From these major sources Hindu philosophy developed over the course of centuries. Since most of this literature was in Sanskrit, the language flourished, both as the vehicle of intellectual discourse and because of its rich literary merit. In society at large, therefore, a respect for education and learning developed which culminated in the rise of universities such as Nalanda (near Patna) between 415 and 456. Religious sentiment found new forms of expression in temple architecture, sculpture and painting, characteristically to be seen in such outstanding achievements as the rock temple of Ellora, the wall paintings of Ajanta and the carved lions at Sarnath, which have now been

* See Bibliography.

adopted by the Republic as the government seal. To attain self-realization an individual had to follow *dharma*, duty of wisdom in action, which in turn was subdivided into *artha*, economic duty, *kama*, the duty of the preservation of the race, and *moksa*, the duty towards the self. These duties were related to the four stages of an individual's life.[387] The underlying idea was that life is a preparation for salvation—a notion that was further developed by Buddhism. The last message of Gautama the Buddha (d. 483 or 543 BC) was: 'Decay is inherent in all component things, work out your salvation with diligence.'

Social organization was based on the notion of 'caste'. By virtue of birth people became members of a fixed social group, their caste determining both their occupation and their choice of marriage-partners. There were four castes which ranked in hierarchical order. Among Aryans, the Brahman, teacher and preacher of the sacred lore, was at the top, followed by Kshatriya, the soldier administrator, and Vaisya, the farmer artisan. The non-Aryan Sudra was assigned the task of serving the higher castes through menial work. This system was opposed by the Buddhists and Jains. They strongly attacked the caste system—an opposition which was revived in recent times by Gandhi who also attempted to integrate the lowest caste into the general social order. (Today, of course, it is a criminal offence in India to discriminate on grounds of caste.) But Indians with this background experienced a long-drawn-out encounter, beginning in the early thirteenth century, with another group which had a different religion, set of beliefs and social institutions—the Muslims.

'There is no god but Allah and Muhammad is his prophet.' With this message, Muhammad (born about 571) began to call the faithful. His aim was to restore and complete through his religion, Islam (which means 'I submit to the will of God'), the religion of Abraham. This was at a time when people in the land of Abraham had lapsed into polytheism and Christianity. Having consolidated his position in Mecca and Medina through converts and peace treaties with the Jewish and Christian tribal leaders, Muhammad planned to take the message of Islam into neighbouring lands. At the time of his death in 632, the Arabs had found a superior faith and morality.

Muhammad was the last 'messenger of God' to his followers. He prescribed what was right and wrong for his people on God's authority and was the supreme judge of all religious, social and political matters. No wonder, then, that the doctrine of Islam, along with Hadis,[243] the tradition of the Prophet, provides a code of human conduct embracing all aspects of life on earth. Additionally, Muhammad was a practical leader, an organizer and an efficient military strategist. The result was that Islam did not remain simply a religious doctrine, but became a powerful political force as well, with deep socio-economic overtones; religion therefore became all-embracing. From the religious point of view Islam is total submission to the will of Allah, who has stated comprehensively the desirable and the non-desirable aspects of human conduct. His word is embodied in the *Quran* (Koran) which was revealed to Muhammad over a period of time through the archangel Gabriel. Islamic dogmas and beliefs have three aspects: *iman*, religious belief; *ibadat*, act of worship, religious duty; and *ihsan*, right doing. All these are embraced by the term *din*, religion. *Iman* means belief in God, the Quran, the Day of Judgement, and Muhammad as God's messenger on earth. *Ibadat* includes the five religious duties of profession of faith, prayer,

alms-giving,[185] fasting[60] and pilgrimage,[381] to which Holy War was later added.

The religious, political and socio-economic totality of Islam remained externally intact between 632 and 661 (the period of the four Caliphs).[206] The orthodox successors to Muhammad, the Caliphs were religious leaders as well as heads of government with total responsibility for political and military affairs. Under their rule Muslims began to extend their power-base; initially to Palestine and Iraq in 632–4, then later to Syria between 633 and 640 and finally to Mesopotamia in 637 and Egypt in 642. Shortly afterwards they spread eastwards and established themselves with the help of local converts in Persia, western Turkestan and part of the Panjab. In less than half a century, half the civilized world from Spain to the borders of China was in the hands of the Muslims, unified by the young, dynamic culture of Islam. At the core of Islamic civilization were religious beliefs which transcended geographical boundaries as well as diverse social and national groups. Islamic obligations, practices and institutions provided the source of supreme values through which Arab, Turkish and Persian traditions could be blended together.

The initial consolidation of the Islamic territories under the Umayyad Dynasty (683–743) was followed by the Abbasides[310] (750–1258) in Baghdad when political stability paved the way for major intellectual and social achievements. This is the Golden Period of Islamic history. The dominant elements helping to shape these achievements were, first, the Arabs, with their social institutions, knowledge of mathematics and astronomy and the Arabic language, which was the language not only of the Holy Book but also of the bulk of Islamic religious literature; secondly, the Turks who brought with them intellectual and social etiquette; and finally, the Persians with their poetic temperament, court manners and ideas about moral and social elegance. 'An Arab henceforth became one who professed Islam and spoke and wrote the Arab tongue, regardless of racial affiliation. This is one of the most significant facts in the history of Islamic civilization. . . . "Arab medicine", "Arab philosophy" or "Arab mathematics" is a body of knowledge in Arabic during the Caliphate held by men who are themselves Persians, Syrians, Egyptians or Arabians, Christian, Jewish or Moslem who may have drawn some of their material from Greek, Aramaean, Indo-Persian or other sources.' (Hitti, p. 240.) This fusion brought forth a rich intellectual harvest with advances in the fields of medicine, philosophy, astronomy, mathematics, alchemy, geography, history and Arabic literature. Along with this a pattern of living evolved which paid due attention to home life, furniture, hygiene and pastimes based upon ideas of elegant living. Both the religious-based intellectualism and the patterns of gracious living were carried by the Muslims wherever they went.

In 710 Muslims began to raid the Indian sub-continent. By 713 they had established themselves permanently in the present regions of Baluchistan, Sindh and southern Panjab. It took them considerably longer to penetrate into the regions of north India. The Ghorids were the first Muslim kings in north India, followed by the slave-kings, the Khiljis, the Tughlas, the Saiyyids, the Lodis and lastly, the Mughals (from 1526/7 to 1857). By the time the Mughal Empire was established, Islam was already entrenched in Indian soil, and in addition to the converts they had made, the Arabs, Turks and Persians who had come in different waves had also made India their home. Traditional Indian and Muslim

beliefs, institutions and ways of living encountered each other directly in everyday life. With the establishment of the Mughal Empire and the necessity for an elaborate administrative system—which Akbar evolved—a process of mutual co-operation between the local people and the Muslims began. The complex nature of this relationship and its effects on the life of the people of both groups has been the subject of many studies.* How deep the fusion between them went, however, is problematic. M. W. Mirza,† for instance, has concluded that: (1) the religion of Islam, though it remained substantially the same for the majority, underwent significant changes through Sufi[207] beliefs which were influenced by Hindu Vedantic and Yogic philosophies, and (2) intellectual progress was illustrated mainly by the products of Arabic and Persian literatures produced in India; (3) socially, Muslims from Persia and Afghanistan, unlike the Arabs, held aloof from the local population but these barriers were gradually removed and a process of 'Indianization' began, reaching its climax under the Mughals when Muslims superficially adopted many habits and manners of Hindus. In overall terms Mirza concludes that there was no real cross-fertilization between the two cultures. 'The ultra-democratic social ideas of Muslims, for instance, remained strictly confined to the Muslim community, while the liberal spirit of toleration and reverence for all religions preached and practised by the Hindus remained confined to them' (Mirza, p. 616). Thus did the civilization that is the subject of the present work acquire its characteristics: heavily weighted with Islamic beliefs and practices, it was also influenced by elements of the Hindu way of life.

The pattern of life of which Abdul Halim Sharar's *Lucknow: The Last Phase of an Oriental Culture* gives an account began to evolve in the magnificent era of Mughal power, in sixteenth-century Delhi during the reign of Akbar the Great. After the Mughal Empire had begun to disintegrate in the early eighteenth century, certain leading figures left Delhi and eventually found a new home in Lucknow, where the independent court of Avadh (Oudh) was established in 1753. How the already highly developed culture they brought with them was further refined in Lucknow to a level of splendour and sophistication scarcely paralleled in any other Indo-Islamic society is Sharar's main concern in the present work. The high culture of Lucknow was in full flower from the last quarter of the eighteenth century until the collapse of the Lucknow monarchy in 1856. It actually survived, however, as long as the feudal system survived in U.P.—that is, until the British left India in 1947.

This life of Lucknow was sweet and gracious, free from worldly cares and anxieties, a life of affluence, devoted to luxuries and leisured activities. The nobility controlled great wealth through the feudal system and spent lavishly; so too did the comfortable middle classes who were connected with the nobility

* E.g. M. Mujeeb, *Indian Muslims*, London 1967; Yusuf Husain, *Glimpses of Medieval Culture*, Bombay 1962; C. H. Buck, *Faiths, Fairs and Festivals of India*, Calcutta 1917; Tarachand, *Influence of Islam on Indian Culture*, Allahabad 1946; K. M. Ashraf, *Life and Conditions of Peoples of Hindustan*, Munshi Ram, Manohar Lal, New Delhi 1970.

† M. W. Mirza, chapter: 'Hindu Muslim Relations' in *The Delhi Sultanate*, ed. Majumdar, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay 1960.

India at the present day

at various levels. Some written accounts suggest that even the peasants led a fairly comfortable life, those who had difficulty in earning a living simply having to look for a patron. They were appreciated for their skills as in the Roman Empire, rather than employed as in a modern industrial society. The life of this period has been the subject of many prose works in Urdu. Rajab Ali Beg Surur (1786–1867),[337] for instance, portrays the contemporary life of Lucknow, which is compared by Saxena (p. 261) with the scene of Tennyson's enchanted city:

'Here sits the butler with a flask
Between his knees half drained and there
The wrinkled steward at his task,
The maid of honour charming fair,
The page has caught her hand in his,
Her lips are severed as to speak,
His own are pointed to a kiss,
The blush is fixed upon her cheek.'

Lucknow: The Last Phase of an Oriental Culture was originally written as a series of articles which appeared under the title of *Hindustan Men Mashriqi Tamaddun ka Akhri Namuna* over a period of years through the second decade of the present century in the Urdu literary journal *Dil Gudaz* which Sharar founded and edited in Lucknow.* The work comprises a history of the court of Avadh and of the development of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Lucknow's culture and social institutions, and a detailed description of the customs, pastimes, artistic achievements and religious beliefs of its people. The latter constitutes a veritable 'anatomy' of the social and artistic life of Lucknow during the period, covering an astonishing variety of topics: religion, education, medicine; ceremony and social etiquette, dress, the culinary arts, calligraphy, dancing, popular language and the art of story-telling; such pastimes as kite- and pigeon-flying and the arts of combat and self-defence; the development of the Urdu language and its prose and poetry; architecture, music, pottery, theatre and other forms of public entertainment. For the historical part of his work, Sharar drew upon certain rare published sources and manuscripts that he discovered in private hands. His description of everyday life and customs is an eye-witness account of what he himself actually saw in Lucknow, supplemented by information gathered through the oral tradition, passed from generation to generation, that was still very much alive in his time. He would meet regularly with literary friends to discuss and collect information. This part of his account is generally accepted as authentic, and its value is enhanced by the fact that it is the most circumstantial record of Lucknow life of the period in existence.

To determine the causes of decay in a civilization it is necessary to examine its value system in relation to the new political and socio-economic conditions that challenge it. What seems to have been typical of Indo-Islamic societies is the way in which values crystallized into traditions. Over a period of time traditional

* See Notes on Abdul Halim Sharar, page 17 and on the present edition, page 25.

values are subject to new pressures which demand new answers. How a society responds to this attack on its established values determines its future. Like an individual, it can respond in two ways. Either it accepts these new challenges and becomes increasingly amenable to reason which opens the door to further evolution. Alternatively, the challenge can be rejected and reason becomes subservient to tradition. In this way society and traditional values ossify and the value system and the civilization based upon it acquire an inward-looking character. In the Kirkegaardian view, it becomes perverted in the sense that it becomes unable to offer a re-statement of its sense of values and ceases to be creative. Kenneth Clark's comment seems meaningful in this context: 'If one asks why the civilization of Greece and Rome collapsed, the real answer is that it was exhausted.'* Such a process, in the civilization described here, seems to have been accelerated by colonialism, which had a debilitating effect on the political and economic values of Indo-Islamic society. Indeed, these values were completely eroded and Indo-Islamic society was left with the mere outer forms of social life and its appurtenances. The value system of the Mughals became, consequently, further stifled, and conformism developed, leading to a search for re-assurance either from the external forms of the civilization of the new rulers or relapse into the protective shell of ancient beliefs. The Muslims continued their own practices, rituals and way of life; however, this existence was artificial and lasted only as long as the protective shadow of the colonial power. When this was removed the colonized people were helpless in the face of new challenges from outside, because their value system was not equipped to cope with such problems.

Thus the civilization crystallized in Lucknow collapsed almost totally as soon as the British left India in 1947. The partition of the country into the two separate States of India and Pakistan, the abolition of the Zamindari[211] system, the adoption of Hindi[530] as the State language in U.P., renamed Uttar Pradesh, and a business-like attitude brought about by the beginnings of the new technological civilization—all this caused sudden and violent change in the established order. The younger generation evolved a new outlook compelled by the need to survive. A substantial number emigrated to Pakistan, mainly to Karachi and its neighbourhood, and started a new life.

It may be worthwhile to mention here two works which offer some fictional insight into the process of collapse of the civilization that reached its apotheosis in Lucknow. The first is Ahmad Ali's novel *Twilight in Delhi*,† which describes the life of Mir Nihal and his milieu in Delhi, and the attempts of different individuals to come to grips with the new life-style which had come to prevail, the failure of their efforts and their relapse into traditional habits The second is Attia Hosain's novel *Sunlight on a Broken Column*,‡ which is set in Lucknow and describes the decay of traditional socio-cultural values under the impact of economic change, family patterns being the prime victim.

Not surprisingly, Lucknow has now changed almost beyond recognition. Yet the past echoes. Could it be that culture is what remains when all else is forgotten?

* *Civilization: A Personal View*, London 1971, page 4.

† London 1940.

‡ London 1961.

A Note on Abdul Halim Sharar (1860–1926)*

In Lucknow during the middle of the nineteenth century lived the hakim[52] Tafazzul Husain, a scholar of Islamic religion and Arabic and Persian literature. He was married to the daughter of Munshi[49] Qamar ud Din employed in the Secretariat of the Court of Wajid Ali Shah (see Chapter 8). Their son Abdul Halim, born in 1860, when he grew up adopted the pen-name[187] of Sharar, the Spark, by which he is most commonly known. His Islamic studies entitled him to use the title Maulana.[95] His full name, then, was Maulana Abdul Halim Sharar.

In 1856 Wajid Ali Shah had been exiled to Matiya Burj, Calcutta. In 1862 Sharar's father also joined the court of the exiled king. After spending the first nine years of his life in Lucknow, Sharar joined his father in Matiya Burj in 1869 and stayed there until 1879. During the last two years of this period he occupied the post formerly held by his grandfather, who had now retired.

In accordance with established custom, Sharar began his studies privately at home. We may reconstruct the following picture. He started to learn the Arabic and Persian languages from his father and continued this along with the study of their literatures and certain subjects of Islamic theology under at least three other scholars. He then began a course of instruction with a hakim in the Indo-Greek medicinal system, but did not complete it.

Even in this period of his early education, Sharar was interested in Urdu literature and in trying his own hand at writing. Urdu newspapers, which were published at this time, attracted him and he started to contribute at an early age to the columns of the Lucknow newspaper *Avadh Akhbar*[343] as its Matiya Burj correspondent. He also found time to be interested in music and in other aspects of the leisure-orientated life around him in Matiya Burj. Sharar's father is said to have been afraid that his son might plunge too deeply into the idle and frivolous life which prevailed in the exiled community. Hence he sent him back to Lucknow in 1879 when he was nineteen years of age. Back in Lucknow, Sharar continued single-mindedly in his course of Islamic religious instruction with the famous Maulvi Abdul Hai at the Firangi Mahal seminary.[96]

* The facts about Sharar's life here given have been derived mainly from Saxena (see Bibliography) and from Askari's *Tarikh Adab-e-Urdu*, which is actually a translation of Saxena's *History of Urdu Literature*, in which Askari has incorporated additional information. A note in this translation (p. 425) states that the account of Sharar's life was read and approved by Sharar himself. Hence the dates given there have been considered the more reliable.

In 1880, when he was twenty years old, a marriage was arranged for him, as was the custom. His bride happened to be his first cousin. About this time Sharar became deeply interested in Hadis,[243] the tradition of the Prophet. To pursue his studies in this field he went for a short while to the religious seminary in Delhi where the study of Hadis was more advanced than in Lucknow. The same year he returned to Lucknow and joined the staff of *Avadh Akhbar* as assistant editor at a salary of thirty rupees a month.

He started to write under the guidance of an Urdu writer, Munshi Ahmad Ali, well known for his contributions to the magazine *Avadh Punch*.[341] Ahmad Ali influenced Sharar by his own style, with its emphasis on correct structure of a sentence, elegant and highly stylized prose. It was against this flowery and formalized Persian style that Sharar later revolted and created his own simple and easily comprehensible style, which was better suited to the historical, social and political topics of his essays. His contributions to *Avadh Punch* covered a wide range of subjects and they rapidly became famous. Highly praised by leading men of the time was his essay 'The Soul'.

Having become, through these articles, a writer known wherever Urdu was spoken, Sharar was now offered various appointments in Hyderabad[42] and other Muslim States in India. These he did not accept at this stage, perhaps because, as with most Lucknow inhabitants, the idea of settling elsewhere did not appeal to him.

In 1882 Sharar started his own Urdu magazine *Mahshar*, 'Day of Judgment', taking the pen-name of Abdul Basit Mahshar, which was actually the name of one of his friends (see Chapter 11). This magazine was an important venture, since it was in the pages of *Mahshar* that he perfected and polished his own style, intended, as he himself stated, to adapt the style of Addison to essays in Urdu.

In 1884, however, the journal ceased publication, and Sharar accepted an appointment as *Avadh Akhbar*'s special correspondent in Hyderabad. He stayed there for six months before resigning his position and returning to Lucknow. Here he wrote his first novel, *Dilchasp*, 'Fascinating', describing some of the social evils and customs of his society. Although the first part of the novel received some praise for its style and for the depiction of human hardship, it was generally regarded as rather heavy and didactic. However, the second part of the novel, published a year later, was more polished and enjoyed a much more favourable reception. Sharar next translated into Urdu the English version of the Bengali novel *Durgesh Nandni* by Bankim Chandra Chatterji. By this time his reputation in Urdu prose had become established.

In 1887, encouraged by his two literary friends Maulvi Bashir ud Din, editor of *Al Bashir*, and Munshi Nisar Husain, publisher of *Payam-i-Yar*, Sharar began to publish in Lucknow his famous sixteen-page monthly magazine *Dil Gudaz*,* 'Quickener of the Heart' (see Chapter 11), which won popularity within the first year of publication. Several hundred copies were sold throughout India every month, and some copies managed to reach as far as Mecca, a considerable achievement for an Urdu literary journal of those days. This journal, with its many deaths and re-births, lasted as long as the life of Sharar himself and

* Details about *Dil Gudaz*, including citations from Sharar, have been obtained from *Mazamin-e-Sharar*, Vols I–IV, Saiyyid Mubarak Ali, Lahore, n d. This work in eight volumes edited by Sharar himself is a collection of his short prose works, mainly from *Dil Gudaz*.

became inextricably part of his existence. It was his greatest achievement, and much of his most important work first appeared in it, including his essays on Lucknow which are the subject of the present translation. In an article introducing the journal, Sharar states his aim as being 'To stir people through the imagination by an effective description of their historic past and present-day conditions' (Vol. I, p. 6). In the last issue of 1887 Sharar re-states the purpose of his journal, adding 'to infuse a new style into Urdu prose and to add a new richness to its literature'. He commented further: 'No doubt many people have condemned its style but there are others who have well appreciated it.' *Dil Gudaz* was written almost entirely by Sharar himself and for many years there were practically no other contributors.

The subscription was raised from one to two rupees in 1888 when the journal was doubled in size by the addition of another sixteen pages to each month's issue. These pages were reserved for serializing Sharar's historical novels. The first of these was *Malik ul Aziz Varjinia*, then *Hasan Angelina* in 1889 and *Mansur Mohana* in 1890: many others followed. The plots of these works are woven around events in early Islamic history and the stories are told in such a way as to depict the value of religious teachings and the noble ideals and conduct of the early adherents to the faith. Sharar's deep interest in Islamic history led him to found a second journal in 1890 under the name of *Muhazzab*, 'Refined', the main purpose of which was to publish an account of the life and teachings of leading religious figures of Islam.

In 1891, in order to meet his financial obligations, Sharar was obliged to suspend his literary activities, including publication of both his journals, and to accept an appointment at two hundred rupees per month with a certain dignitary in Hyderabad State who later became Chief Minister. The latter's younger son had been sent to Eton College at an early age, thus missing traditional Islamic religious instruction and education in Indo-Islamic culture. Sharar was employed to go to England in order to provide this education and supervise the boy's upbringing from an Indo-Islamic point of view. The trip did not take place until 1895. In the period between 1891 and 1895 Sharar stayed in Hyderabad but managed to publish a few issues of *Dil Gudaz* from Lucknow in 1893. When he did eventually arrive in England in 1895 the visit was significant for Sharar's own literary activities. During the fifteen months of his stay he improved his English, which he had started to learn on his own in India, and learnt some French. He was able to observe Western civilization at first hand and this influenced his general outlook; he also produced some articles about his specific experiences, such as 'The Eastern and Western Parts of London and Lucknow' (Vol. II, pp. 564–70). In England, too, he completed his novel *Flora Florinda*, later published in India.

Returning to India in 1898 he resumed publication of *Dil Gudaz* from Hyderabad. In it he started to serialize historical materials including his work on the life of the daughter of *Imam Husain*,[106] some points of which agitated members of the Shia community. As a result the Government of Hyderabad discreetly asked Sharar to discontinue the series, which he did by stopping publication of the journal itself. However, he returned to Lucknow in 1899 or 1900, resumed publication of the journal there and completed the controversial life. Sharar remained on the payroll of the State and was allowed to spend his time

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in Lucknow, working on his writings. This activity culminated in the publication, probably in the pages of *Dil Gudaz* in the first instance, of his novel *Firdaus-e-Barin*, written earlier in Hyderabad; the second volume of *Ayyam-e-Arab*, an account of Arabia before Islam; a translation of Sir John Cox's *History of the Wars of the Crusades* and *Daku ki Dulhan*, a translation of an English novel. This was not all. The same year, in 1900, he started his periodical *Purdah-e-Asmat*, which denounced the custom of purdah[208] as practised by Muslims in India. The journal stopped publication after a year but this concern, and that for some other social evils, became the subject-matter of his two novels *Badrun-nisa ki Musibat* and *Meva-e-Talkh*, as well as of a number of others.

In 1901 Sharar again had to suspend publication of his journals when he was summoned to Hyderabad. On arrival there he found that the political situation had changed and was no longer favourable to him. The Chief Minister had been retired and died a few days later. Another patron had also lost his job. The financial affairs of the State were looked into by the British Government of India. One Mr Walker appointed to this task saw no need of maintaining Sharar on the payroll of the State. The son of the deceased Chief Minister, however, offered Sharar his patronage and maintenance and the new Chief Minister promised to reinstate him to his earlier position when circumstances permitted. Sharar stayed on in Hyderabad until 1904 before he decided to return to Lucknow. By June 1904 he was back in Lucknow and had again resumed publication of *Dil Gudaz* and a new periodical, *Ittihad*, 'Unity', the aim of which was to bring about a better understanding between Hindus and Muslims. This journal lasted only a year and a half. *Dil Gudaz* now had another sixteen pages added to make room for Sharar's additional historical works. His critical account of some Christian institutions, *Tarikh Hurub-e-Saliba*, 'History of the Crusades', was serialized in 1905 in these pages, as was his novel *Shauqin Malka*, 'The Amorous Queen'; the novel *Yusuf-o-Najma* was serialized in 1906 along with the first part of *Tarikh-e-Sindh*, a history of Sindh under the Muslims.

Beginning with the issue of February 1906, besides the sixteen pages reserved for literary and philosophical essays, novels and historical writing, another eight pages were added to the journal under the heading *Biographies of the Heroes of Islam*, making a total of fifty-six pages per number. The journal was suspended yet again in 1907, when Sharar went back to Hyderabad to take up an appointment as Assistant Director in the Education Department on the invitation of the new Chief Minister. In July 1908 *Dil Gudaz* was published again in Hyderabad, together with instalments of the *History of Sindh*, Part II and another new novel, *The Life of Aghai Sahib*. Several months later many changes were made in the form and content of the journal itself, The page size was enlarged in order to allow the use of bigger and clearer lettering, the historical series and the biographies were discontinued and the forty pages allotted to them were given over to essays and articles. As before, sixteen pages were reserved for instalments of Sharar's novels. The publication was suspended yet again in 1909 when Sharar was ordered by the ruling Nizam[42] to leave the State, probably as the result of something he had written.

In 1910 the journal again resumed publication from Lucknow and Sharar invited other writers to contribute to the essay section which had been especially enlarged for this purpose, but the chief contributions to the journal remained

the work of Sharar himself. By the end of the year the monthly circulation had risen from four hundred during the first few years of publication to fourteen hundred. The price per copy was further raised. Thereafter the journal seems to have flourished until Sharar's death in 1926. In 1918 the new ruler of Hyderabad invited Sharar to write his biography but later changed his mind in favour of *A History of Islam*, for which Sharar received a salary of six hundred rupees per month. He was allowed to stay and work in Lucknow. This history was in three volumes, and the first volume when published was included in the curriculum of the Osmania University of the State, and probably remained so for a considerable time.

Sharar died in Lucknow in December 1926. After his death his son took over the editorship of *Dil Gudaz* and continued to publish it for a few years in Lucknow though he himself kept his job in Hyderabad. It was still flourishing in 1929 when Askari wrote his account.

Sharar revealed very little about his private life, a characteristic shared with other writers of his generation. As he himself said, 'The world is my story. My own is nothing.' (Vol. I, p. 304.) When he occasionally mentions his own affairs it is to explain delay in the publication of *Dil Gudaz* because of the illness of his son or the suspension of the journal between his different jobs and preoccupations. For him, as for other Urdu writers of his time, wife, children, family and employment to a great extent were private matters not to be shared with outsiders, and in any event they were of secondary importance compared to what really mattered, the world of ideas, religion and literary pursuits.

Nevertheless the picture that emerges of him is that of a strong personality, persevering and daring in his ideas. He was a partisan throughout. He was partisan in his religion and a conformist to the values of his society. This did not, however, overrule the scholar in him. When he had things to say against popularly held religious beliefs he expressed them, even though this meant unpopularity. Similarly, he continued to express his social ideas forcefully though this resulted in long and fierce controversies. In literature, too, he took his own stands and expressed them forcefully.

Sharar was a most prolific writer. A short list of his important works can be found in Askari (p. 134) who calculated the total published books to be one hundred and two in number. Besides his lifelong association with *Dil Gudaz* he edited and published eight other literary journals of varying lifespan. This enormous output, covering an extraordinarily wide range of subject-matter, along with its literary quality, made him unique among his contemporaries.

Apart from the large number of his essays, which cover topics ranging from 'A Pair of Shoes' to 'The Himalayas', Sharar's work can be classified as follows.

1. Histories such as *The History of Sindh* and *A History of Arabia before Islam*, all of which are connected in some way with Islam. Although these show considerable scholarship in Islamic literature, they are not the works of a professional historian and have often been described as lacking in objective evaluation. Some of Sharar's historical works, however, which appeared only in the pages of *Dil Gudaz*, introduced wider horizons to the reader and remain important even to this day. Examples include the translation into Urdu of the Arabic

classic *Memoirs of Ibn-e-Batuta*;[542] extracts from *Ajaib-ul-Hind*, 'The Wonders of India', the memoirs of a Zoroastrian later converted to Islam who wrote about his impressions of India as a traveller in the tenth century; the translation from an Arabic source of the encounter of Alexander the Great with the Raja of Kund in India; and especially the account of the last King of Avadh and his entourage, left incomplete at his death.

2. Biographies of many important figures in the history of Islam, among which accounts of certain less well-known personalities are of special interest.

3. Historical novels, the plots of which are based on heroic or dramatic events in the history of Islam, like *Mansur Mohna* which deals with the early incursions of Mahmud Ghaznavi into India, and *Malik ul Aziz aur Varjina*, dealing with the encounter between Richard Coeur de Lion and his 'noble and chivalrous Islamic rival', Salah ud Din. There are also *Shauqin Malka*, 'The Amorous Queen', which deals with the affairs and intrigues of Louis VII of France and Eleanor of Aquitaine when they led the second crusade against the Muslims after the latter had reconquered Odessa, and *Maftuh Fateh*, 'The Conqueror and the Conquered', set in the year 850 when the Muslims had entered Southern France and their leader won the heart of a French lady by his noble and chivalrous deeds.

Another group of similar novels on the theme of Christianity are *Muqaddas Naznin*, 'The Holy Fair One', set in the tenth century, in which a woman is elected Pope through the intrigues of the priests, and *Flora Florinda*, which describes the supposed moral degradation of Christianity in Spain during the fourteenth century, especially in convents and monasteries. The material of these novels, even when based on historical facts, as with *Flora Florinda*, and not imagination, is heavily influenced by Islamic fervour, and little attention is paid to the details of historical setting. There is additional reason for the glorification of Islam besides Sharar's religious zeal: Saxena (p. 335) describes how Sharar was disturbed by the anti-Muslim bias in Scott's *Talisman* and set out to put things right.

4. Social novels which have as their subject-matter Muslim customs which needed reform. *Badr-un-Nisa ki Musibat*, 'The Tragedy of the Bride', and *Agha Sadiq ki Shadi*, 'The Wedding of Agha Sadiq', describe the tragedies which sometimes occurred as a result of certain practices relating to marriage and purdah.[208]

A general characteristic of Sharar's novels is that they were written more in the spirit of journalism than that of creative writing. But in spite of imperfections in the unfolding of plot and characterization, they were a definite step forward in the historical development of the modern Urdu novel. Sharar developed further the new trend in the Urdu novel along with Sarshar,[342] Nazir Ahmad[344] and others by plotting his stories on the model of English novels. Sequences of events were interlinked and reference was made to actual life, which was a break from the traditional 'romances' based on mythological tales. From this time onwards novel-writing in Urdu became established and flourished, in popular as well as literary form.

5. Sharar's poetry and drama include *Shahid-i-Wafa*, 'Martyr of Loyalty', *Shab-i-Gham*, 'The Night of Sorrows', and *Shab-i-Wasl*, 'Night of Bliss', all written in the manner of the day and offering little that is original.

Sharar's contributions to Urdu literature are many. He introduced a simple

style which he adapted to the different types of material he dealt with. The established practice of writing rhythmic prose with repetitious abundance of synonyms and flowery Persianized similes and metaphors was already under attack by some of his contemporaries and he gave it a further blow, modelling his sentences on English syntax. Explaining his point of view in *Dil Gudaz* in 1887, he pointed out that in all developed languages of the world different styles were employed to present different types of ideas, and that any given style was incapable of handling diverse topics. There is no doubt that he succeeded in his efforts and created a style for himself which became popular, and other writers quickly followed his example.

Shrara was an active social reformer, occasionally showing a political conscience as well. The social reforms dear to his heart were the purdah system and education for Muslim women. These he took up not only through his literary works but also by justifying his stand in religious polemics. In this way he contributed strongly to creating an atmosphere which led in 1910 to the founding of a college in Lucknow by Justice Karamat Hussain for the formal education of Muslim girls on modern lines. This school and the one opened by Abdul Rahim Balbalah in Bombay at about the same time seem to have been the first Muslim educational institutions of the kind. Others followed later.

Sharar, a bookish man, like so many of his literary contemporaries remained personally aloof from everyday and political life. However, he seems to have been fully aware of what was happening around him. The pages of *Dil Gudaz* contain frequent references to such events as the Allahabad Exhibition in 1910, King George V's visit to India in 1911, the failure of the Lucknow Municipality to supply the residents with water in 1916, as well as major political developments such as the Russian Revolution of 1917 and the end of the Muslim Caliphate in Turkey at the end of the First World War, but he writes of them in a detached manner. The same lack of involvement appears in his writing about the Indian National Congress, which had begun to be a political force in the country at this time, as well as the Muslim Educational Conference which was the arena for Muslim political activity, though he mentions these from time to time in *Dil Gudaz*. One question, however, with which he seemed very concerned was the problem of understanding between the Hindus and Muslims. He was eager to receive contributions to his journal from Hindus about Hinduism, and to make their history, religion and culture known to the Muslims. Reviewing the work of *Dil Gudaz* at the end of 1887 Sharar writes: 'There is a serious defect in *Dil Gudaz*. It is becoming more and more engrossed in the affairs of Islam to the exclusion of other points of view. We would be grateful, therefore, for the assistance of our Hindu friends in this matter, to add distinction to *Dil Gudaz*.' Although little interested in politics, Sharar seems to have been dissatisfied with the way the Indian National Congress of his time was treating the problem of Hindu-Muslim differences. He wrote in *Dil Gudaz*: 'Whether we support Congress or not, one very sad thing which we do notice about its activities is that it seems to be creating more differences between Hindus and Muslims than existed previously.'

Abdul Halim Sharar is remembered today as a pioneer of the modern Urdu novel, a historian of refreshingly wide horizons, and an essayist equipped with a profound knowledge of Arabic, Urdu and Persian literatures and Islamic

theology. *Lucknow: The Last Phase of an Oriental Culture* can be said to be a fulfilment of its author's life's aims. The work has long been recognized by Indo-Islamic scholars as a primary source of great value, a unique document, both alive and authentic in every detail, of an important Indian culture at its zenith. And in many a Muslim household in the Indian sub-continent today this work may be found, read and studied by the older and the younger generations, as a reminder of and an introduction to their past.

A Note on the First Edition

The work here translated is a collection of essays which originally appeared as articles under the title of *Hindustan Men Mashriqi Tamaddun ka Akhri Namuna* (literally, 'The Last Example of Oriental Culture in India') in the Lucknow journal *Dil Gudaz* over a period of years from 1913 onwards. These essays were later included in one of the volumes of the author's collected short prose, *Mazamin-e-Sharar*, edited by him and published in Lahore not long before his death.

The original series of articles seems to have met with a mixed reception. As early as 1915 in the last issue of that year, Sharar writes in *Dil Gudaz* that the series had been started two years earlier and would probably take another two years to complete. In the following year he wrote: 'We do not set out deliberately in these articles to praise Lucknow; any such impression which we may give is unintentional. We do however verify the accuracy of the material put before our readers. Much more remains to be said about Lucknow.' The series in fact continued over a rather longer period than the four years envisaged by Sharar in 1913. With no access to the actual files of *Dil Gudaz*, even if they exist anywhere, I have been unable to ascertain when the series was completed. Possibly it was shortly after 1920. The volume of *Mazamin-e-Sharar* containing these articles has been reprinted many times, mainly in Lucknow, but later in other places too. The text taken for the present translation is that published by Nasim Book Depot, Lucknow 1965 under the title 'Lucknow's Past', which had appeared in earlier editions as a subtitle. Chapter headings have been added to distinguish the various topics treated. These are, however, approximate, as topics tend to overlap between the essays.

The translation of a work such as this poses many problems. The Urdu text is rooted so deeply in the life, religion and culture of the people described that its translation into another language compels the translator to transpose one culture into another. It is not merely a straightforward description which can be restated in simple prose, but rather a record that itself expresses a complex pattern of living and that requires a high degree of precision in translation. For this reason cuts and departures from the original text have been kept to a minimum, and the present translation has been kept as literal as possible, strangeness and all. The reader should also bear in mind that the original was not written according to the conventions of modern dissertation.

The system adopted for annotation is as follows: brief explanations within the body of the translation have been incorporated where necessary to make the text comprehensible to the general reader. At the same time, it was decided to

retain the original nomenclature in detail for the sake of accuracy, and this is the subject of much of the extensive annotation that follows the text. In the text itself, square brackets are used to indicate only the most obtrusive editorial interpolations.

Consistency in transliteration is of course impossible to achieve without recourse to phonetic notation. Urdu words and names are spelt as far as possible according to Urdu pronunciation, and with a minimum of diacritical notation. Some older English spellings which have become established—especially proper names—have, however, been retained. In the simplified system of spelling adopted, the reader's convenience has been given priority over strict phonetic consistency.

As early as 1927 the present work was described by Saxena as a 'mine of information' (p. 339). With the passage of time and the disappearance of the civilization described, the comment is still more apt. Sharar's account is today quoted as source material by scholars in a wide variety of fields. Thus in providing descriptive detail in the notes the Editor has been largely concerned with furthering Sharar's aim of recording the special characteristics of Lucknow society before rapid change obliterated them entirely.

Sharar wrote this work in the present tense. It is perhaps superfluous to note that the use of the same tense in the present translation would have been misleading as much of what is described now belongs to the past; the past tense, therefore, has here been used. For the same reason it was considered useful to provide some notes describing the course of events between Sharar's time and the present, especially so in the case of Urdu literature. Reference is also made in the notes to other works that provide additional information about Sharar's main topics.

The present edition is the result of a collaboration between the late Colonel E. S. Harcourt and myself. The late Colonel completed a first draft of the entire text after some discussions with myself. His unfortunate death meant not only that the final text of the translation had to be prepared by myself, but also that I was unable to benefit from his suggestions regarding the introduction and notes. I have revised the translation in order to make it as meaningful as possible to the contemporary reader. Sources of information drawn upon in the notes, wherever obtained from printed works, have been cited. However, much information comes by way of oral tradition through the first-hand experience of some elderly persons remaining in Lucknow. I should like to express my particular thanks to these people for their help in saving this information from oblivion. Thanks are due to many who helped in this in various ways, above all: Saiyyid Akbar Ali Rizvi, Naseer Raza, P. N. Mittal, Mrs C. Egan and Dr R. Rothlach. Special thanks are due to Raja Muhammad Amir Ahmad Khan of Mahmudabad for having given so much of his time to enlightening me on a large number of points. It had been my desire to acknowledge his participation by requesting him to write a Preface, but unfortunately he died before the work was complete. It is for this reason that the book is dedicated to him. I should like to express my gratitude also to Maulvi Malik Khayyam d'Ashkelon and Mrs L. Rosenthal.

Fakhir Hussain

A Note on the Second Edition

The first edition of this book came out in 1975 followed by two reprints in two other countries. Since then new documents about Lucknow have come to light, new books have been published, documentaries and films been made. It appears that the nostalgia for old Lucknow may be expanding a little. This general interest may explain the presentation of this edition.

In any event, the second edition of any book is good news for many and especially those who have been involved with it. The general interest in this book is above all a tribute to Sharar, whose mighty pen produced this account originally. Thus it may be of some interest to explore a bit further Sharar's approach to his work. It is a complex study which deals with the history, social institutions and cultural practices which governed in varying degrees the lives of a large number of the citizens of Lucknow. The work was completed more than half a century ago. In its beginning, Sharar simply narrates certain historical information without exploring the political background. However, this information, though incomplete and imprecise, is factually correct. Sharar is not a contemporary professional historian with modern amenities at his disposal for collecting a wide range of material and incorporating it into contemporary patterns of thought. He leaves it to subsequent generations of historians to use his account in their search for historical facts.

The other sections of the narrative are based on Sharar's own knowledge and observations of local social, cultural and religious practices institutions. This is an account by an informed insider; it was accepted as such and considered authentic during the writer's lifetime. As an insider Sharar also infuses in his style a touch of love which makes Lucknow real, alive and vibrant.

In translation, an attempt has been made to keep the spirit of the work, as far as possible, without entering into historical controversies. Along with this, I have referred in the notes to such sources as I could find which are relevant to these matters. A large number of notes are descriptive, and here I claim some acquaintance with the culture and institutions in which I grew up. Along with this, wherever possible, I have checked the information gathered through oral traditions from more than one source. However, some additional information has come to my notice since earlier publications. This has been incorporated into the Revised Notes which appear at the end. These will make more sense if read in conjunction with the original notes. Many valuable works on Lucknow have appeared recently. It gives me pleasure to add these or at least some of them separately under the heading 'Some recent publications on Lucknow'. Some of these books also contain extensive bibliographies, while my own

bibliography mentions the sources I have consulted.

In the presentation of this edition, I acknowledge with thanks the help of Dr Kevin Cook who prepared especially for this book the map of India at the present day, and Ashraf Ali Abidi for his assistance with the revised notes.

London
1 June 1989

Fakhir Hussain

1

Faizabad and the Early History of Avadh: Burhan ul Mulk and the Predecessors of the Avadh Dynasty

It is unlikely that anyone will question the statement that the late court of Avadh[1] was the final example of oriental refinement and culture in India. There are several other courts[2] to remind us of former times, but the one in which old culture and social life reached its zenith was this court of Avadh which was established not so long ago and, after making astonishing advances, came to an abrupt end. Because of this I wish to write a brief account of the conditions and peculiarities of that court under the title of 'The Last Phase of Oriental Culture in India'.[3] I do not think that anyone will disagree that the fame and importance of the region in which this court was established were greater than those of any other province in India. The great renown and incomparably stirring deeds of some of its ancient families, particularly that of Raja[4] Ramchandra,[5] reached such a pitch of excellence that history is an insufficient receptacle to contain them and thus they have assumed the pure guise of religion. Today there are very few villages in India that are so unlucky as not to be able to stage the yearly religious play *Ram Lila*,[6] which brings back to memory the deeds of Ram.

But the life of this most ancient of divine courts and the grandeur and splendour of Avadh at that time have been portrayed by Valmiki[5] with such wonderful eloquence that they are stamped on the minds of all, whatever their religion, and it is therefore unnecessary for me to repeat them. Those who are already familiar with Ajodhya's era of splendour in the literary chronicle of Valmiki will once again see it portrayed under the name of Faizabad[7] in the pages of *Dil Gudaz*.* I shall begin this account from the time when this final court, whose existence ended about fifty years ago, was first established.

When Navab[8] Burhan ul Mulk[9] Amin ud Din Khan[10] Nishapuri[11] was appointed Subedar[12] of Avadh by the Imperial Court of Delhi, he defeated the Shaikhzadas[13] of Lucknow and came to the ancient habitat of Avadh, that is to say, the honoured and holy town of Ajodhya, and pitched his tent on a high hill

* See Notes on Sharar, page 17 and on the present edition, page 25.

overlooking the banks of the River Ghagra far from any other habitation.* Having no time to build a grand residence because of the exigencies of the administration of the province and also because he was a man of simple tastes and had no desire for pomp and ostentation, he remained in camp for some time. When later he became inconvenienced by the rains, he moved the camp back a little and had a thatched shelter built for himself in a suitable place. After this he had mud walls built around the shelter and made a large square fortress. At each of the four corners, as is usually the practice with fortifications, mud-built towers were erected so that the surrounding country could be surveyed. The enclosure was so big that large numbers of cavalry, infantry, artillery, stables and necessary workshops could all be accommodated inside it with ease.

Burhan ul Mulk had no desire for spacious residences, so mud houses were also built for the ladies of the household and his wives to live in. In short, the ruler of Avadh, when he was not touring his domain about matters of administration, lived in peace and comfort in his mud-built bungalow and was perfectly happy. His simple abode was soon known as the Bangla.[15]

After the death of Burhan ul Mulk, at the commencement of Safdar Jang's[16] rule this settlement became known as Faizabad.

Such was the origin of the town of Faizabad, which outdid Lucknow in both the rapidity of its growth and its subsequent decay. Most of the Mughal[17] army officers occupied themselves in constructing beautiful gardens and attractive pleasure-grounds to encompass this mud-built, four-walled enclosure and the town soon acquired a new lustre. On the western side of this enclosure was a gate known as the Delhi Gate, outside which Divan[18] Atma Ram's sons erected an impressive market-place and, as an adjunct, houses for people to live in. Similarly, Risaldar[19] Ismail Khan had a market-place constructed, and inside the enclosure many houses were built for *khwaja-saras*[20] [eunuchs] and army personnel.

After Navab Safdar Jang died, misfortune pursued the new settlement for some time and fate destroyed what had been set up over the years. The reason for this was that Safdar Jang's son [Jalal ud Din Haidar], Navab Shuja ud Daula,[21] chose Lucknow as his residence and proceeded to live there, spending only two or three nights a year in his ancestral home. This went on until he was defeated by the British at the Battle of Baksar[22] in 1765, when he fled completely empty-handed to Faizabad, picked up what equipment he could find at the fort and left by night for Lucknow. Here again he stayed only one night, collected anything he could lay his hands on and proceeded towards Bareilly in order to take refuge with the Afghans of Ruhelkhand.[23] Nine months after the engagement he made peace with the British, under the terms of which he was responsible for handing over to them about one third of the revenue of his territory.

Before the declaration of peace, it happened that Shuja ud Daula in the course of his journeys passed through the town of Farrukhabad. There he met Ahmad Khan Bangash[24] who was considered to be among the most experienced veterans of his day. His advice to Shuja ud Daula was: 'When you take the reins of government into your hands again do not forget two points. Firstly, put no

* *Author's note:* I have gathered this information about Faizabad from the English translation by W. Hoey of Munshi Faiz Buksh's book *Tarikh-e-Farah Baksh*.[14]

trust in the Mughals but work with your other subordinates and khwaja-saras. Secondly, give up living in Lucknow and make Faizabad your seat of government.'

Shuja ud Daula was impressed by this advice and, after making a treaty with the British, he proceeded towards his own territory in 1765, went straight to Faizabad and made it his seat of government. Here he started to enlist a new army, to organize new cavalry regiments and lay the foundations for new buildings. He strengthened and rebuilt the old fortifications as a protection for the town and these fortifications were now known as 'the Fort'. He demolished the houses of the Mughals that were inside the fortification and gave orders to his family retainers to build houses outside it. For two miles on all four sides of the fortress the ground was left open and a deep ditch was dug around this open space as an additional fortification. Civil and military officers, according to their status, were given plots of land on which to build houses.

As soon as it was known that Shuja ud Daula had decided on Faizabad for his headquarters, crowds flocked in that direction, and thousands came and settled there. The entire population of Shahjahanabad[25] seemed to be making preparations to move there. Most of the eminent people of Delhi bade farewell to their domiciles and turned towards the east. Night and day people kept coming and caravan after caravan arrived to stay and become absorbed into the environs of Faizabad. In no time persons of every race and creed, literary men, soldiers, merchants, craftsmen, individuals of every rank and class had gathered there. All those who came, immediately on arrival, became involved in securing a plot of land and building a house.

In a few years two other breastworks were erected in addition to the fortress, one which adjoined the original square enclosure in the south, the area of which was two square miles, and the other between the fortress and the rampart, the area of which was one square mile. At that time the Tripuliya[26] and Chauk[27] markets were constructed, the road to which started at the southern gate to the Fort and went as far as the turnpike on the Allahabad road. This road was so broad that ten bullock carts could easily pass along it abreast. Whatever the width of the battlements at ground level, they were ten yards wide in the middle and five yards wide at the top. Parties of regular and irregular soldiers would patrol these battlements throughout the night and sentries were posted at various places. The uniform of the regular soldiers was red, and that of the irregulars black. In the rainy season, thatched shelters were erected here and there for the use of the soldiers, but when the rains were over these were demolished because of the fear of fire. In fact, each year about one hundred thousand thatched shelters were erected for the battlement walls alone; after four months they were pulled down and discarded.

In the neighbourhood of the town two tracts of open country were reserved as hunting grounds. The one to the west stretched from the Mosque of Gurji Beg Khan[28] to Gaptar Ghat[29] which is a considerable distance. There were mud walls on two sides and at the extremity was the River Ghagra. Into this many game animals such as buck, spotted-deer, russet-deer and *nilgai*[30] had been introduced and roamed hither and thither, gambolled and bounded about unfettered and in complete freedom. The other hunting ground was to the east of the town and stretched from the village of Janura and the Gushain cantonment to the banks

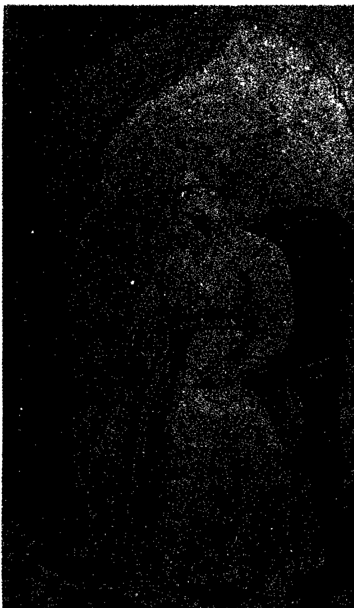
of the river, an area of six square miles. It included eleven villages with the land which pertained to them. But this hunting ground remained incomplete and the time never came for it to be filled with wild animals.

Inside the town were three parks of such an attractive nature that nobles and princes would come and stroll in them and derive much pleasure from their elegance and charm. One was the Anguri Bagh[31] which was inside the Fort and comprised one quarter of its area. The second was the Moti Bagh, which was inside the main Chauk market square. The third was the Lal Bagh, the largest of all the parks. It was furnished with the most exquisite lawns and every sort of delicate and entrancing flower appeared in profusion in its beds. This park was renowned throughout the province and people from far and wide hoped to spend one lucky evening in so delectable a spot. Every evening a crowd of young nobles from the town could be seen here sauntering about and enjoying themselves. The fame of the charm and fascination of this park was so universal that the Emperor of Delhi, Shah Alam,[32] on his return from Allahabad, came to Faizabad to see it and spent some days there before returning to Delhi. In addition to these three parks, there were also the Asaf Bagh and Buland Bagh in the neighourhood of the town on the Lucknow road.

Navab Shuja ud Daula was so interested in the upkeep of the town that he would ride out each morning and evening to inspect the streets and houses. He would take workmen with him armed with mattocks and spades and whenever he saw a house out of alignment or beyond its allotted bounds, or if he found that some shopkeeper had encroached to the slightest degree on the street, he would start digging operations to put matters right.

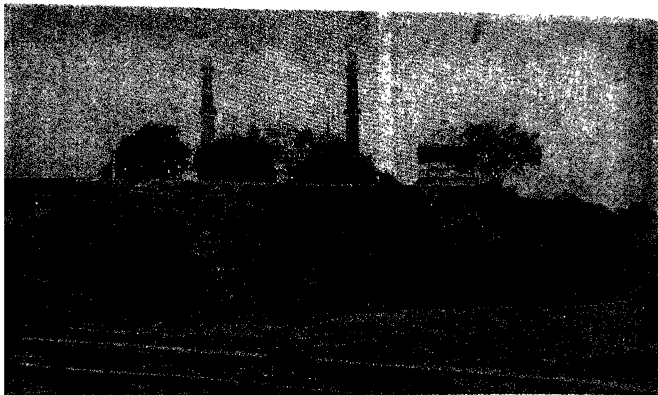
Navab Shuja ud Daula also paid great attention to improving the army. The highest cavalry leaders were Navab Murtaza Khan Bareech[33] and two Brahmans[34] named Himmat Bahadur and Umrao Gir. These three commanders each had more troops under them than had all the lesser commanders put together. Other military commanders were Ahsan Kambohi,[35] Gurji Beg Khan, Gopal Rao Maratha,[36] the son-in-law of Mir[37] Navab Jamal ud Din Khan, Jumla (a General of Aurangzeb), Muzaffar ud Daula, Tahawar Jang Bakhshi,[38] Abul Barkat Khan of Kakori (a small town on the outskirts of Lucknow) and Muhammad Muiz ud Din Khan, a Shaikhzada of Lucknow. None of these had less than fifteen hundred men under him. In addition, there were khwaja-saras and young novices who were trained under their supervision and had become their disciples and pupils. Khwaja-sara Basant Ali Khan was in command of two divisions, that is, a force of fourteen thousand regular soldiers, in red uniform. Another khwaja-sara also named Basant had under his command one thousand regular lancers and one infantry battalion. Khwaja-sara Anbar Ali Khan was in charge of five hundred cavalry and an infantry battalion in black uniform. There were five hundred cavalry and four battalions of infantry under the standard of Khwaja-sara Mahbub Ali Khan and Latafat Ali Khan had the same number of troops. Raghu Nath Singh[39] and Parshad Singh each had three hundred cavalry and four battalions of infantry under his command, and Mahbub Ali Khan and Yusuf Ali Khan each had a force of five hundred Mughal cavalry and infantry. There was artillery beyond all number.

The total size of the army which was at Shuja ud Daula's disposal and which was stationed at Faizabad was as follows: regulars in red uniform, thirty



Royal portraits by Lucknow artist

1 (*above*) Shuja ud Daula. Water-colour, about 1800
2 (*right*) Asaf ud Daula. Water-colour, 1780
3 (*below*) Sadat Ali Khan. Oil painting, about 1800



4 Machi Bhavan. Pre-Mutiny photograph

5 Shaikhan Gate, Machi Bhavan. Pre-Mutiny photograph

thousand, and irregulars in black uniform, forty thousand. Their senior officer, that is to say commander-in-chief, was Saiyyid Ahmad, who was known as Bansi Wala.[40] Their muskets could be loaded and fired more rapidly than those of the British soldiers.

In addition to this mass of troops, Shuja ud Daula had twenty-two thousand messengers and informers who would bring news from great distances, every seventh day from Poona for example, and every fifteenth day from Kabul.

Envoys of the rulers of far-off places in India were also present at the court. There was an envoy of the Marathas,[41] one on behalf of Nizam Ali Khan[42] ruler of the Deccan, one on behalf of Zabita Khan[43] and one for Zulfiqar ud Daula, Najaf Khan.[44] These envoys all had their own officers and soldiers. In addition many military officers lived at Faizabad with their troops, as for instance Mir Naim Khan, under whose standard were a number of Sabit Khani,[45] Bundelkhandi, Chandela[46] and Mewati[47] troops.

Muhammad Bashir Khan was commander of the Fort. His cavalry and infantry were spread over the battlements and gates. Inside the Fort he had fine houses for himself and his officers and barracks for his soldiers. When eventually no room was left even within the outermost walls, Saiyyid[37] Jamal ud Din Khan and Gopal Rao Maratha took up their abode outside the Fort in the vicinity of the village of Nurahi where they built houses and set up tents. Owing to limited space in this neighbourhood Navab Murtaza Khan Bareech, Mir Ahmad Bansi Wala, Mir Abul Barkat and Shaikh Ahsan lived in tents in the country between Ajodhya and Faizabad.

Because of the great numbers of people and soldiers the town became so crowded, especially the main market-place, that it was difficult to move and quite impossible to walk normally without bumping into someone. In short, Faizabad was a veritable forest of human beings.

Wherever you looked in the markets there were stacks of merchandise from various countries, for on hearing that Faizabad was the chosen centre for discriminating noblemen and fashionable gentlemen, merchants' loaded caravans came from every direction. As they always found a ready sale, there was a steady inflow of the very best quality merchandise. Merchants from Persia, Kabul, China and Europe arrived with valuable goods and the profits they received encouraged them to make further efforts to bring in fresh articles. Two hundred Frenchmen, such as Messieurs Gentil, Gailliez, Polier,[48] and others who had become domiciled in the town, had entered Government service and had very cordial relations with Shuja ud Daula's administration. They gave the troops military instruction and cannons, muskets and other weapons of war were produced under their supervision.

Munshi[49] Faiz Baksh, author of the *Tarikh-e-Farah Baksh*,[14] to whom I am indebted for having acquainted me with the events of this period, was himself present when they took place and whatever he wrote he wrote as an eye-witness. He says that when he originally left home for Faizabad, as soon as he came to Mumtaz Nagar[50] some four miles from the town, he saw various kinds of sweetmeats, hot viands, kebabs[486] and curries being cooked and *chapatis* and *parathas*[487] being baked under the shade of trees. There were stalls for distributing cold drinking-water. Different sorts of sherbets and *faluda*[51] were sold with hundreds of people swarming to the shops to buy them. The thought passed through his

mind that he had entered the town and was in the market-place itself, but he wondered how he had got inside as he had not come upon the city gate. On inquiring about this he was told, 'Sir! The city gate is four miles from here! What are you thinking of?'

Munshi Faiz Baksh was astonished at this answer and entered the town where he found great bustle and activity. On every side was merry-making and excitement. Wherever he looked there were snake-charmers, dancers and jugglers performing their tricks, and people wandering about enjoying themselves. He was lost in amazement at this splendour, tumult and commotion.

There was not a moment from morning until evening when one could not hear the army or the beat of regimental drums. Drums were also beaten to indicate the time and at each period of four hours gongs were struck by mallets, making such a din as to deafen one's ears. In the streets there was a never-ending stream of horses, elephants, camels, mules, hunting dogs, cows, buffaloes, bullocks, bullock carts and cannons. It was difficult for the wayfarer to make any progress.

A town of grandeur and dignity met the eye. In it fashionably dressed persons from Delhi, elegant sons of noblemen, skilled hakims,[52] well-known troupes of men and women dancers and eminent singers from far and wide were employed by the administration, drew very large salaries and lived a carefree life of luxury. The pockets of high and low were filled with rupees[53] and gold coins and it appeared as if no one had ever known poverty and want. The Navab Vazir Shuja ud Daula was constantly engaged in promoting the prosperity and splendour of the town and its people. It appeared that in a very short time Faizabad would claim to be on a par with Delhi.

As the ruler of no country or town lived in such refinement, pomp and circumstance as Navab Shuja ud Daula, and also as it seemed that nowhere else were people so ready to spend money freely on any occasion or for any purpose, all sorts of expert artificers, craftsmen and students from every direction bade farewell to their home towns and made Faizabad their domicile. There was always a large crowd of students from Dacca, Bengal, Gujrat, Malwa, Hyderabad, Shahjahanabad, Lahore, Peshawar, Kabul, Kashmir and Multan who studied in the schools[54] of the local scholars. Then having become satiated at the fount of knowledge existing in Faizabad, they returned to their homes. Would that the Navab Vazir had lived another ten or twelve years. Had he done so, a new Shahjahanabad would have flourished on the banks of the Ghagra and the world would have seen a new and living Delhi.

Such was Navab Shuja ud Daula's achievement in Faizabad after a residence of only nine years, and during this time he honoured the town with his presence only for the four months of the yearly rainy season. He spent the rest of the year touring his realm, amusing himself and hunting. He was by nature attracted to beautiful women and was fond of dancing and singing. For this reason there was such a multitude of bazaar beauties[55] and dancers in the town that no lane or alley was without them. Because of the Navab's rewards and favours they were in such easy circumstances and so wealthy that most of the courtesans had fixed abodes with two or three sumptuous tents attached to them. When the Navab was touring the provinces or travelling, their tents would be loaded with

stately grandeur on to bullock carts with those of the Navab and were guarded by a party of ten or twelve soldiers.

As this was the practice of their ruler, all the rich men and chieftains openly adopted it and courtesans would accompany them on their travels. Although this gave rise to a certain degree of immodesty and laxity of morals, there is no doubt that the large number of these bazaar beauties and the nobles' patronage of them added greatly to the splendour of the town of Faizabad.

In the year 1773, Shuja ud Daula travelled towards the west. On this journey it appeared as if a large city were following the Navab's auspicious colours. Passing through Lucknow, he reached Etawa (U.P.), which was in the hands of the Marathas. In one single engagement the Navab wrested it from them and took possession of it. Then entering the domain of Ahmad Khan Bangash, he encamped at Kuryaganj and Kasganj. From here he wrote to Hafiz[56] Rahmat Khan, ruler of Bareilly, to the following effect: 'Last year I handed over on your behalf ten million rupees to Mahaji Sindhia, the Maratha[57] who had seized all your territory in the Doab.[58] On payment of this sum I retrieved your territory from his possession and restored it to you. Please send me at once the five million rupees of my own money which I paid to him.' Hafiz Rahmat Khan assembled all his Afghan chieftains and associates and said, 'Shuja ud Daula is seeking a pretext for a fight. It would be best if the sum he asks for were paid. I will give two million of my own money: you collect the remaining three million.' The short-sighted Pathan chieftains replied, 'Shuja ud Daula's men are of no particular consequence. How can they stand against us? As for the British troops[59] who are with him, when we fall upon their guns with our drawn swords, they will all lose their heads. There is absolutely no necessity for payment.' When Hafiz Rahmat Khan heard this, he said: 'As you wish: but I say this in advance, that if the fighting goes the other way I will not leave the battlefield alive and you will have to suffer the consequences.' Still, Shuja ud Daula did not receive the answer he desired. He therefore attacked and battle was joined. The result of the battle was as destiny had put into the mouth of Hafiz Rahmat Khan, that is to say he was killed and his administration came to an end.

The victory was not however propitious for Shuja ud Daula. The battle took place in 1774. About six months later Shuja ud Daula marched from Bareilly to Lucknow, where he spent the month of Ramzan.[60] The next month he left Lucknow, arriving in Faizabad six days later—nine months and ten days after the victory. He was not granted so long as one and a half months to rest in his home when, still in the year 1774, he was called to his eternal rest. Sadly, his death put an end to all forms of progress in Faizabad.

At that time the person who had most influence over the government of Avadh was Shuja ud Daula's wife, Bahu Begam,[61] who was reputed to be very wealthy. By her consent Navab Asaf ud Daula took on the duties of ruler, but he was an excessively dissolute individual and the courtiers thought that it would be well to keep the mother and son apart. After a few days' hunting, Asaf ud Daula took up his residence in Lucknow, from where he would plague his mother and importune her for money.

Because of Bahu Begam's presence a certain amount of the splendour of Faizabad remained and, although whilst she was alive Asaf ud Daula's iniquities disturbed her peace of mind and consequently affected the tranquillity of

Faizabad, still during the honoured lady's lifetime even the quarrels and disturbances which took place were possessed of some dignity. On her death the history of Faizabad came to an end and the epoch of Lucknow, of which I will now write an account, commenced.

2

The Origins and Early History of Lucknow

No one knows definitely when Lucknow first became populated, who its founder was or how it got its name, but if family traditions[62] and conjectures are taken as a basis, the following account can be given.

It is said that after Raja Ramchandra had conquered Ceylon and completed his term of exile in the wilderness, and when he had honoured the status of kingship by adopting its form, he gave this region as a reward to his devoted brother Lachman [Lakshman], who had accompanied him on his travels. To commemorate the latter's stay, a village was built on a high hill overlooking the river which since that day has been known as Lachmanpur.[63] The hill was called Lachman Hill and in it was a very deep cave with a well of which no one could estimate the depth. People said it went down as far as Shesh Nag.[64] This idea gave impetus to religious feeling and Hindus, inspired by faith, would go there to sprinkle water[65] and offer flowers.

It is also said that Maharàja Yudhistir's[66] grandson, Raja Jaman Ji,[67] gave this region as a reward to holy sages, the *rishis*[68] and *munis*,[69] and that they set up their hermitages throughout the land and became immersed in the contemplation of the Almighty. After some time, realizing that these sages had become weak and defenceless, two hitherto unknown tribes came from the Himalayan foothills and took possession of the region. These tribes seem to have been two branches of the same family—one was called Bhar and the other Pansi.

These people were attacked by Saiyyid Salar Masud Ghazi[70] in 1030 and probably also by Bakhtiyar Khilji[71] in 1202. Therefore the first Muslim families to settle in this region were those that had accompanied these two assailants, especially the former.

From early days Brahmans and Kayasths,[72] in addition to the Bhars and Pansis, lived together in peace and harmony in the small town. It cannot be said when this town changed its name from Lachmanpur to Lucknow. The name which is now current cannot be traced before the days of the Emperor Akbar,[73] but it also cannot be denied that a large population of Hindus and Muslims were settled there before Akbar's reign. This can be proved by an event which is described long before that time in the family records of the Shaikhs of Lucknow. In 1540, when King Humayun was defeated by Sher Shah at Jaunpur, he fled from the battlefield by way of Sultanpur, Lucknow and Pilibheet. He

paused to rest for four hours in Lucknow and although he came as a victim of defeat and had no power or authority, the people of Lucknow, purely from feelings of sympathy and hospitality, made him a gift of ten thousand rupees and fifty horses.

That so much was collected in such a short time leads one to imagine that the town must have had a considerable population and that the Lucknow of that era must have been more flourishing and prosperous than most towns of today.

Among the families that came to Lucknow in those early days was that of Shah Mina,[74] whose sacred tomb is still a rendezvous[75] for the masses. He took up his abode on Lachman Hill and, being buried there, he has become, as it were, part of the landscape. Because of his residence the old name of Lachman Hill was changed to Pir Muhammad Hill and in the course of time the ancient cave was filled in. Later on Emperor Aurangzeb,[76] who had come to Lucknow in person, erected on this hill an imposing mosque which to this day calls the faithful to prayer in his name.

When in 1590 Emperor Akbar divided the whole of India into twelve Provinces, Lucknow was, in the first instance, chosen as the seat of the Subedar, or Governor, of Avadh. At that time one Shaikh Abdur Rahim, an impecunious and down-at-heel nobleman of Bijnaur (U.P.), went to Delhi to seek his fortune. Here he acquired some influence with the nobles of the court and was himself accepted as a courtier. Eventually, having become an official in imperial service, he was granted land in Lucknow and a few days later, with great pomp and show, he went to his estate. Here he took up residence on Lachman or Shah Pir Muhammad Hill. He built Panj Mahla, which according to some accounts was a five-storeyed palace and according to others a complex of five palaces, erected the Shaikhan Gate and himself became part and parcel of Lucknow. His tomb is known today as Nadan Mahal.[77] A short time ago the Government of India placed it under their care and protection.

At that time Shaikh Rahim had a small fort built on an eminence close to Lachman Hill. It was stronger than other forts in the vicinity and people in the neighbourhood were much impressed by it. Either because Shaikh Abdur Rahim had been awarded the title of Mahi Maratib[78] at the Imperial Court or because on the twenty-six arches in one portion of the fort the architect had engraved two fishes on each arch, making a total of fifty-two fishes, this fort became known as Machi Bhavan.[79] The word *bhavan*, as well as meaning 'fort', could be a corruption of the word *bavan*, meaning 'fifty-two'. The architect who designed this fort was an Ahir[80] named Lakhna. Some say that because of his name the town was called Lucknow. Others think that Lachmanpur was corrupted into Lucknow. Conjecture as one may, there is no doubt that the town adopted this name after the coming of Abdur Rahim.

Some time later in addition to the family of Shaikh Abdur Rahim, that is to say, the Shaikhzadas, a number of Pathans arrived who settled in the south and were known as the Ram Nagar[81] Pathans. They fixed the limit of their lands at the place where the Gol Darvaza[82] now stands because from that point on towards the river the territory of the Shaikhzadas commenced. After these Pathans, another group of Shaikhs arrived and settled towards the east. They were known as the Benehrah[83] Shaikhs and their land was where the ruins of the Residency[84] now stand.

Although these three groups occupied their own areas and held sway over them, the authority of the Shaikhzadas was paramount and their power over the neighbourhood was supreme. The principal reason for this was that they had influence with the court at Delhi and members of the family had been appointed Subedars of the whole Province of Avadh. Their fort, Machi Bhavan, was so strong that it was said, 'He who holds Machi Bhavan holds Lucknow.'

During Akbar's reign Lucknow made progress and its population grew. But although some of the Shaikhzadas were chosen as Subedars of Avadh, for the most part a Delhi noble was appointed to the post. These officials stayed throughout the year in their own homes in Delhi and came to Avadh only when the time came for collecting taxes. Only their deputies resided in Lucknow, so there was little hope of the town making progress under their administration. On the few occasions that a member of the Shaikhzada family was appointed Subedar, Lucknow certainly benefited by the appointment. It appears as though Akbar took a special interest in Lucknow, for he gave the local Brahmans one *lakh*[85] of rupees for the Bajpai[86] offerings and from that time the Bajpai Brahmans of Lucknow became famous. One can gather from this that the oldest Hindu quarters of Lucknow in existence at this time were the Bajpai, Katari,[87] Sundhi,[88] Banjari[89] and Ahiri *tolas*.[90] All these quarters remain, in the neighbourhood of the then main market-place of Chauk.

Mirza[91] Salim,[92] who was known by the title of Nur ud Din Jahangir when he came to the throne, laid the foundations of Mirza market to the west of Machi Bhavan whilst his father was still alive and he was heir apparent.

Towards the end of Akbar's reign, Jawahar Khan was Subedar. He himself lived in Delhi but his deputy, Qazi[93] Mahmud Bilgrami, built, adjacent to the south part of the Chauk market-place, Mahmud Nagar and Shah Ganj.[94] Between he had a gate erected which was known as Akbari Gate to perpetuate the Emperor's name.

During Akbar's reign, when these buildings were being erected and the town was filling up, Lucknow had become a great centre of commerce. It was so prosperous that a French merchant, who traded in horses, settled there in the hope of reaping a profit. Having received a Certificate of Security* from the Imperial Court for his stay in Lucknow, he set up his stables and in the very first year was so successful that he built four splendid houses in the vicinity of the market-place. At the end of that year he applied for his Certificate of Security to be renewed, but was not granted permission for further residence. When he decided to stay on in spite of this the town authorities, on orders from the Imperial Court, confiscated his houses, made them crown property and evicted him from the town. These four houses remained in Government possession until the reign of Aurangzeb Alamgir when Mulla[95] Nizam ud Din Sehalvi,[96] having become completely frustrated by the disturbances in his own town, decided to live in Lucknow. The houses were presented to him as a Government gift and he came with his whole family and took up residence in them. These houses along with

* *Author's note:* Europeans desiring a domicile in India used to obtain from the Delhi Court a Certificate of Security called the Order of Mastamanı (Arabic *mastaman*, seeker of peace), which protected them from the high-handedness of the administrators and local population. As it involved certain Government responsibilities, it was usually granted for a period of one year.

those in their immediate neighbourhood are known to this day as Firangi Mahal.

Owing to the propitious advent of the Mulla, Lucknow became a centre of learning and scholarship and the rendezvous for seekers after knowledge. This influx of scholars increased to such an extent that Mulla Nizam ud Din's curriculum, which was called Silsila-e-Nizamia,[97] was for a long time the course of instruction in use not only in India but in tne whole of Asia.[98] In addition to instruction in secular subjects, one may imagine that the course contained sacred tuition. It is easy to understand why in those days many students from a great number of places and from great distances used to gather in Lucknow.

In 1631 at the commencement of the reign of Emperor Shahjahan,[99] a European traveller, Lockett, made a journey to India. He wrote that Lucknow was a great centre for trade.

In Shahjahan's time the Governor of Lucknow was Sultan Ali Shah Quli Khan, who had two sons, Mirza Fazil and Mirza Mansur. To commemorate their names he inaugurated two new quarters, Fazil Nagar and Mansur Nagar, just beyond the southern outskirts of Mahmud Nagar.

A risaldar named Ashraf Ali Khan laid the foundations of Ashrafabad. His brother, Musharaf Ali Khan, built a house on the other side of the drainage stream and erected a new quarter called Musharafabad, the name of which in the course of time was changed to Nau Basta.[100] Another army officer named Pir Khan built a small fort for himself well to the west of all these quarters. It is known to this day as Pir Khan Garhi.[101]

At one time the Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir had to travel to Ajodhya for some purpose and stopped at Lucknow on his return journey. It was then that he built the Shah Pir Muhammad Hill Mosque. Situated on Lachman Hill, it is at such a height over the surrounding country that no more appropriate place for a mosque could possibly have been found in Lucknow. It is, also, probable that on this occasion Aurangzeb gave the houses of the Firangi Mahal to the great scholar Mulla Nizam ud Din.

In the days of the Mughal Emperor Muhammad Shah Rangeley,[102] the Governor of Lucknow was a valiant Hindu risaldar named Gardhananga whose uncle Chabele Ram had been appointed ruler of Allahabad by the Mughal court. On the death of Chabele Ram, Gardhananga decided to revolt and to assume the rulership of Allahabad in his uncle's place. But thinking better of it, he declared his loyalty and allegiance and was granted the *khilat*[103] of office as Subedar of Avadh by the Government. He came to live in Lucknow and his wife Rani laid the foundations of Rani Katra.[104]

But whoever the Subedar happened to be, however autocratic he was or however much authority was invested in him, the power of the Shaikhzadas was so great that he could never dare enter their circle. Although Machi Bhavan was in the nature of a Government palace, the Shaikhzadas considered it as their own inherited property and the Governor who came from Delhi was not able to intrude in its affairs. The Shaikhzadas had erected two other buildings near Machi Bhavan, the name of one being Mubarak Mahla and the other Panj Mahla. They were built next to each other, and to the south was a great arched gateway called Shaikhan Darvaza. People from the town who wished to visit one of these buildings had to pass through this gate. The arrogant Shaikhzadas had hung a sword from the arch and ordered that if anyone wished to enter, regard-

less of who he might be or however great a man he was, he would first have to bow down before the sword and salute it. It was impossible for anyone to evade this order and even the Governors appointed by Delhi were obliged to bow if they came to visit the Shaikhs.

This was the state of affairs in Lucknow when, in 1732, Navab Sadat Khan Burhan ul Mulk came to the town after having been appointed Subedar of Avadh by the Delhi Government. It was he who laid the foundations of that fine oriental court whose evolution I consider to be the last example of Eastern culture and of which I wish to write an account. In Chapter 1, I described Faizabad which presents the first portrait of this culture as an adjunct to the court of Lucknow. In this chapter I have drawn a picture of the Lucknow that existed before the formation of this court and have presented to my readers the chequer-board upon which this court arranged its chessmen. In the next few chapters I shall describe the history of the rule of the family of Nishapur and will show the quality and nature of the culture that evolved around it.

3

Burhan ul Mulk, Safdar Jang and the Foundation of the Avadh Dynasty

The family of Navab Sadat Khan Burhan ul Mulk came to India in 1706 during the reign of Bahadur Shah,[105] in the person of one Mir Muhammad Nasir, a Saiyyid of Nishapur who traced his lineage back to Imam[106] Musa Kazim. His eldest son Mir Muhammad Baqir accompanied him and took a wife in India. Father and son lived under the protection of the Governor of Bengal at Azimabad, Patna. God granted Muhammad Baqir a son by his Indian wife; this son was later known as Sher Jang.

Two years after Mir Muhammad Nasir's arrival, his younger son Mir Muhammad Amin also came from Nishapur to India. When he arrived in Azimabad he heard that his father had died. The two brothers then went to Delhi where Mir Muhammad Amin was given the charge of the Prince's personal estate. He showed such efficiency and skill in this appointment that he became renowned in every quarter. Fortune favoured him and in a short time he became one of the honoured officials at the royal court. He then married the daughter of the Governor of Akbarabad[107] and so became numbered among that class of high nobles from whom choice was made for appointments involving the responsibilities of government.

In those days the Saiyyids of Baraha[108] had immense power in Delhi and even the Emperor went in fear of them. Muhammad Amin had them put to death

and destroyed their power for ever. In battle he showed such valour that the Imperial Court gave him the rank of Haft Hazari, 'Commander of Seven Thousand'. In addition to being put in command of seven thousand cavalry, he was given the title of Burhan ul Mulk Bahadur Jang and was appointed Governor of Akbarabad. He was then made Superintendent of the Emperor's entourage, which was a post of great honour, and a short time later appointed Subedar of Avadh and Supervisor of the Imperial Artillery. He was an intelligent man with a particularly active mind and was extremely brave and valiant. With the Imperial Artillery under his control he had more power than anyone else in India.

At that time a landowner of Kara (in Allahabad District, U.P.), Bhagvat Singh, insubordinate towards the Government, had become a great nuisance. He had already killed several officers who had been sent to punish him. Eventually Burhan ul Mulk was given the task and advanced against him in a series of forced marches. Bhagvat Singh, with great cunning, surrounded his opponent's forces, and the struggle appeared to be going so badly for them that even the bravest trembled. However Burhan ul Mulk fought with great gallantry and the surrounding enemy was overcome with awe at the sight of his long, lustrous white beard. It was not long before Bhagvat Singh fell a victim to his bow and his forces fled the battlefield.

Burhan ul Mulk's next expedition was even more violent. In those days the Marathas had great power in India. They had forced the crowned head at Delhi into allowing them *chauth*,[109] one-fourth of the regular Government revenue, and even the bravest trembled at the sound of their name. Burhan ul Mulk led a strong army against them and inflicted such a defeat that they were thrown into confusion and fled precipitately, pursued by Burhan ul Mulk. All historical facts being considered, it is probable that if Burhan ul Mulk had not been forcibly stopped he would have advanced[110] and exterminated the Marathas. The influence of the Mughals, such as it had been in their early days, would have held sway over the length and breadth of India. But this unlucky and decaying government was doomed to come to an end and because of the intrigues of the court officials and the jealousies of those connected with the court, Burhan ul Mulk's advance was stopped.

This made him certain that there was now no sense in looking to the Emperor for his own well-being, and that the officials of the court were dishonest and self-seeking. He immediately made peace with the Marathas and resolved to take up residence in his own Province, separate himself completely from the court, and set himself the task of making his domain strong and well-organized. He realized that the Mughal Sultanate was not likely to revive and that it would be more sensible to live apart, leaving the court of Delhi to its fate.

As I have said, the Shaikhzadas had great power in Lucknow and, according to their custom, they tried to stop Burhan ul Mulk's entry into the town. But by exercising great cunning he got in without any bloodshed whatsoever. Two stories became current about his entry into Lucknow. One was that he advanced steadily until stopped at the Akbari Gate. Unlike all former Subedars he was an experienced and resourceful man, so he halted and encamped at Mahmud Nagar. A couple of days later he issued an invitation to the Shaikhzadas and entertained them with great courtesy and hospitality. Whilst the unthinking Shaikh-

zadas were enjoying the good things put before them, the Imperial Army was silently entering the market-place and advancing steadily until it reached the vicinity of Machi Bhavan.

The second story is that Muhammad Khan Bangash had told Burhan ul Mulk that the Shaikhzadas of Lucknow were very troublesome and it was difficult to get the better of them, but that the other Shaikhs in the neighbourhood were opposed to them and he should therefore enlist their help. So Burhan ul Mulk stopped at Kakori (near Lucknow), got the Kakori Shaikhs on his side and with their help and guidance he pushed forward. On hearing that he would meet opposition at Mahmud Nagar and at the Akbari Gate, he left the main road, went towards the west and crossed the river near Gao Ghat. He advanced cautiously on the far bank and fell upon Machi Bhavan. He took possession of the fort without any trouble.

When he was in possession of Machi Bhavan no one could stand up against him. All the notables of the Shaikhzada family came and humbly bowed before him. Burhan ul Mulk mounted an elephant, rode through the Shaikhan Gate and with his sword cut down that sword which had been the means of humiliation for great and valiant men. Then he said to the Shaikhzadas, 'Relinquish Machi Bhavan to me as my residence.' They tried to evade the issue but to no avail. Eventually they were given a week's notice to quit and in this period they removed as much of their property as they could; what remained fell into the hands of Burhan ul Mulk's soldiers.

Before going to live in the fort, he constructed a *naubat khana* [guard-house][111] near the place where he had camped. Drums were beaten in this guard-house six times a day up to the time when the court of Avadh ceased to exist.

After this Burhan ul Mulk went to Ajodhya and built a bungalow on the banks of the river as I have described (Chapter 1), but from time to time he would go to live in Lucknow, as this city was the seat of government of the Province. In his time several new quarters came into being as people began to construct houses for permanent residence. Most were sites of the camps of his Mughal army commanders—Saiyyid Husain Katra, Abu Turab Khan Katra, Khuda Yar Khan Katra, Katra Bizan Beg, Katra Wafa Beg Khan, Katra Muhammad Ali Khan, Maha Narain Park, Mali Khan Caravanserai and Ismail Ganj (which was east of Machi Bhavan and has now been demolished). All date from that time either as residential quarters or as cantonments of Burhan ul Mulk's army commanders.

Navab Burhan ul Mulk had lived for six years in Avadh and Lucknow when, in 1738, he was urgently summoned to Delhi on Nadir Shah's invasion.[112] He left his nephew and son-in-law, Safdar Jang, as his deputy in Lucknow, and the town was in no way affected by the events of those troubled times.

Nadir Shah had sacked Delhi and perpetrated a general massacre; he was still in the city when Navab Burhan ul Mulk died there. The Navab's nephew had a recommendation sent to Nadir Shah which advised that he, Sher Jang,[113] succeed the late Navab as Subedar of Avadh. However, Raja Lachman Narain,[114] who had been one of Burhan ul Mulk's trusted officers, presented a petition to Nadir to the following effect: 'Burhan ul Mulk was not pleased with Sher Jang, and gave his daughter in marriage not to him but to Safdar Jang who was acting as his deputy and is at the moment representing him in Lucknow. The Govern-

ment is responsible for Burhan ul Mulk's assets and can bestow them on anyone it wishes because he has no heir.[115] I would also like to plead that Safdar Jang is sympathetic, pious, efficient, reliable and popular with the army. Apart from these matters, Burhan ul Mulk promised to pay His Majesty two *karor*[116] of rupees and Safdar Jang has made arrangements for this payment. The sum will be credited on demand. In view of these facts, I hope that Your Lordship will recommend him to the King.'

Directly he read the petition, Nadir Shah obtained from Muhammad Shah the khilat of Subedar for Safdar Jang and sent it to him in Avadh by the hand of one of his aides-de-camp, accompanied by a retinue of two hundred cavalry. On assuming the insignia of office, Safdar Jang sent the offering of two karor of rupees to Nadir Shah and commenced to rule his Province.

Safdar Jang's full name was Mirza Muqim Mansur Khan Safdar Jang. Although he did not possess the true valour, sincerity, honesty and energy of Burhan ul Mulk, he was very generous, resolute, sympathetic and considerate towards the people and a good administrator. He constructed Fort Jalalabad, three miles from the city, and also took the ancient building of Panj Mahla, situated inside Machi Bhavan, from the Shaikhzadas. In place of this he gave the Shaikhzadas seven hundred acres of land in two villages on the outskirts of Lucknow. Although this may have been tyrannous with regard to the Shaikhzadas it had the advantage of dispersing the population of Lucknow. Safdar Jang rebuilt Machi Bhavan and had it put into very good order.

Safdar Jang had been in his Province for only five years when he was summoned to Delhi. He went there leaving Raja Niwal Rai as his deputy in Lucknow. Niwal Rai was scholarly, precise, energetic, brave and a very good organizer: to add to this, God had granted him the dignity and generosity of his master. He decided to build a bridge over the river opposite Machi Bhavan. Deep pits were dug for the foundations of the pillars of the bridge, but the erection of these had not commenced when at his master's command he had to lead an expedition against Ahmad Khan Bangash. He took a very strong force on this expedition but was himself killed and the bridge remained incomplete.

Ahmad Khan Bangash was the bravest man of his time; it needed a Burhan ul Mulk to oppose him and Safdar Jang could not possibly rival him in battle. The result was that Ahmad Khan's power and that of the Afghans, who were his allies, continued to increase. Safdar Jang did everything he possibly could and even got the Emperor to oppose him, but to no avail. At Ahmad's instigation, Hafiz Rahmat Khan started to pillage the cities and towns of Avadh and then besieged Khairabad. Ahmad Khan Bangash's son, Mahmud Khan, advanced with an army for the purpose of taking Lucknow.

In 1750 the Pathans established themselves at Malihabad, on the outskirts of Lucknow. One year later an intimate of Mahmud Khan led an army of twenty thousand men against Lucknow. They encamped near the town and Mahmud Khan sent one of his officers as *kotval* [magistrate][117] into the town. None of Safdar Jang's men were there however, and the few that had been there fled on hearing of the Pathans' arrival. The Pathan kotval then entered the town and trouble ensued.

The most important of the Shaikhzadas of Lucknow in those days was Shaikh Muiz ud Din. He went to see the Afghan commander outside the town.

At the very moment of their meeting someone complained to the commander that the people of the town were showing disdain for his officer and that no one would obey his orders. Shaikh Muiz ud Din said: 'How is it possible that anyone should be so impertinent? I will go back and punish the trouble-makers.' Saying this he returned, summoned his relatives and friends and said: 'One cannot trust these Pathans. It would be best if we joined up with Safdar Jang, attacked the Pathans and drove them out of here.' After this Shaikh Muiz ud Din sold his family jewels to raise an army, collected all the Shaikhzadas and attacked the kotval, who just escaped with his life. He then dressed up a Mughal in court uniform, settled him in his own house and issued a proclamation to the effect that Safdar Jang on his own initiative had sent this Mughal as City Magistrate. At the same time he erected a green standard[118] in the name of Ali and people came and collected beneath it.

On hearing this, the Pathans attacked and the Shaikhzadas opposed them with great fury, displaying all their former valour. The Pathans were no match for their onslaught and their army of fifteen thousand fled the battlefield. Having now found their opportunity, the Shaikhzadas drove all the Pathans out of the Province of Avadh.

Two years later peace was signed with Ahmad Khan Bangash and in 1753 Navab Safdar Jang returned to Lucknow and stayed at Mahdi Ghat. He built a special house for himself, decorated it and then set about reforming the army. But he did not have time to complete this work for in that very year, when he was encamped at Papar Ghat near Sultanpur (Faizabad District), he departed this life. His body was taken to the Gulab Bari[119] in Faizabad where it was interred. Soon afterwards the bones were removed and taken to Delhi for burial there. Over them a most imposing tomb[120] has been erected which travellers from all over the world look upon today with veneration.

4

Shuja ud Daula and Asaf ud Daula

In 1753 after the death of Safdar Jang Mansur Ali Khan, his son, Jalal ud Din Haidar, Shuja ud Daula, who has been mentioned earlier in this account, assumed the reins of government. He was restless, impulsive and an ambitious ruler, but unfortunately his régime came at a time of violent disturbances and momentous vicissitudes. Twice the fates of two historically powerful races and forces were decided before his eyes. First of all there was the shattering Battle of Panipat (1761), when on one side were ranged Ahmad Shah Durrani, Shuja ud Daula, Najib ud Daula[43] and all the mighty armies of the Khans of Ruhelkhand, and on the other, the huge hordes of the Marathas. After that came the terrific struggle at Baksar when the orderly British army opposed Shuja ud Daula's

myriad forces. This battle took place four years after the engagement at Panipat, and in twenty-four hours it was settled that India would no longer be ruled by the Muslims but by the British.

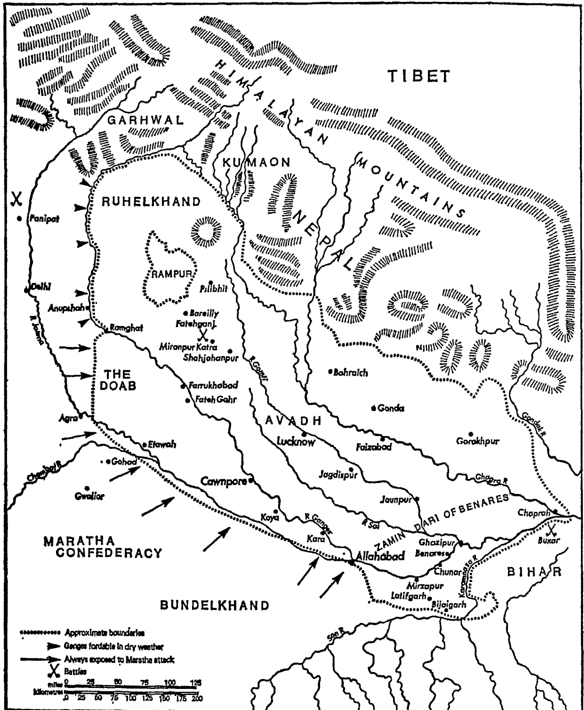
Although Shuja ud Daula lived in Lucknow before these battles hė did not have the time—because of important expeditions, political problems and the carrying out of army reforms—to pay attention to the betterment and embellishment of the town. He erected forts, put up defence works and collected military equipment, but did not have the opportunity to put his own house in order or to beautify his town. After the Battle of Baksar he took up residence in Faizabad and so Lucknow was deprived of the benefit of his presence. In 1774 he died and was succeeded by Navab Asaf ud Daula.

Directly Asaf ud Daula assumed the rulership he quarrelled with his mother and went to Lucknow. It was then that the administrative authority of the court of Avadh started to decline and the visible splendour of Lucknow began to increase.

After having won the Battle of Baksar, the British, by insinuating themselves into the court, acquired a number of rights and privileges. A spoke was thus put into the wheel of army progress and careful watch was kept to see that the government of Avadh did not acquire sufficient strength to oppose the British army. Even so, whilst Shuja ud Daula was alive, he was engaged in army reform and spent night and day planning means whereby he might increase his strength. This is borne out by Munshi Faiz Baksh who in his history, *Farah Baksh*,[14] describes what he saw at first hand: 'from the point of view of rapid loading and firing, the muskets of the British could not in any way compare with those of Shuja ud Daula's forces.'

But with Asaf ud Daula's accession the situation changed. The British, with great intelligence, increased the influence they had already gained and with much wisdom persuaded Asaf ud Daula to pay no attention to army reform and to amuse himself with other things. He himself was not particularly interested in the army; what he wanted was money to squander in giving free scope to his pleasures and this could not be obtained without curtailing the army. For this reason he maintained a small army, having dismissed the rest to embark on a life of debauchery. He was an obedient ally[123] to his Western friends, acted on their advice, and would not listen to anyone who opposed it. As a reward for his friendship and loyalty, the British added Ruhelkhand[124] to his domain and when he solicited their help in persecuting and robbing his mother,[125] Bahu Begam, they very generously gave him their moral support and took his side. In spite of this, during his rulership it was scarcely perceptible either to him or to the people of Lucknow that an external power could interfere in their domestic administration. The principal reason for this was that Asaf ud Daula's public munificence and love of luxury encouraged everyone to lead a life of self-indulgence and frivolity. No one considered it necessary to give a thought to the outcome of this mode of living.

Outwardly the court of Lucknow became so magnificent that no other court could rival it and the town of Lucknow acquired great splendour. The money which Shuja ud Daula had spent on the army and on provision for war, Asaf ud Daula started to spend in satisfying his desire for voluptuous living and on the embellishment and comforts of the town. In a short time he had collected to



Avadh under Asaf ud Daula in 1775

himself all the pomp and splendour that could be found in the world. His one desire was to surpass the Nizam of Hyderabad[42] and Tipu Sultan[126] and his ambition was that the magnificence and grandeur of no court should equal that of his own.

He showed such zeal and eagerness on the occasion of the marriage of his son, Wazir Ali Khan, that the glitter and magnificence of the bridegroom's procession surpassed any ceremonial that has been recorded in the annals of history. There were twelve hundred elephants in the procession and the bridegroom wore a royal robe on to which had been stitched jewels worth twenty lakhs of rupees. For the reception two elaborate tents were constructed, each sixty feet wide, two hundred feet long and twenty feet high: they were made of such fine, exquisite and expensive cloth that their construction alone had cost the government ten lakhs of rupees.

To the west of Machi Bhavan on the banks of a river, Asaf ud Daula built Daulat Khana[127] as a residence for himself, the Rumi Darvaza [Gate][128] and his incomparable Imam Bara.[129] In 1784 there was a famine in Avadh and even the well-to-do of the town were starving. At that difficult time, the work of building the Imam Bara was started in order to alleviate the sufferings of the population. As the better class people considered it beneath their dignity to work as labourers, the construction was carried on by night, as well as by day, and the impoverished and starving gentry of the town came in the darkness of the night to join with the labourers and work with the aid of torches. The Navab had entered upon the construction of the building from sincere religious motives and, in the same way, the people threw themselves into the work with immense energy and feeling. The result was the creation of an edifice of the most imposing grandeur and matchless character, the like of which could be found nowhere else. Famous engineers and architects had been enlisted to draw up the plans. They all made every effort to ensure that their designs should be better than other proposed designs. The design of the inimitable architect Kifayat Ullah was eventually approved and construction commenced in accordance with it. The building, which is one hundred and sixty-four feet long and fifty-two feet wide, is constructed of brick and very high quality limestone. From floor to ceiling there is no sign of wood. This building is nothing like the Mughal Emperor's stone buildings, for in Lucknow large amounts of marble were not obtainable. But the Imam Bara and Asaf ud Daula's other buildings have a rare beauty and great dignity and distinction.[130] The arched roof of the Imam Bara, which is built without a single beam, is the largest of its kind in the world and the workmanship therefore is counted as one of the world's wonders.[131]

Asaf ud Daula's buildings are in no way influenced by European architecture. In style they are purely Asiatic, without ostentation but with genuine splendour and dignity. Subsequently to Asaf ud Daula's time these buildings were neglected and following the Mutiny the British took possession of them. They demolished the surrounding houses and, except for the side which faced the river, reduced the other three sides to an open plain. They made the Imam Bara into a fort, the gate to which was the Rumi Gate. In the days in which British soldiers lived in the Imam Bara, its great hall was an armoury and heavy guns used to be moved about on the floor. But in spite of this there was never a sign of indentation on the floor and the doors and walls remained intact. Eventually the British Govern-

ment left the Imam Bara and returned it to the Muslims. In its mosque a *mujtahid*[132] still leads the prayers and Muharram is observed in the Imam Bara itself.

The strength of Asaf ud Daula's edifices can be judged from the fact that although they were built over one hundred and twenty-five years[133] ago they still maintain their original dignity and splendour. Not one brick has become displaced nor has any plaster come away from the bricks. In comparison, the buildings which were constructed by later rulers of Avadh at the cost of millions of rupees are extremely weak, in addition to revealing the decline in national style. If they had not been repaired from time to time they would have long since disappeared.

Asaf ud Daula lived in the Daulat Khana near Machi Bhavan and the Imam Bara. In order to indulge in his pleasures and be far from crowds and worldly affairs he had Bibapur Palace built outside the town on the far side of the river and he usually lived there. Similarly, he built a very elegant and beautiful residence at Chunhat (about eight miles from Lucknow), and in Lucknow itself set up kiosks in Char Bagh and Aish Bagh and erected stables at Yahya Ganj[94] and in its neighbourhood. The Wazir Ganj was then established which, as the residence of Asaf ud Daula's son Wazir Ali Khan, is remembered in his name.

Lucknow had now become the established residence of the Governor and ruler, and ordinary people drifted towards it. Those who had settled in Faizabad in Shuja ud Daula's time left and moved to Lucknow. People from Delhi bade farewell to their birthplace, came to Lucknow and stayed there permanently. There was such a large increase in population that several new quarters were established. For example, there were Amani Ganj, Fateh Ganj, Rakab Ganj, Nakhas,[134] Daulat Ganj, Begam Ganj, Navab Ganj, the Khansama Enclosure (established by one of Asaf ud Daula's household superintendents, to which the former was invited for the opening ceremony), Tikait Ganj, Tikait Rai's Bazaar (ascribed to the Vazir[135] Maharaja Tikait Rai), Tirmani Gani, Tikri or Tikli, Husain ud Din Khan Cantonment, Hasan Ganj, Baoli, Bhavani Ganj, Balak Ganj and Kashmiri Mahalla.[136] Other quarters were the Surat Singh Enclosure, Navab Ganj, Tahsin Ganj, Khuda Ganj, Nagariya (of which Asaf ud Daula's mother Bahu Begam laid the foundation on the same day as she laid the foundation of Ali Ganj, on the other side of the river), Ambar Ganj, Mahbub Ganj, the Tup Gate, Khayali Ganj and the Jhau Lal Bridge; the founder of these latter two quarters was Raja Jhau Lal who was Vazir-e-Maliat [Minister of the Treasury] in Avadh. All these quarters were established and constructed in the days of Asaf ud Daula. At the same time, Hasan Raza Khan established Hasan Ganj on the other side of the river.

Navab Asaf ud Daula was renowned for his liberality. His bounty was the subject of conversation in cities far and near and his name was everywhere spoken with honour and affection. All his natural faults were effaced under the cover of his generosity. In the opinion of the public he appeared not as a dissolute ruler, but as a selfless and saintly guardian. Until this very day Hindu shopkeepers, on waking in the morning, express the sincerity of their faith in him by saying: 'Hail to thee Asaf ud Daula, our guardian.'

An extremely wealthy French merchant named General Claude Martin[137] was living in Lucknow. He had prepared plans for an exceedingly magnificent house

and put them before Asaf ud Daula for his inspection. The Navab was so pleased with these plans that he agreed to buy them for ten lakhs of gold coin. The transaction had not been completed when Navab Asaf ud Daula departed this life and the actual construction of the house had not been finished when Monsieur Martin himself passed away. As he had no heirs and died leaving an immense fortune, he made a covenant on his death-bed according to which he would be buried in the house so that no ruler of Avadh would be able to confiscate it after Martin's death. He called the building 'Constantia', but nowadays it is known to the public as 'Markin Sahib's[138] Kothi',[139] and it is well worth seeing. He was buried in it when he died. The college which he founded is still in existence and many pupils are given food and clothing there as well as instruction. I understand that Monsieur Martin did not leave the school or any scholarships connected with it to persons of any particular race or creed, but stated in his will that Christians, Hindus and Muslims should all benefit equally from it. Now however the school is restricted to European children. It is impossible for Indians to receive scholarships, nor can they even be admitted for education. Perhaps the reason is that at the time of the Mutiny ignorant and hot-headed insurgents dug up Monsieur Martin's grave, removed the bones and scattered them about. After the British had gained control they by chance found one bone which they reburied in the original spot. But ordinary Indians cannot be held responsible for the acts of these insurgents.

In 1798 on the death of Asaf ud Daula, Navab Wazir Ali Khan, the lavishness of whose wedding I have described, assumed the rulership. But in the space of four months he evinced such improper and shocking behaviour that most people became disgusted with him. Bahu Begam herself preferred her stepson Yamin ud Daula Navab Sadat Ali Khan to him and rumours also became current that Wazir Ali Khan was not the son of Asaf ud Daula, whom many thought impotent from birth.

Navab Sadat Ali Khan had been opposed to Asaf ud Daula and during the latter's rule he had had to live outside his domain. He lived for some time in Calcutta and for a long period in Benares. When these feelings about Wazir Ali Khan became widespread, Navab Sadat Ali Khan was chosen as his successor and brought from Benares. The Governor-General himself held a *darbar*[140] at Bibapur Palace where he deposed Wazir Ali Khan and settled Sadat Ali Khan's accession. Wazir Ali Khan was immediately arrested and sent to Benares where he flew into a rage and murdered the Resident, Mr Cherry.[141] In punishment for this crime he was sent to Chunar Garh where he died.[142] A lengthy story of his distress and troubles[143] is well known, although it is not possible to include it in this brief narrative.

5

Sadat Ali Khan and Ghazi ud Din Haidar

Navab Sadat Ali Khan, on assuming the rulership in 1798, presented half his domain to the British. It is well known that he despaired of ever ruling and was living in Benares without hope when news reached him of Asaf ud Daula's death and the succession of Wazir Ali Khan. When he heard this, whatever hopes of ruling he had entertained were completely destroyed. He was in this state of despair when a British official of Benares came and asked him, 'Navab Sahib! If you were made ruler of Avadh, what would you give the British Government?' One does not set much store by what one has lost, so he said without thinking, 'I would give half my country to the British.' Hearing this promise the official said, 'Be of good cheer, I will give you the welcome news that you have been chosen ruler of Lucknow.' Sadat Ali Khan was certainly overjoyed by these unexpected glad tidings but when he thought of his promise he was filled with consternation. Later when he became ruler he fulfilled his promise by giving up half his country, but this rankled in his mind to the end of his days.

There is no mention in English histories of this promise having been taken from him but everyone agrees that in gratitude to the British for giving him the rulership, Sadat Ali Khan ceded half his domain to them.[144] However this may be, when Sadat Ali Khan acceded, only half of Avadh was left under his control. It is well known to the older inhabitants of Lucknow that because of worry on this account he practised excessive economies, and by showing great competence and intelligence in collecting revenue he amassed between twenty-two and twenty-three karor of rupees.

He corresponded with the British Government in England and arranged that the British Government of India should be transferred on contract[145] from the East India Company into his hands. This agreement was about to be finalized when his brother-in-law, who was involved in a plot,[146] poisoned him. As the adage says, 'When the cup is broken, the wine-bearer is no more.'[147]

This incident and scores of others of a similar nature were common knowledge, although based on nothing except rumour and hearsay. There is, however, no doubt that Sadat Ali Khan possessed such sagacity and administrative ability that a ruler of his nature would not readily have given away any part of his domain. From his actions and policies it was clear that he was going to take some important step and that his designs were very far-reaching indeed. The greatest difficulty was that his income was reduced by half; a further embarrassment was that the late Asaf ud Daula had spent money in excess of revenue. As a consequence he had to cut the expenses of court, which was no easy matter. In his efforts to economize he checked accounts and attended to the smallest

details. He scrutinized rent-free lands and government grants with the utmost severity and reduced court expenditure wherever possible. In short, by courting disfavour and imposing great hardships on the people, he increased the government's revenue and reduced expenditure.

Intelligent and fair-minded people, on seeing these operations, welcomed Sadat Ali Khan's competence and approved of his planning, but immense discontent spread among the general public. People who had enjoyed rent-free lands and government grants and whose estates had been confiscated complained and those employees who had been dismissed wandered about bemoaning their fate. This was not all, for there were a great number of people in the country who supported Wazir Ali Khan and thought him the rightful and legitimate successor and considered Sadat Ali Khan to be a usurper. In short thousands of enemies threatened his life.

In addition to the people, the army was also exceedingly discontented with the new Navab. The hordes of soldiery established under Shuja ud Daula had begun to be reduced on the advice of the British Government when Asaf ud Daula was the ruler, but the latter's liberality and extravagances kept the men happy and scarcely a word of complaint was heard. When Sadat Ali Khan made further reductions[148] feeling against him increased.

The result was that the British Government thought it essential that a guard of regular British troops should be stationed in Lucknow to safeguard his life. It was also extremely necessary to maintain a powerful force of foreign troops continuously in the town to punish mischief-makers and insurgents and to maintain peace and security. It is said that Sadat Ali Khan agreed to this with extreme reluctance.

In former times the rulers of Avadh had lived very quietly. The first three, that is Navab Burhan ul Mulk, Navab Safdar Jang and Navab Shuja ud Daula, lived in simple houses which did not even belong to them but were rented. They considered their real residence to be either the battlefield or the whole domain which they continuously toured, looking upon all the land they possessed as their homestead. Navab Asaf ud Daula, although he was very wasteful and was in disrepute because of his debauchery and extravagance, contented himself with a simple, old-fashioned residence, the Panj Mahla. This was despite the fact that he took a great interest in building and spent twenty lakhs of rupees on an Imam Bara and a mosque and more money on the Chauk market-place, various bazaars and shopping centres, bridges and rest-houses.

In short, whereas the first three rulers' interests were confined to the building of fortresses and ramparts and to acquiring military equipment, Asaf ud Daula's interests lay in constructing religious edifices and helping the common people. Asaf ud Daula kept up the old style of architecture and his buildings are fine examples of this old architecture.

In Delhi and Agra, Emperor Shahjahan had obtained alabaster and red stone from nearby quarries which gave to the buildings a special delicacy and grandeur. It was impossible to obtain stone in Lucknow and it was very difficult to transport it from Agra and Jaipur. But Asaf ud Daula produced an equal show of splendour with the bricks and mortar that he used.

Although Sadat Ali Khan was frugal, economical and eager to amass money, he was still interested in building. Unfortunately, having lived in Calcutta and

Benares he had been introduced to a variety of architectural styles, and his taste had become so vitiated that buildings constructed in his time are devoid of the old flavour. From his time there was a change in Lucknow's architectural style. Another reason for this change was that General Martin had built one or two houses in his own style in Lucknow which, though comfortable and attractive-looking, from the point of view of strength were poor. Martin's buildings were just like toys which are easily broken and replaced. Europeans remarked that the architectural style of Avadh after Asaf ud Daula was completely vulgar and that all the buildings were like boys' toys or girls' dolls' houses. They did not consider, however, who had caused this deterioration. They said that local style was ruined because it had no strong tradition, but no one gave a thought as to who had ruined it. 'O morning breeze. All this has been brought about by thee.'[147]

Sadat Ali Khan first bought a house, Farhat Baksh,[149] 'Pleasure-Giving', for fifty thousand rupees from General Martin. While living there he had several houses built nearby. Then in the neighbourhood he constructed Tehri Kothi, 'The Crooked House', for the Resident to live in,[84] the ruins of which are in the Residency grounds. After this he built Lal Barah Dari[150] for his court; this is now a library and in those days was known as the Royal Palace. In addition to this he built a new kothi on the other side of the river, called Dil Aram, 'Heart's Repose'. On a high hill, which is now the military cantonment and from where a view of the river and all the country surrounding the town can be had, he erected a beautiful house and called it Dil Kusha,[151] 'Pleasing to the Heart'. He built another kothi called Hayat Baksh, 'Life Giving', but after Sadat Ali Khan no other rulers of Avadh lived in it. Before the Mutiny, Major Milbank[152] and afterwards the high official who was appointed by the British Government as Chief Commissioner[153] of Lucknow, used parts of it as a residence.

In addition to these houses the Navab constructed the celebrated buildings Munavar Baksh, 'Light Giving', Khurshid Manzil[154] and the Chaupar stables. In all these houses the local style of architecture was abandoned and European innovations were adopted. The older houses in Lucknow were not able to rival the new and splendid edifices which had been built and are still being built in various towns in India by the British Government. In short, at this time the old architectural style came to an end in Lucknow.

Navab Sadat Ali Khan erected the large Alam Ganj market to the west of Lucknow and made special arrangements for its population and prosperity. Specific laws were framed in regard to its administration and merchants and shopkeepers were given particular rights. This market flourished and continues to do so to this day. Although it is at a distance and completely separated from the city, it is the most important market for a wide variety of commodities and because of it the Alam Nagar station daily increases in importance.

In addition, Sadat Ganj and other large markets were established during the reign of this Navab, including Rakab Ganj (the largest market for iron, important also for its grain and other commodities), Jangli Ganj, Maqbul Ganj, Gola Ganj and Rastogi[155] Mahalla. Inside the Moti Mahal compound, a building was constructed under the orders of Navab Sadat Ali Khan. This building is to the north of the present Moti Mahal enclosure and has a very beautiful white dome into which craftsmen introduced the sheen and lustre of pearl.[156]

Sadat Ali Khan was the most intelligent of the rulers of Avadh and its best

administrator. At the same time he can be considered thrifty, parsimonious and even miserly. He administered the country with extraordinary sagacity and competence and there is not the slightest doubt that if he had had a free hand he eventually would have put to rights the former maladministration, removed the old evils and completely reformed Avadh. But the trouble was that his relations with the East India Company were not good; he was disillusioned[157] with his rule as he had been forced to hand over more than half of his domain to the all-powerful British Government. He had thought that he would be able to rule over the territory which remained in his possession without interference. Unfortunately, he was not left in peace even then. British army camps had been set up in various parts of Avadh that remained in his hands and many British troops were stationed in Lucknow and its neighbourhood. The troops were difficult to control and their large numbers greatly burdened the government of Avadh. To offset this, Sadat Ali Khan had to make large reductions in his own forces.

In spite of these worries and anxieties he carried out some most praiseworthy reforms. However, the most extraordinary thing about this period is that in addition to prosperity in the markets and a rise in trade, there were more eminent and distinguished persons at this court than could be seen in any other court in India.

Such individuals normally congregate in places where the person in authority has evinced more than the usual generosity but, as I have said, Sadat Ali Khan was thrifty and even miserly. However, his own efficiency caused him to acknowledge competence in others and because of this he was wont to extol the merits of capable people. The result was that Lucknow became the rendezvous for more distinguished people than ever before. Any talented person, wherever he lived, on hearing of Sadat Ali Khan's appreciation of merit, left his own town for Lucknow where he lived in such ease that he never thought of returning home.

In 1814 Navab Sadat Ali Khan departed this life and was succeeded by his son Ghazi ud Din Haidar. The tombs of Sadat Ali Khan and his wife Murshid Zadi[158] are within the rectangular structure of Qaisar Bagh. In the place where these tombs are situated there used to be a house in which Ghazi ud Din Haidar lived while he was heir apparent. Immediately after his father's death he went to the royal palace and said, 'I have taken my father's house, so I must give him mine.' Therefore, he had his father's body buried in his house, then demolished the old house itself and had these tombs erected.

Ghazi ud Din Haidar showed no signs of his father's intelligence and appreciation of the value of money, nor had he the interest of the former rulers in the army. To be true, there was certainly the same indolence and sensuality as in the time of Asaf ud Daula, but the difference was that whereas Asaf ud Daula's extravagances had been for the benefit of the country and the people, now there was nothing but self-indulgence.

Ghazi ud Din Haidar had received the karor of rupees[159] which his father had amassed in the treasury and this now began to be dissipated to satisfy his royal desires.

I have described how Sadat Ali Khan had a house constructed on the northern side of Moti Mahal. Ghazi ud Din Haidar had two other houses built within the

enclosure and these were called Mubarak Manzil and Shah Manzil.[160] Near Shah Manzil there was a bridge of boats and Mubarak Manzil lay back from it to the east. Facing Shah Manzil on the other side of the river was a park known as Hazari Bagh where for miles there stretched pleasing, verdant pastures in which elephants, rhinoceroses and wild beasts of prey were often made to fight each other. The ruler used to honour Shah Manzil with his presence and watch the fights across the river. Fights between tigers also took place and strong palisades and a stout enclosure had been erected for these. When fights were arranged between small and harmless animals, they would take place in the Shah Manzil enclosure itself.

The sport of making beasts of prey and wild animals fight each other had not been heard of before in Lucknow. It seems as if Ghazi ud Din Haidar had acquired a predilection for it from learning about the Roman amphitheatre from Residents and other Europeans who came to court. However, I understand from Maulana Habib ur Rahman Sherwani[161] that fights between beasts of prey had been customary under the Mughal Emperors.

Ghazi ud Din Haidar had a European-style house built for one of his wives who was a European and named it Vilayati [European] Bagh, and near it he constructed the edifice Qadam Rasul.[162]

In accordance with Ghazi ud Din Haidar's wishes, the British Government bestowed on him the title of King. Before then the rulers of Avadh had held the rank of Vazir,[135] and were given no honorific title except that of Navab. The country had been divided among independent and absolute rulers and until this moment only the Mughals in Delhi had been called emperors or kings even though their empire was confined to Delhi itself and the land surrounding it. Except for those who sat on the throne in Delhi no one in India had the right to be called king and to bestow titles upon people. It was to hurt the pride of the Delhi kings that the East India Company conferred the title of King on Ghazi[163] ud Din Haidar, who had loaned the British much of his father's wealth.[164] The court of Avadh greatly appreciated this honour and from that time on the rulers of Avadh, who were puppets in the hands of the Resident, were classed as kings. This continued to be a source of pride to them until the death of the last ruler, Wajid Ali Shah.

Ghazi ud Din Haidar, to commemorate the title of King, established a new market on the other side of the river opposite Machi Bhavan and called it Badshah Ganj. At the same time Hakim Mahdi established Mahdi Ganj. Because the royal residence of the Vazir Agha Mir stretched so far, the threshold of the Agha Mir Quarter was established right in the centre of the town and at the same time the Agha Mir Caravanserai was built.

Royalty, and especially queens, showed great enthusiasm for religion. From the days of the Safavi dynasty[165] the religion of Persia had been that of the Asna Ashari Shia[166] sect of Islam, but most of the Muslims in India were Sunnis.[167] As Navab Burhan ul Mulk had recently come from Persia, his sect and that of his family was Shia. In spite of this, for a time in Lucknow the government followed the old practices which had prevailed in India since the start of Muslim rule. But from Ghazi ud Din Haidar's time, owing to the religious fervour of the King and his household, the Shia faith became an important element in the Lucknow government. The ruler disregarded the religious heads of the Firangi

Mahal, and the family of Shia priests,[168] who had gained ascendancy, established a close contact with the court.

It would not have mattered so much if the Shia faith had been left in its true form. The trouble was that because of the Queen's strange and autocratic religious fervour, various heresies were introduced. These not only gave rise to all kinds of childish squabbles among rulers and nobles but also made the Shia practices of Lucknow distinct from the Shia faith in the rest of the world.

First of all the Queen arranged for *chhati*,[169] the sixth day after the birth ceremony, to be celebrated in honour of the Present Imam.[106] No harm would have been done if particulars of the esteemed Imam had been recounted and religious merit thus obtained. But no, the whole lying-in room was reproduced as in the case of the Hindu Janam Ashtmi[170] ceremony. In addition to this the beautiful daughters of Saiyyids were taken and made the imaginary wives of the twelve Imams and were called the 'undefiled'. Because they were the wives of Imams, Imams had to be born to them and the birth ceremonies of the twelve Imams were celebrated with great pomp and solemnity.

Ghazi ud Din Haidar was an extremely irritable and bad-tempered king and inspired much awe but his relations with the British were good. Vazir Agha Mir gained great influence at court and even the Queen and the heir apparent were not free from his molestations. Ghazi ud Din Haidar would strike and kick him. He accepted these blows with pleasure and in return would take his revenge on favourites of the court and friends of the royal family.

This first king of Avadh, because of his faith and religious fervour, reproduced on the banks of the river near Moti Mahal a sacred Najaf,[171] a holy mausoleum, to be a copy of Ali's burial place. He gave the British a large sum of money for its embellishment, lights and maintenance[172] and for this reason it is today in excellent condition and an object of splendour. When he died in 1827 he was buried in this mausoleum.

6

Nasir ud Din Haidar and Muhammad Ali Shah

In 1827 Ghazi ud Din Haidar's son, Nasir ud Din Haidar, ascended the throne. As I have described, from the time of Ghazi ud Din Haidar, the rulers of Avadh ceased to be navabs and became kings. At first, ministerial rank from Delhi had been the status of the administrators of Avadh and influential rulers had been called 'Navab Vazir'. Now, however, when they had no influence at all, they had become kings.

One would have imagined that in conferring the honour of royalty on these rulers of Avadh, the British would have helped them to increase their authority and would have made them kings in reality and not in name only. But no, it seems that at that time they had no power whatsoever outside the confines of Avadh and even in their own domain they were not as free as their predecessors. No one could succeed to the throne without British consent and British troops were quartered throughout the country. No important matter could be settled without the intervention of the Resident. The royal throne was a stage where it appeared as if the actors were responsible for whatever happened but where in reality their actions were determined by another, more powerful personage hidden in the wings.

But God in his mercy decreed that the later rulers of Avadh and almost everyone connected with them at the seat of government had lost all sense of reality and because of this did not realize the weakness of their position. Directly Ghazi ud Din Haidar became king he plunged into a life of dissipation and now Nasir ud Din Haidar was heir to the throne. Of the wealth amassed by Sadat Ali Khan, some went to prolong their debauchery and to assist in their lives of luxury, some was given to the British as a loan, some was spent on those new practices which the King and his Queens created with great assiduity according to their inclinations, and the rest was squandered in needless extravagance and intemperance. At least Ghazi ud Din Haidar reproduced Shah Najaf and destined it for his place of burial. Without relying on his heirs, he handed over some money to the British so that they could maintain Shah Najaf on the interest which would accrue. As a result lamps are lit on his tomb to this day, people assemble, passages[173] are read from the Quran and the place is beautifully illuminated during Muharram, thus providing employment for the poor and needy. But there was not much divine guidance to set against Nasir ud Din's excessive debauchery. He reproduced a Kerbala[174] on the far side of the river in Iradat Nagar which was destined to be his place of burial, but since he did not pay the slightest attention to its upkeep, it is now a piece of derelict waste land near Dali Ganj railway-station and it is unlikely that anyone ever lights a lamp there. In his time the new quarters of Ganesh Ganj and Chand Ganj were established in this neighbourhood on the far side of the river.

Nasir ud Din Haidar believed in astrology. He studied the science of astronomy and decided to set up an observatory in the city. For this purpose he had a house constructed between the tomb of Sadat Ali Khan and Moti Mahal which was known as Tarunvali Kothi,[175] 'The House of Stars'. It housed some very large telescopes and exceptionally good astronomical instruments. Their proper maintenance, organization and supervision was entrusted to Colonel Wilcox, who was a skilled astronomer.

The reign of Nasir ud Din Haidar commenced in 1827 and the observatory was probably established four or five years later. From that time until his death in 1847, when the last king of Avadh, Wajid Ali Shah, came to the throne, the observatory remained under the colonel's supervision. No other astronomer was appointed in his place and Wajid Ali Shah showed no interest in the observatory. I have heard some reliable Lucknow people say that Wajid Ali Shah considered the biggest telescope a toy and gave it to a courtesan named Haideri. However, one understands from the *Gazetteer*[176] that the observatory

was in existence until the fall of the Avadh monarchy. It was probably destroyed by insurgents during the Mutiny since Ahmad ullah Shah, who was also known as Danka Shah and who evinced a great zeal and ardour in fighting the British army, used Tarunvali Kothi as his residence. He had his headquarters in the house and officers of the insurgents used to meet there.

At that time Raushan ud Daula, who was Vazir, had his magnificent house built. It is now the court of the Deputy Commissioner because it was confiscated by Wajid Ali Shah when he was constructing Qaisar Bagh, and when the British took over the territory it was already Government property.

Nasir ud Din Haidar's reign was really a period of danger. There was maladministration[177] in the country. The King was never free from his debaucheries and his invented religious rites. The administration of the kingdom was left in the hands of a Vazir but none could be found to direct the affairs of state in good faith or with sound policy. First Hakim Mahdi was summoned to the post. He was an excellent administrator but his one desire was to increase his own wealth. After him, Raushan ud Daula became Vazir. He had neither ability nor wits and was incapable of accomplishing anything. Because of the King's excessive extravagance all Sadat Ali Khan's amassed wealth had vanished and the country's income was insufficient to cover the expenses of the palace. To crown everything, quarrels started between the King and his mother, Ghazi ud Din Haidar's chief consort. She said that Munna Jan was the King's son but the King refused to acknowledge[178] the fact. Such incidents created a state of affairs in which it appeared that the rulers were totally unfit to govern or to exercise any control over the country.

The Resident and Governor-General of India on various occasions admonished the King and warned him of the consequences, but to no avail.[177] Nasir ud Din Haidar, through living continuously with women, had become so effeminate that he spoke like a woman and dressed like a woman. This, combined with his religious ardour, made him revive and exaggerate the ceremonies initiated by his mother in connection with the imaginary wives of the twelve Imams and of the births of the Imams themselves. These exaggerations were carried to such an extent that in the ceremonies in connection with the births of the Imams, he himself played the part of a pregnant woman, sat in the lying-in room and by his demeanour and actions portrayed the pain of childbirth. He then gave birth to an imaginary child for whom the ceremonies of the sixth day after birth and the ablutions were observed in the usual way. There were so many of these ceremonies that the King was never free from them throughout the year. Who was to look after the kingdom?

When one considers the relations between the court of Avadh and the British Government, it seems likely that if the Governor-General and Residents had not shown their favour and had the Board which supervised the East India Company in London not restrained it, the monarchy would have ended at that time. But this childish court remained in existence as the British wavered in their intention to take over the territory.

Older residents of Lucknow assert that Nasir ud Din Haidar, in addition to his effeminate and puerile behaviour, was also extremely tyrannical and that because he spent the whole of his time with women the objects of his tyranny were mostly women. He immured scores of women for the smallest faults or

merely on suspicion. They say that once when he saw a man in the street touching a woman's breasts, he had the woman's breasts and the man's hands cut off.

At last after ten years of this injustice and confusion, when the courtiers had reached a state of desperation, the King himself became a prey to his friends and favourites and in 1837 he was poisoned, thus putting an end to the whole sorry story. Nasir ud Din Haidar died without offspring and Ghazi ud Din Haidar's queen, Badsha Begam,[169] put forward Munna Jan, whom she had always considered to be her grandson and heir to the throne. Both Ghazi ud Din Haidar and Nasir ud Din Haidar had refused to acknowledge[178] him as belonging to the royal family. Accordingly the British Government had arranged for the accession of the late Navab Sadat Ali Khan's son, Nasir ud Daula Muhammad Ali Khan. However the Begam would not agree and brought Munna Jan to Lal Barah Dari, the throne-room.[150] The Resident tried his best to stop her and argued with her but she would not listen and forcibly placed Munna Jan upon the throne. As soon as he ascended the throne he accepted gifts of homage and then started to take revenge on his enemies. The houses of many were plundered, others were imprisoned or killed and the town became the scene of tumult and uproar.

The Resident and his assistant hurried to the court and emphasized to the Begam that Munna Jan could not be considered as an heir and that she would never be successful in her efforts. Then they showed her a written decree from the Governor-General and said, 'It would be best if Munna Jan were to vacate the throne and action were taken for the accession of Nasir ud Daula.' But no one listened and moreover somebody attacked the Assistant Resident, leaving him streaming with blood. The Resident had beforehand summoned British troops from the cantonment in Mandyaon. They had set up guns outside the throne-room and the troops were drawn up in readiness. There was nothing left for the Resident but to take his watch in his hand and say, 'I will give you ten minutes. If within that time Munna Jan does not vacate the throne, I will have to use force.' No one paid any attention although the Resident continued to warn: 'Now five minutes are left... now only three minutes... please note there is less than one minute left . . .'

No one paid any heed to these warnings. Then the guns started to roar and thirty or forty people fell. The bewildered courtiers started to flee. Several of the dancing troupe who had remained behind were wounded. Glass was shattered all around. When several of the loyal and gallant people who were shielding him had been killed, Munna Jan stumbled from his throne intending to escape, but was seized.

The British arrested both the Begam and Munna Jan and at the same time arranged for Nasir ud Daula's succession. He was installed as King of Avadh with the title of Muhammad Ali Shah. Munna Jan and his grandmother were sent under guard from Lucknow to Kanpur and from there to Chunar Garh[179] Fort. A monthly allowance of 2,400 rupees was allotted them from the Lucknow treasury.

Muhammad Ali Shah was sixty-three years of age when he ascended the throne. He was an experienced man who had known good and bad fortune and who had watched the childish antics of the court. Above all he was the son of Navab Sadat Ali Khan and had seen with his own eyes what his father had accomplished.

He proceeded very carefully, started to economize and as far as possible made efforts to set right the administration, but he was getting on in years. Directly he became king he sent for Hakim Mahdi from Farrukhabad and conferred on him the khilat of Vazir. When Hakim Mahdi died a few days later Zahir ud Daula was appointed Vazir; but after two or three months he died as well. The post was then given to Munavar ud Daula who a few months later resigned and went to Kerbala. After that Ashraf ud Daula Muhammad Ibrahim Khan was appointed Vazir and proved himself more intelligent and vigorous than his predecessors.

When Muhammad Ali Shah came to the throne a new treaty[180] was signed between the British Government and the Kingdom of Avadh. Under it, the forces which the British Government had appointed for the supervision of Avadh were increased and the governing body of the East India Company was given authority to hold under its jurisdiction, for as long as it liked, the whole region of Avadh or any part of it which was badly administered. The King signed this treaty reluctantly and set to work to reform the country to the best of his ability.

In the second year of his rule he started to construct his famous Imam Bara,[181] Husainabad, and near it an imposing mosque. For this mosque preparations were made to ensure that it should be more magnificent and greater in size than the Jamey Masjid[182] mosque in Delhi.

In those days the population and splendour of Lucknow increased to such an extent that it would not be out of place to call it the Babylon of India. In fact the status of the town at this time was that of a living Babylon.

Perhaps because this similarity had been suggested to him by the British or by a courtier, Muhammad Ali Shah was determined to make Lucknow into a veritable Babylon and to leave for himself a memorial representing him as the greatest of all the kings of Avadh. He started to build, in the neighbourhood of Husainabad near the present clock tower,[183] an edifice similar to Babylon's minaret or floating garden. Each circular storey was composed of arches, a second storey of arches being superimposed onto the first, a third onto the second, and so on from the ground level to the top. He intended there to be seven storeys and a lofty tower from whose summit a view of the whole of Lucknow and the surrounding country could be obtained. If this edifice had been completed it would certainly have been unique. The name destined for it was Sat Khanda,[184] Seven Slices, and it was being built with great care and diligence but had reached only the fifth storey when in 1842 Muhammad Ali Shah died.

In his short time as king, Muhammad Ali Shah made Lucknow into a very beautiful city without provoking any internal quarrels or any complaints about the maladministration of the kingdom. He built a road called Chauk along the river from Husainabad Gate to Rumi Gate. There were lofty buildings on either side of the road and at one end were the Rumi Gate and Asaf ud Daula's Imam Bara with its mosque. At the other end were Sat Khanda and Husainabad Gate. The new Imam Bara had many tall buildings and the main mosque, Jamey Masjid, was adjacent to them. Taken together, all these buildings presented a beautiful sight. Even though the private houses have been demolished, this scene is still one of the finest in the world.

7

Amjad Ali Shah, Wajid Ali Shah and the End of the Dynasty's Rule—Urdu Drama

After Muhammad Ali Shah, Amjad Ali Shah ascended the throne. Muhammad Ali Shah had made every effort to ensure that the heir apparent received an excellent education. He had therefore entrusted him to the company of religious scholars and learned men. The result was that Amjad Ali Shah, instead of making an outstanding advance in learning, became a *maulvi*, a devout Muslim. After taking over the reins of government his energy was concentrated on making the people become, like himself, true followers of the religious leaders. But it goes without saying that spiritual leaders or those learned in religion cannot be concerned with politics, neither can they be counsellors to the state or statesmen. The only guidance to be got from them was that service should be rendered to Saiyyids,[37] and that the country's money should be spent on helping and supporting the faithful. In the opinion of the deeply religious, circumspect and abstinent ruler of Avadh, Amjad Ali Shah, this could only be satisfactorily accomplished if done by the blessed hand of the leading prelate[168] of the time. For this reason, lakhs of rupees of the country's revenue were given over to him as *zakat*,[185] alms for the poor, and he received other large sums for charitable purposes.

For Amjad Ali Shah, considerations of piety and sanctity had become obsessive. He was so tied to his convictions that he had no time to attend to the affairs of state. The inevitable result was that the method and system of administration introduced by Muhammad Ali Shah became completely disorganized. Matters had reached such a state that according to Qazi Muhammad Sadiq Khan[186] (pen-name[187] Akhtar) all the officials were vicious, evil-minded and self-seeking. The people were oppressed, terrorists had their own way, tyrants and criminals were never punished, bribes were the order of the day and no one could put a stop to any mischief that arose. But in spite of his carelessness towards worldly affairs, his negligence and lack of concern for cultural matters, Amjad Ali Shah established the Hazrat Ganj quarter, which is today the finest, most populated and most splendid part of the Civil Lines.[188]

He constructed a road from Lucknow to Kanpur and it was in his reign that the erection of the iron bridge was finally completed. The circumstances regarding the building of this bridge dated back to Ghazi ud Din Haidar who had sent for its component parts from England, but before the parts arrived the King had departed this life. In the reign of Nasir ud Din Haidar the parts arrived from England and the King gave the contract for assembling them and erecting the bridge to his court engineer, Mr Sinclair. He gave orders that these iron

parts be stacked on the other side of the river opposite the Residency, where there now stands a bathing place and *shivala*.[189] Mr Sinclair had deep wells dug in the river bed for the pillars and even had the pillars erected, but after this he vacillated and the bridge was not completed. Under Muhammad Ali Shah the bridge remained incomplete. Then Amjad Ali Shah became king; he paid attention to it and the bridge was completed. The present iron bridge is not that of Amjad Ali Shah's time. The original one had been a suspension bridge, the whole weight of which was supported on four strong iron pillars. Later, under the British, parts of this bridge became rusty and weak and it became dangerous. It was pulled down and replaced by another iron bridge which exists to this day.

In Amjad Ali Shah's reign his Vazir, Amin ud Daula, established Aminabad, the population and magnificence of which are at present increasing day by day. Amjad Ali Shah did not accomplish much and did not have the desire to construct any building that would serve as a memorial to him; nevertheless, perhaps as a reward for his piety and self-restraint, he has achieved fame. The most celebrated, densely populated and richest quarters of the town today, Aminabad and Hazrat Ganj, are there to perpetuate the memory of his reign.

Eventually time turned over a page of the book of his life and in 1848, when he was just over forty-eight years of age, he became the victim of cancer and breathed his last. He was buried inside Risaldar Mendu Khan's cantonment in Hazrat Ganj, the quarter which he had himself established. His Imam Bara, Sibtainabad,[190] in which he is entombed, is situated at the side of the road in the western part of Hazrat Ganj. It was built after his death by Wajid Ali Shah at the cost of ten lakhs of rupees. This Imam Bara is a bad imitation of Husainabad—but if it were illuminated[191] like Husainabad at the time of Muharram then the eastern part of Lucknow would also become a blaze of light. Although it has no *vasiqa* [endowment], its income is not inconsiderable. Many of the shops outside the enclosing walls of the building are those of prosperous tradesmen and inside the enclosure many of the houses are occupied by Eurasians and others from whom large rents are collected. A benevolent act on the part of the rent collectors is that at the time of Muharram they light some lamps on the grave itself and in the Imam Bara.

Amjad Ali Shah's eldest son, Wajid Ali Shah, had honoured the royal throne by ascending it. His era forms the last page of the history of this Eastern court and the last stanza of the old elegy. Because the monarchy came to an end during his reign he became the target for the abuse of all thinking people and it was almost universally agreed that he was the cause of the downfall of the kingdom. But at the time when his kingdom came to an end the national powers throughout India were breaking up and their rulers and governments, both good and bad, were disappearing. What caused the destruction of the Sikhs[192] of the Panjab and the Marathas of the Deccan, who are considered brave, strong and intelligent people? Why should the Mughal Emperors of Delhi and the Governor, Navab Nazim[193] of Bengal, have been uprooted, even though they did not display the childishness ascribed to the crowned heads of the Kingdom of Lucknow? There was no Wajid Ali Shah at any of these four courts, yet their ruination was not in any way less complete than that of Lucknow.

The truth of the matter is that the cup of negligence and foolishness of the people of India was near to overflowing. To add to this, the power of the British

Government and the British people's far-sightedness, efficiency and forbearance were day by day proving that they were entitled to reap the fruits of their efforts and their advanced civilization. It was impossible for the intelligence of these foreigners and their good planning and methodical ways not to prevail against the ignorance and self-effacement of India. At this time the world had assumed a new pattern of industrialized civilization, and this way of life was crying aloud to every nation. No one in India heard this proclamation and all were destroyed. Among them was the Kingdom of Avadh, but it is highly unfair to lay the blame for its downfall on poor Wajid Ali Shah.

Wajid Ali Shah's father was a slave to religious law and placed his son in the company of religious leaders, hoping to make him what he was himself. Wajid Ali Shah was influenced to a certain extent and as he got older became further interested in religion, but Amjad Ali Shah could not prevent the natural inclinations of his son, heir to the throne, from being turned towards sensuality and the pursuit of pleasure and amusement. On his father's insistence he had received a good education, but music was still uppermost in his thoughts. As heir apparent, because of his natural desires and contrary to his father's designs, he was a patron of singers and musicians and learned to sing and play. His association with dissolute women, singers and dancers, continued to increase. Consequently he could not get nearly as much pleasure from learned and refined society as he did from the company of beautiful women and talented singers.

Unlike his father he was interested in architecture. When he was heir apparent he set out a very fine park and in it he built one or two small, beautiful and elaborate houses to be used as the meeting places for his gay parties. Also at this time he met, in the house of a courtesan,[194] Ali Naqi Khan, on whom he conferred the khilat of Vazir on ascending to the throne. He was attracted by Ali Naqi's youthful cheerfulness and when the park and houses which had been constructed under the latter's supervision were approved by him it seemed to him that no one more suitable could be found to be Vazir and to administer the country's affairs.

The first part of Wajid Ali Shah's reign was characterized by the dashing young King's paying more than usual attention to the dispensation of justice and army reform. When he went out riding, two small silver boxes were borne ahead of him and anyone who had a complaint would write out a petition and put it into one of the boxes. The King kept the keys to the boxes and when he returned to the palace, he took out the petitions and wrote instructions concerning them in his own hand. In this manner several new cavalry regiments and infantry battalions were formed. According to his temperament the King gave poetic names to the cavalry regiments such as Banka, Dandy; Tircha, Fop; Ghanghur, Dark; and the infantry battalions Akhtari, Lucky, and Nadiri, Rare. His Majesty, on his own initiative, would mount a horse and sit for hours in the sun watching parades and exercises in the art of war. He showed his pleasure by rewarding deserving soldiers and honouring them with favours. He himself ordained the use of Persian idiom and words of command for military parades: for instance, *Rast rau*—To the right; *Pas biya*—Retire; *Dast-chap bagard*—Left turn. Later a small army of beautiful girls was formed and they learned their drill in the same manner.

But this early routine of the new reign did not last. In less than a year Wajid Ali Shah had become tired of these things and the old tastes which he had had

as heir apparent returned. He started to consort more frequently with beautiful and dissolute women and soon dancers and singers became the pillars of state and favourites of the realm. If the King had retained any scholarly or noble taste at all, it was for poetry. He himself wrote poems and had great esteem for poets.

At that time in Lucknow Urdu poetry was very much the fashion. In Lucknow alone there were more poets than in the rest of India. The *ghazals*[195] and *qasidas*[196] of Mir[197] and Sauda[198] had become outdated and heads were now filled with Nasikh's[199] compositions and Atish's[200] thoughts. Coupled with these, the *rindi*[201] of Rind[202] and Saba[203] and the *masnavi*[204] of Navab Shauq[205] stirred the souls of the sensually inclined and the King, because of his natural proclivities, liked and approved of this taste.

Up to the end of the first century of the Muslim Caliphate,[206] it was characteristic of Islamic poetry to show the poet as being in love with a particular woman. He would mention her name, describe the glory of her beauty and the allurement of her coquetry, and addressing her, he would describe his agitation and anxieties. Occasionally he would meet her secretly but would never go beyond the bounds of morality and chastity. In a much later period this loved one became an abstraction in Arabia and as a rule the poet's beloved was an idol of his imagination. Drink-loving libertines took this to be either a beautiful woman or a good-looking boy. Sufis[207] gave spiritual meaning to her, describing her as part of the 'Absolute Beauty', that is, the Creator of the Universe. This indefinite, ambiguous form of narrative existed in Persian poetry and up to that time in Urdu poetry as well. Navab Mirza Shauq in his poems became the lover of beautiful veiled women[208] and made his poetry the scourge of conventional morality. The trouble was that the language of his masnavis was so beautiful, frank, pure and clean in spite of its erotic allure, that even honourable and decent people could not abstain from reading and enjoying it.

Wajid Ali Shah also read these masnavis, and because he was a poet himself, he adopted this style and versified his love-affairs and hundreds of the amorous escapades of his early youth. He made them public throughout the country and became to a conventional, moral, world a self-confessed sinner. Few ministers and nobles in their early youth have not given full rein to their sexual desires. None of them, however, like Wajid Ali Shah, has made public his sensuous transgressions. Wajid Ali Shah could not outdo Navab Mirza in the realm of poetry, so he decided to surpass him by proclaiming to the world his unchaste predilections, thoughts and deeds. He even had no hesitation in showing shamefully low taste and in using obscene language.

He would fall in love with female palanquin-bearers, courtesans, domestic servants and women who came in and out of the palace, in short with hundreds of women, and because he was heir to the throne, he had great success with his love-affairs, the shameful accounts of which can be read in his poems, writings and books. His character, therefore, appears to be one of the most dubious in all the records of history.

As he was very interested in architecture he started to build Qaisar Bagh[209] as soon as he came to the throne. His buildings, although not as strong as those of Asaf ud Daula, were certainly beautiful and splendid. He constructed a large oblong enclosure of elegant and imposing two-storied houses, one wing of which, in the direction of the river, was pulled down after the Mutiny;[210] the

other three are still in existence. These have been subdivided and handed over to *taluqdars*[211] [wealthy landowners] of Avadh by the Government with instructions that they are to live in the houses and maintain[212] them in their original state.

The inner courtyard of the Qaisar Bagh, with its lawns, was called Jilo Khana, the Front House. In the centre were a Barah Dari which is now Lucknow's Town Hall[213] and some other buildings which are no longer standing. Outside the Qaisar Bagh were many nearby royal houses which made this plot of land one of the wonders of the age. These buildings were outside the eastern gate of the Qaisar Bagh. People on passing through this gate found fences on either side. They then came to Chini Bagh, the Chinese Garden, and turning left they entered Jal Pari, the Mermaid Gate. The Vazir Navab Ali Naqi Khan lived near this gate so as to be always near the King and within immediate call if necessary. On the other side of the Mermaid Gate was Hazrat Bagh and inside it to the right there was the Chandi Wali Barah Dari. This was an ordinary building of bricks and mortar but because there were sheets of thin silver on the roof [and walls and columns] it was known as The Silver House The house next to it, Khas Maqam, the Residence, was a private residence in which the King himself lived and which was quite near to Badshah Manzil built by Navab Sadat Ali Khan.

At the end of the fences there was a complex of buildings known as Chau Lakhi, 'Worth Four Lakhs', that were once owned by the royal barber, Azim Ullah. The King bought them from him for four lakhs of rupees and in them lived the King's chief wife Navab Khas Mahal[214] and other honoured royal ladies. During the Mutiny Hazrat Mahal lived and held court there.

A road led from these buildings to the Qaisar Bagh and at the side of it stood an enormous shady tree around which a circular marble platform had been erected. At the time of the Qaisar Bagh fairs the King would dress himself up as a *yogi*[215] in red-coloured garments and sit there. In front of this platform there was a fine gateway which was called Chau Lakhi Gate because lakhs of rupees had been expended on its construction: going through it you again came to the Qaisar Bagh. The Government had spent eighty lakhs of rupees on the houses in the Qaisar Bagh for the wives and ladies of the King. Nowadays, on seeing commonplace faces in lieu of them older residents say with the Persian poet, 'The fairies have hidden their faces and the demons are showing their coquetry and blandishment.'

Outside the western gate of the Qaisar Bagh was Raushan ud Daula's kothi. Wajid Ali Shah confiscated it and called it Qaisar Pasand,[216] 'Favourite of Qaisar'. One of his favourite ladies, Navab Mashuq Mahal, used to live in it. Nowadays it is the Deputy Commissioner's court. Opposite to it on the western side of Qaisar Bagh was another Jilo Khana.

Once a year a great fair was held in the Qaisar Bagh to which the public was admitted and they could then see the voluptuous style of living to which the King was addicted. The King had seen the *rahas*,[217] theatrical representations of Sri[218] Krishna's[219] dance, and was so pleased with Sri Krishna's amatory dalliances that he devised a drama about them in which he himself played the part of Kanhaya (Krishna) and decorous and virtuous ladies of the palace acted as *gopis*, milkmaid loves of Krishna. There was much dancing and frolicking. Sometimes the ardour of youth impelled the King to become a yogi. Pearls were burnt and the King would cover his body with the ashes, Thus abstinence,

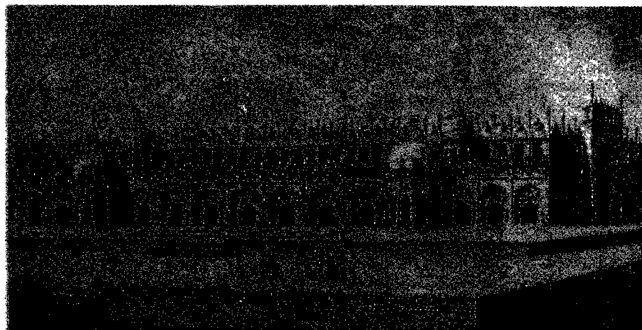
6 The Residency. Engraving

7 Panj Mahla Gate. Drawing by T. Daniell, 1789

Water-colours by a Murshidabad artist, about 1800:

8 Mosque of Asaf ud Daula

9 Imam Bara of Asaf ud Daula.



too, acquired the flavour of royalty. At the time of the fair, ordinary people of the town were allowed to take part in these pastimes, but only on condition that they came wearing clothes dyed in red ochre. The result was that even old men of eighty would put on red garments and become young sparks, filling the cups of their old age with the joyous wine of the King's youthfulness.

This atmosphere prevailed in Lucknow and gaiety and merriment were the order of the day. Successive Residents informed the British Government in England of the local state of affairs. The Board of the East India Company decided that Avadh should be included in the region under British control and, to achieve this, a British armed force came to Lucknow. Quite unexpectedly the following instructions were issued to the King: 'Your country has been included in that administered by the British. Twelve lakhs of rupees a year have been allocated to you and three lakhs of rupees to your ceremonial troops, which will be paid monthly. This will be amply sufficient for your needs and those of your immediate entourage. You will be free to live at your ease and without a care in the city, free from any anxiety about the populace, and to pursue your pleasures in peace and comfort.' The receipt of these orders dealt a stunning blow to the city. The King, weeping and wailing, made every effort to exonerate himself. The King's mother and the chief consort pleaded, but the Resident was powerless to alter the orders given by the Governor-General. The Government of the East India Company had, without any difficulty, taken possession[220] of Avadh. The King, his mother, his heir, his chief wives and faithful friends departed for Calcutta with a view to going to England to lodge an appeal, to establish the King's innocence and to have the order for the dissolution of the monarchy repealed.

8

Wajid Ali Shah in Matiya Burj—the Mutiny

Wajid Ali Shah was extremely fortunate in that immediately after losing his crown and throne he was able to leave Lucknow for Calcutta to put forward his case in an orthodox manner. If he failed with the Council of the Governor-General of India, it was his intention to go to London and plead his case before Parliament and the British Queen. Accordingly, when he had no success in Calcutta he decided to go to London, but his doctors thought the sea journey would be harmful to his health and his advisers stopped him from going. The result was that he stayed in Calcutta but sent his heir, his mother and his brother to England. On this journey my grandfather, the late Munshi Qamar ud Din, was in the retinue of the ruined family. The King refused to accept the allowance allocated by the British Government and insisted on claiming his crown and throne which had been taken from him unjustly.

The King was in Calcutta, his family in London and his case under consideration when suddenly in 1857 the strife about cartridges and the Government's opposition led to the Mutiny.[221] From Meerut to Bengal there was a general conflagration which destroyed the houses of friend and foe. So great was the trouble which arose that it appeared as if the very foundations of the British Government were tottering. In the same way as the insurgents from Meerut and many other places had concentrated in Delhi and made Zafar Shah[222] Emperor of India, so in May 1857 the mutineers from Allahabad and Faizabad went to Lucknow. As soon as the mutineers arrived many idle residents joined them. They could not find any other member of the royal family in Avadh, so they placed the ten-year-old son of Wajid Ali Shah, Mirza Birjis Qadar, on the throne, and his mother Navab Hazrat Mahal became regent of the monarchy. The British troops quartered in Lucknow, and all the European officials of the administration who had managed to escape from the mutineers, fortified themselves in the Baillie Guard.[223] Wajid Ali Shah had left Lucknow, otherwise he would have been proclaimed King and his lamentations would have been more bitter than those of Zafar Shah. The temporary refuge of the Matiya Burj court, which allowed him and his entourage to survive for a while, would never have been the fate of the unfortunate people of Avadh.

In addition to the mutinous soldiers of the British Indian army, most of the landowners and taluqdars of Avadh and the dismissed soldiers of imperial days had collected in Lucknow in great numbers. They had been joined by a mass of bad characters and every class of person in the town was engaged in despicable activities. It appeared as though the encircled small numbers of British had to face the attack of the whole mass of people. But in fact the besiegers consisted of the disreputable elements of the town and unprincipled and headstrong combatants. There was not a single man of valour among them who knew anything of the principles of war or who could combine the disunited forces and make them into an organized striking force. The British, on the other hand, who were fighting for their lives, stood their ground. Facing the gravest danger they repelled their assailants and proved themselves skilled in the latest arts of war.

At that time Birjis Qadar, with the royal consort, Hazrat Mahal, had become effective ruler in Lucknow. The authority of Birjis Qadar was acknowledged, coins were issued in his name, officials were appointed to the State, taxes began to be collected and the siege itself was continued only as a sort of pastime. People praised the efficiency and good intentions of the Queen, who had great regard for the soldiery and would reward them highly for their work and prowess. But to what avail? It was impossible for her to discard her purdah and become commander-in-chief of the army. Her advisers were bad and her soldiers useless. Everyone was a slave to his own desires and no one agreed with what anyone else said. The mutineers of the British Indian army were so arrogant that they thought that everything happened by their grace and considered themselves the true rulers and the only 'king-makers'.

A religious mendicant, Ahmad Ullah, popularly known as Shah Sahib, who had come from Faizabad with the insurgents and who had fought in several engagements, wished to establish his authority by force and even to establish his rule. He set up a separate court in Lucknow in opposition to that of Birjis Qadar. In addition to political differences between the two courts there arose

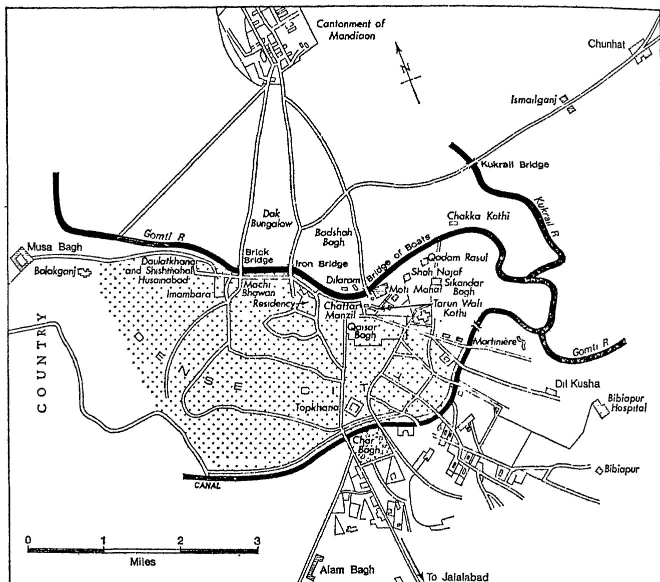
quarrels and prejudices in connection with the Shia and Sunni sects of Islam and the rivalry between King and Shah increased. Eventually, in November of that year, when Birjis Qadar had been on the throne for six or seven months, a British army unit advanced on Lucknow. With the British army were Sikhs from the Panjab and hillmen from Bhutan who were reputed to have committed many atrocities. After two or three days' bombardment the new kingdom disintegrated[224] like a spider's web. The royal consort and Birjis Qadar fled to Nepal with thousands of other fugitives. The Shah Sahib fought on for two or three days and, although this prepared the way for Birjis Qadar's safe escape, he was unable to save his own life. Defeated, he fled through Bari and Muhammdi, arriving at Puwain (Pilibhit District, U.P.) where he was shot dead. The Raja of Puwain cut off his head and sent it to the British, who in gratitude gave him a reward and a grant of land.

In order to clear the town of insurgents, the British put up a massive bombardment and all the inhabitants were terrified. Men and women left their houses and fled and such confusion and distress ensued that people who saw it tremble even today at its memory. Women who had lived all their lives in purdah, whose faces had never been touched by the sun, now stirred up the dust of the countryside with their bare feet and in their forlorn state clung to each other. Whoever they met proved an enemy and the hemistich of Sa'di,[225] 'At the time of famine . . . our friends have forgotten love', was fully substantiated. Whilst these conditions prevailed, the victorious army looted the city.

After much hardship and with immense difficulty the people got permission to return to their homes and the peace that ensued after this time of panic exists to this day by the grace of the Almighty. But those connected with the old government and the royal favourites, who were unemployed after the revolution and who could not derive any benefit from the new government, were gradually effaced from the scene. That is to say that for a period great, rich and honoured families, one after another, continued to disintegrate and then were finally destroyed. One section of the town after another fell into decay, family after family disappeared and most people thought that Lucknow would remain only as a memory. But in the end the methods of the British Government, similar to those used in establishing new colonies throughout the world, prevailed and Lucknow escaped from the calamitous disaster of that era. Those who were to be ruined were ruined and those who remained became capable of taking themselves in hand. If Lucknow continues to receive the services of Governors like the present Mr Butler[226] I am convinced that there will be much improvement in the future.

It appears to be necessary that I give my readers an account of the remainder of Wajid Ali Shah's life and of his sojourn in Calcutta, without which this history would be incomplete. I spent my childhood in Calcutta under the King's protective shadow. I have described events until now through having heard of them from others or having read about them in the pages of history. I will from now on describe events mostly as I saw them for myself.

About three or four miles south of Calcutta on the banks of the Bhagarthi River, popularly known as Houghly, there is a quiet quarter known as Garden Beach, and because there is a raised plateau there, ordinary folk called it Matiya Burj, the Earthen Dome. There were also some very fine houses, the grounds of



Lucknow and its environs at the time of the Mutiny

which stretched for two to two and a half miles along the river bank. When Wajid Ali Shah came to Calcutta the British Government of India gave him these houses; two for the King himself, one for his chief consort and one as a residence for Ali Naqi Khan. Around them a large expanse of land, stretching on one side for a mile or a mile and a half from the river bank and with a perimeter of not less than six or seven miles, was given over to the King for his personal use and that of his retinue. The municipal road traversed the area from one end to the other.

Of the two houses which had been given to the King, he called one Sultan Khana, King's House, and the other Asad Manzil. When he took possession of the house of his chief consort, he called it Murassa Manzil. Ali Naqi Khan's house remained in his ownership to the last and then was passed on to his family, more particularly to Navab Akhtar Mahal, who was Ali Naqi Khan's daughter and the King's honoured wife and mother of his second heir, Mirza Khush Bakht Bahadur.

During the Mutiny, the rebel Indian officers of the British Indian army decided that if Wajid Ali Shah would become their leader they would start a rebellion in Calcutta. But the King, on losing his crown and throne, had not adopted this course towards the British Government of India and did not wish to do so now. On the contrary, he informed the Governor-General of these people's plans and received his thanks for the information. However after a few days it was thought advisable that the King should be domiciled in Fort William[227] so that the rebels could not contact him again. His case, which was proceeding in London, was suspended on the grounds that the country to which the claim referred was not in British hands. Further consideration would be given to it when the British Government had regained possession of the region.

The King was still in detention when the rebellion in Lucknow subsided and his plenipotentiary in London, Masih ud Din Khan, resubmitted the claim. On the face of it he had every hope that he would succeed and that the monarchy would be restored, but unfortunately the King's advisers and companions in Fort William, either because of outside interests or on their own initiative, hatched a plot. They thought that if Masih ud Din Khan won the case and thus became the honoured one, they would become of no account. Therefore they started to make suggestions to the King on the following lines: '*Jahan Panah*,[228] Your Majesty, has anyone ever heard of a country which has been taken over being restored? Masih ud Din Khan has misled you, obviously nothing will result and Your Majesty is merely being put to unnecessary inconvenience. No allowance has been received for nearly two years. There is scarcity of everything and we, your servants, are destitute. It would be appropriate if you agreed to the proposals of the British Government, took the allowance and led a happy, carefree life with your noble ladies and devoted servants.' The King was short of money and those around him were in a much more distressed condition than he was, so when his companions continued to make these suggestions, he wrote to the Viceroy: 'I am willing to accept the monthly allowances sanctioned by the British Government. Therefore the allowances due up to date should be credited to me and the case which is proceeding in London should be annulled.' He received the reply: 'In the first place, you will not receive credit for the period which has elapsed, the monthly allowances will only start from now onwards.

Secondly, only twelve lakhs a year will be paid. It is no longer considered necessary to pay the annual allowance of three lakhs which was proposed for your retinue.'

It is not difficult to imagine that the King by himself would not have agreed to this, but his companions made him accept it. The British Government of India informed England that Wajid Ali Shah had accepted their proposals and that his case therefore should be annulled. I heard of these events myself from my grandfather, Munshi Qamar ud Din, who was chief clerk in the Queen Mother's secretariat, deputy to Maulvi Masih ud Din Khan and responsible for all matters of procedure. When news that the King had accepted the monthly allowance reached London, Masih ud Din Khan nearly went off his head. The King's mother, his brother and his heir were in a state of consternation over the calamity which had overtaken them. All that had been accomplished so far was ruined. At last Masih ud Din Khan, after much thought, devised a plan and put the following legal point before Parliament: 'The King is now under the close supervision of the British Government of India and under these circumstances nothing which he puts on paper can be trusted.' The point was reasonable and it was accepted. The British Government of India was then informed of the plea put forward by the King's plenipotentiary and at the same time Masih ud Din Khan and all the important people connected with the royal family wrote to the King, 'What are you starting? We fully expect to have the country of Avadh restored to us.'

The Mutiny was at an end. The Government released the King who was very pleased to leave Fort William and return to Matiya Burj. No sooner had he gained his freedom than his companions said, 'Huzur[229] [Sir], Masih ud Din Khan is saying in London that Your Majesty only accepts the allowance because you are a prisoner.' On hearing this the King flared up and wrote, 'I was free and from my own desire and volition I accepted the Government's proposals. It is quite wrong for Masih ud Din to say that I accepted them owing to force or coercion. Therefore from now on I revoke his power of attorney.'

What was to happen now? All transactions had come to an end, the King had started on a life of revelry and orgies, money was flowing like water in the houses of his companions and the unfortunate members of the royal family in England were practically ruined and were deserted by most of those who had been with them. Janab-e-Alia, Her Highness the King's mother, became ill from the shock and whilst still unwell she left England intending to pass through France, make a pilgrimage to the holy places of Mecca and Kerbala and then return to Calcutta. But death did not permit her to do this and she died in France. She was buried in the Muslim cemetery adjacent to the mosque of the Osmani Legation[230] in Paris. The death of his mother was such a blow to Mirza Sikander Hashmat that he fell ill and two weeks later he too died, and was placed near his mother to await the Day of Judgment. The only one to return to Calcutta and rejoin his parents was the heir apparent.

They say that when the King first came to live in Matiya Burj he displayed much sagacity and his outlook on life became serious. On seeing this, his entourage collected various musical instruments. Immediately the King was reminded of his old fancies and love for song and dance and as a result troupes of artists started to congregate at his court. The best singers in India were enlisted

into the King's service and there was a larger concourse of musicians in Matiya Burj than could be found anywhere else in India.

There was the same desire for collecting together good-looking women and concentrating on beauty and love in Matiya Burj as one hears there had been in Lucknow. In Matiya Burj, however, when embarking on these desires, due regard was given to religious considerations. The King belonged to the Shia sect of Islam, and according to Shia law, *muta*,[231] temporary marriage, is legal. Taking advantage of this religious freedom the King pursued his inclinations to his heart's content. He made it his rule not to look at a woman who was not temporarily married to him, and carried his religious caution to such lengths that he even entered into a temporary marriage with a young female water-carrier who would pass him when she was taking water to the women's quarters; he gave her the title of Navab ab Rasan Begam, Her Highness the Lady Water-Provider. There was also a young sweeping-woman who used to come into his presence. She too joined the ranks of the temporarily married and was honoured with the title of Navab Musafa Begam, the Lady Purifier. In the same way, the enjoyment of music was also confined to those women who belonged to him. It was very seldom that a courtesan danced before the King. These temporarily married women were formed into various groups and taught diverse forms of dancing and singing. The following are the names of some of these groups: Radha Manzil, Sardha Manzil, Jhumar ('Earring'), Latkan ('Dwindling'), Nath ('Nose-ring'), Ghunghat ('Veil'), Rahas ('Dance'), and Naqal ('Mimic'). There were scores of similar groups who had been given the best instruction in the dancing and singing in which the King delighted. He had entered into temporary wedlock with all of them and they were called Begams. In some of the groups, there were a few young girls who had not reached the age of puberty. They were not in a state of temporary wedlock and they would be admitted to that state immediately on reaching puberty. Most lived near the King in Sultan Khana but some of them lived in separate women's apartments in other houses. Those temporarily married women who bore children were given the title of Mahal. They were given separate women's apartments as their residences, received enhanced allowances and were greatly honoured.

From what has been written above it is clearly evident that, except for music,[232] the King was in every way extremely devout, abstinent and a strict observer of Muslim religious law. He never missed offering up his prayers. He observed the fast for the whole of the thirty days in the month of Ramadan. He was a life-long abstainer from opium, wine and other intoxicants and he performed the mourning ceremonies at the time of Muharram with sincere devotion.

His other interest was building. Scores of women's apartments were constructed on all four sides of Sultan Khana and many new houses with their own female quarters were built. The King had received only Sultan Khana, Asad Manzil and Murassa Manzil from the British Government of India, but in a very short time he built several more houses which were surrounded by beautiful gardens and pleasing lawns. When I saw them, the King possessed the following fine houses which, taken from south to north were: Sultan Khana, Qasr ul Baiza, Gosha-e-Sultani, Shahinshah Manzil, Murassa Manzil, Asad Manzil, Shah Manzil, Nur Manzil, Tafrih Baksh, Badami, Asmani, Tahaniyat Manzil, Had-

e-Sultani, Sad-e-Sultani, Adalat Manzil. In addition to these, there were several other houses, the names of which I have forgotten.

There were also many single rooms, bungalows and small kiosks on the banks of the pools inside the parks. In all of these there were spotless, ornate carpets covering the floors and silver bedsteads with bedding and pillows. They were further decorated with pictures and a variety of fine furniture. In order to help support the people, more housekeepers than were in fact necessary had been appointed to look after the houses. These people used to sweep them every day and ensure that they were kept clean and in good order. In short, all these houses, in their separate settings, were so decorative and trim that no one could help admiring them. Surrounding them were gardens and lawns set out in geometrical designs with such engineering skill that those who beheld them marvelled at the King's talent and sense of proportion.

In Lucknow the King had constructed only the Qaisar Bagh, a few houses in the neighbourhood, an Imam Bara and a tomb for his deceased father, but in Matiya Burj he had established a beautiful town of fine houses. On the other side of the river, exactly opposite Matiya Burj, are Calcutta's famed Botanical Gardens. But they were as nothing compared to the earthly paradise of Matiya Burj and the entrancing wonders it contained. There was a high-walled enclosure surrounding all these houses, lawns and markets.

For about a mile along the municipal high road there were some fine shops. Lower-class employees, whose duties necessitated them being there, were allowed to live in them. One could enter the enclosure only through the main gates on which guards were mounted; there was no means of entry through any of the shops. Near the gate to Sultan Khana there was a very imposing guard-house in which *nauhat* [drums] were beaten and the hours of the day and night were announced by gongs according to the old fashion.

Many kings have been interested in architecture but scarcely any other monarch can have built so many houses or established so many parks as did Wajid Ali Shah during his unfortunate life and the short period of his so-called reign. Second to Shahjahan in this respect, if one can mention anybody's name then it must be the name of this afflicted king of Avadh. Some of Shahjahan's buildings have remained standing for hundreds of years while hundreds of buildings constructed by others have soon been demolished by fate.

Apart from architecture, the King took an interest in animals and he developed this interest to an extraordinary and unsurpassed extent. I do not suppose that any other individual has ever made half the efforts in this direction that he did.

In front of Nur Mahal there was a large open space, enclosed by a neat iron fence, into which hundreds of spotted deer, buck and other wild quadrupeds had been turned loose. In its centre was a well-built marble pool which was always filled to the brim with water. This was the habitat of partridges, ostriches, turkeys, sarus cranes, geese, herons, demoiselle cranes, ducks, peacocks, flamingoes and hundreds of other birds, and tortoises. Such care was given to cleanliness that droppings or shed feathers of a bird were never to be seen. On one side of the pool there was a cage containing tigers and near the meadow there was a row of large wooden cages into which scores of different species of monkey had been collected from far-flung places. These monkeys performed comic antics which people could not help lingering to watch.

In various places there were pools filled with fish which would gather at a signal and if anyone threw in some food it was wonderful to see them leaping from the water.

The most amazing thing of all was a large, long and deep tank in front of Shahinshah Manzil. All four sides of the tank had been made very slippery and in the middle was an artificial hill, sloping downwards at the front and into which hundreds of pipes had been run, some of which were open at the top to act as fountains. Thousands of large snakes, six to nine feet long, had been released on this hill and would crawl about it. They would go to the top and then come down to the bottom and catch the frogs which had been put there. Round the hill there was a sort of moat where the snakes would swim and chase the frogs. It was quite safe for people to stand by the tank and watch what was happening.

Below this hill were two cages in which there were two large leopards. Normally they lay quiet but if a fowl was given to them they would spring on it and gobble it up whole.

It is unlikely that arrangements for keeping snakes in captivity had ever been made anywhere before and Wajid Ali Shah was the first person to think of it. European travellers were amazed at the sight and would take pictures and write down details.

Apart from these animals, there were thousands of shining brass bird-cages in Sultan Khana itself. There were also scores of large aviaries enclosed by wire netting, which were called *kunj*. A large number of birds of various kinds were let loose in these and all possible arrangements were made for their upkeep and breeding.

The King's desire was to collect as many kinds of animals as possible. It is unlikely that there has ever been such a perfect example of a living museum in all the world as the one he possessed. Money was spent without restraint in acquiring these animals and if anyone brought in a new species he was given exactly what he asked for it. It is said that the King paid 24,000 rupees for a pair of silk-winged pigeons and 11,000 rupees for a pair of white peacocks. There was also a pair of giraffes, very large and strange animals from Africa. The two-humped camel of Baghdad is never seen in India, but the King possessed one in his zoo. There were even a couple of donkeys let loose in a meadow, so intent was the King that all sorts of animals should be included. Beasts of prey such as lions, Indian tigers, cheetahs, leopards, bears, lynxes, hyenas and wolves were all kept in cages and carefully tended.

Arrangements for the pigeons were different from those for the other birds. In his various pigeonries, the King had, in all, twenty-four or twenty-five thousand birds which the pigeon fanciers showed great skill in flying.

It is possible to form an idea of the amount spent on the animals from the fact that there were over eight hundred attendants and about three hundred pigeon fanciers; about the same number looked after the fish and there were thirty or forty employed for the snakes. These attendants received from six to ten rupees a month as pay. Officers received a monthly salary of twenty to thirty rupees. Apart from the pigeons, snakes and fish, a little less than nine thousand rupees a month was spent on food for the other animals. The building arrangements for the zoo had mostly been entrusted to Munis ud Daula and Raihan ud Daula who received twenty-five thousand rupees a month for this purpose.

Besides the staff at the zoo there were about one thousand watchmen whose pay was normally six rupees a month although some received up to eight or ten rupees. The same pay was received by the housekeepers who numbered over five hundred. There were some eighty clerks who received a monthly salary of ten to thirty rupees. The number of favoured companions and high officials was probably not less than forty or fifty and each received eighty-eight rupees a month. There were also more than one hundred palanquin-bearers.

In addition there were scores of minor departments dealing with the kitchens, vegetables, *abdar khana* [water-cooling], *khas khana* [house cooling] and so on.[233] Then again there were the relations and male members of the family of the temporary wives, all of whom received salaries in proportion to their standing.

All these people had built houses for themselves outside the area of the original houses. These new houses were for the most part on the land which had been given to the King but many were on other land nearby. So a town had grown up with a population of more than forty thousand souls, all of whose livelihood derived from the King's monthly allowance of one lakh of rupees. No one could understand how such a large population could live on such a small sum and it was commonly thought in Bengal that the King possessed the philosopher's stone, and that whenever necessary he rubbed iron or brass and turned it into gold.

From the time of the King's arrival in Calcutta, a second Lucknow had arisen in its neighbourhood. The real Lucknow had ended and was replaced by Matiya Burj. There was the same bustle and activity, the same language, the same style of poetry, conversation and wit, the same learned and pious men, the same aristocrats, nobles and common people. No one thought he was in Bengal: there was the same kite-flying, cock-fighting, quail-fighting, the same opium addicts reciting the same tales,[238] the same observance of Muharram, the same lamentations at the recital of *marsiya* and *nauha*,[234] the same Imam Baras and the same Kerbala as in former Lucknow. But the ceremony, pomp and circumstance with which the King's Muharram procession was invested probably could never have been equalled in Lucknow even in the days of his rule. After the Mutiny, a Muharram procession of *tazias*[129] could never have been carried out in Lucknow with the former glory, but in Calcutta thousands of people, even the British, came to Matiya Burj as pilgrims.

Although the King was a Shia he was without religious prejudice of any sort. He could say: 'Of my two eyes, one is Shia and the other is Sunni.' On one occasion two people came to blows over some religious difference. The King gave orders that both be dismissed and refused to have them readmitted to his service, saying, 'I cannot have such people near me.' Later on, some unpalatable words had been printed in one of the King's books which caused an uproar among the Sunnis of Calcutta, but no one knew that these words were not actually of the King's authorship but that they had been taken by him from another source. When the King heard about the matter he was ready to apologize without any prompting from others.

What greater proof of this lack of prejudice could there be than the fact that the whole administration was in the hands of Sunnis? The Vazir, Munsarim ud Daula Bahadur,[235] was a Sunni. The Chief Secretary, Munshi ul Sultan, who at one time had been the person nearest to the King and was the senior officer in

charge of the zoological gardens, the secretariat and various other departments, was a Sunni. The Paymaster, Bakhshi Amanat ud Daula, at whose hands all the retainers and even the royal ladies and princes received their salaries and allowances, was a Sunni. Attar ud Daula and the Superintendent, Motabar Ali Khan, who were in fact the highest of officials and in charge of all organization, were both Sunnis. How could one imagine any greater proof of impartiality than that the management of the Sibtainabad Imam Bara and the royal Imam Bara, called the Baitul Buka, the House of Lamentation, as well as the arrangements for *majlis*[129] and other religious ceremonies were all in the hands of Sunnis? No one even noticed who was a Sunni and who a Shia.

Even the shopkeepers and money-lenders in Matiya Burj were from Lucknow and there was not a single product of Lucknow which was not there in its very best form. Wherever one went one saw great magnificence and activity. All were so charmed and fascinated by their pleasurable existence that they gave no thought to the future. The people of Lucknow, all the royal servants and even other residents of Matiya Burj, had free access to the palaces and meadows. You could not find a more pleasant place to walk in than the parks. If you stood on the bank of the river you obtained a most wonderful view. Ships going to and from Calcutta passed in front of you and as they did, dipped their standards in salute to Fort William; people, however, thought they were being dipped in salutation to the King. If you stood at the threshold of the palaces or at the doors of the female apartments you were filled with a pleasurable emotion. Sometimes you might catch a glimpse of a lovely face and sometimes you heard eloquent, attractive speech and sometimes such delectable talk that it remained in the memory for a very long time afterwards, if not for ever.

How could this beautiful and entrancing scene ever be destroyed! But alas, fate destroyed it and destroyed it so completely that it might never have existed. In 1887 the King suddenly closed his eyes for ever and it seemed as though 'all one had seen was a dream and all one had heard was a story'. Everything was fantasy and illusion, a myth, the origin of which had all at once become effaced. That beautiful spot which European kings and Indian rulers had longed to visit was now reduced to an uncouth void and a place of ill-omen. Whoever had seen its previous state and now witnessed the wilderness it had become, could only heave a deep sigh of grief and sorrow and exclaim, 'Only God is eternal!'

9

Mirza Birjis Qadar—Urdu Poetry

As regards the history of this court, it is left to relate how Mirza Birjis Qadar fled from Lucknow and halted at the Nepal border. He had with him about one hundred thousand men. These people had decided to take refuge in the Himalayan valleys and, should opportunity offer, come out again and attack the British. If they were victorious they would go back to their own country and if they were defeated they would retreat and live in the hills. But this was not to be. The state of Nepal could not give refuge to such a large number of people nor could she fight with them against the British as she did not have sufficient strength. Therefore the government of Nepal gave asylum only to Mirza Birjis Qadar and his mother and issued definite orders to the inept rabble that had accompanied them that they go back immediately: Nepalese territory must be cleared at once and anyone who did not leave would be expelled by force. The result was that all of them fled the country. Many were killed and many disguised themselves and disappeared. Mirza Birjis Qadar and his mother went on into Nepal, were domiciled there and granted a small allowance by the government. It is said that all the jewellery they had with them was presented to the Nepalese government. Eventually the royal consort, Hazrat Mahal, died in Nepal in 1874. After her death, on the occasion of the jubilee of Queen Victoria (1887), the British Government pardoned Birjis Qadar and he was allowed to return home. Without informing anyone, he hurried from Nepal to Calcutta where Wajid Ali Shah had already died and where Qamar Qadar, since he was the eldest son (in Matiya Burj at the time), was receiving the biggest allowance. However, Birjis Qadar put in a claim which stated that of all the King's sons he was the favourite and had the greatest rights (being now the eldest son) and that legally therefore he should receive a pension equal to two thirds of the allowance allotted to the King and should be made responsible for looking after the King's heirs and dependents. He was preparing to go to England to further his claim when one of his family invited him to a meal. On returning from this meal he became ill with food poisoning and his condition rapidly deteriorated. In a single day he, his wife and several of his sons came to an untimely end and no member of that family was left who had ever had direct contact with the crown and throne of Lucknow.

Even so, the activities of Matiya Burj and the splendour and prosperity of the new town had assumed such proportions that if they had escaped they would for a long time have served as a reminder to the world of the style and taste of

the court of that luckless king and his dependents. But the British Government thought that the best way of administering justice in the distribution of Wajid Ali Shah's effects was for all his property and houses to be sold and proportionate shares given to each heir in cash. The inevitable result was that Matiya Burj was destroyed to the last brick. Property which was worth thousands of rupees was sold for cowries[236] and that place which in a short time had become an earthly paradise was now a veritable hell. If you should happen to wander about there, you will see nothing. If you are searching for the former splendour and activity, summon an Umara ul Qais.* He will come weeping to you and point out: 'Here was Murassa Manzil, here was Nur Manzil, here Sultan Khana and here Asad Manzil. In this place *mushairas*, poetry recitals,[237] were held, and in that place erudite scholars used to meet. In one place sophisticated friends would exchange pleasantries and in another, eloquent narrators would recite tales which held people spellbound. Here was a gathering of the chosen beauties of the world and there a group engaged in song and dance. In this place *houris*, nymphs of the Muslim paradise, were given instruction in singing and dancing and there the King used to enjoy himself sitting amongst his coquettish temporary wives. Here stories would be narrated by a group of opium[238] users and there quail-fighting would take place. Here pigeons would be flown and there kite-flying competitions were held. At this threshold moon-faced and entrancingly beautiful women could be seen peeping from behind curtains, and at that there was a constant bustle and activity with the continuous coming and going of male and female servants. At this threshold there was always a gathering of eminent poets because the lady of the house took a great interest in poetry, and at that there was a daily search for youthful, spirited writers of flowery language with a view to the composing of *todu nama*,[239] love letters, to be sent every second or third day to the King.'

Even with the disappearance of Matiya Burj countless memories of the former court remain. The town of Lucknow, its society and every corner of the domain of Avadh is a memorial to its greatness and bears the stamp of the glory of the old monarchy. Every deed and gesture of the people of Lucknow is a living historical record of the members of the court. One cannot help saying, 'O rose, I love thee for thou hast the same scent as the one I love.' In order to refresh the memory with regard to these relics of the past I should like to describe how Lucknow society developed as a result of the establishment of that court, and in what respects that society influenced Indian social life in general.

In those days Persian was the court language and the people of India had adopted the best Persian social customs. At the time of the Safavid dynasty, the main faith in Iran was Shia[166] while the ruling family in India, the Mughals, were Chugtai Sunnis. The result of Persian influence on society was such that in spite of religious differences, whenever a Persian came to the country he was treated with respect.[167] This general preference had made Nur Jahan Begam[240] the real occupant of Jahangir's throne and because of this since the early seventeenth century most of the esteemed officials in Delhi were Shias. For the same reason, as soon as Amin ud Din Khan of Nishapur came here, he was created Navab Burhan ul Mulk and became master of the whole vast Ganges plain. As Burhan

* *Author's note:* Umara ul Qais was a prominent Arabic poet of the pre-Islamic era, who described the ruination of his old home in heart-rending language.

ul Mulk's influence and power increased, so his court came to be regarded more and more as a refuge for the distinguished people from Delhi. As both he and Safdar Jang had spent their lives laying the foundations for a new monarchy, they had very little time to devote to culture and social matters. They were more concerned with leading armies and gaining victories than living a peaceful life of luxury.

Shuja ud Daula, after the Battle of Baksar,[22] was forced to live quietly in Faizabad, and thus the foundations for a new culture were laid in Avadh. As I have described earlier, a great number of distinguished people left their homes in Delhi and came to Faizabad. There was a very large influx of people of every trade and class and in the short period of nine years Faizabad, from being of little account, became a town of repute. Following Shuja ud Daula, when Navab Asaf ud Daula took up residence in Lucknow, all those who had gathered in Faizabad uprooted themselves and settled here. Eventually some nobles and accomplished persons who had remained in the Bahu Begam's service came to Lucknow because Asaf ud Daula was spending such vast amounts of money that no one could help being attracted to his court.

There were of course at that time many Hindu states, but the Muslim courts were the only ones which were considered refined and cultured. The Hindu rajas themselves admitted that they could not surpass the Muslim courts as regards culture and social status. The idea of reviving their old civilization and providing for themselves a new culture and literature came to them only later as a result of British education. Because of this, if any distinguished scholar, poet or soldier left the service of a Muslim noble and went to the territory of Hindu nobles he was received with respect and accorded the highest rank and dignity.

The first and foremost Muslim court was the Mughal court of Delhi. Because of its antiquity and past grandeur, it was the centre for distinguished men and noble families who were now scattering themselves in distant areas and establishing themselves in new states. Of these there was the court of the Nizam Asaf Jah in the Deccan and further afield the courts of Tipu Sultan and the Navab of Arcat.[241] Going north from Delhi you came first to the region of the valiant Khans of Ruhelkhand, then to the court of Avadh and further on the court of Navab Nazim of Bengal in Murshidabad. The courts of the Deccan were at a very great distance from these Muslim courts and were difficult to reach because the roads leading to them passed through jungles and over mountains. Moreover, even if anyone had the courage to take these roads, he might lose his life because of the thugs and dacoits[242] who infested the whole countryside. It was also difficult to reach the country of the Nizam of Hyderabad. Therefore, when Delhi started to fall on evil days and its Mughal crowned heads were in a bad way talent was no longer appreciated there and most people turned towards other regions of the north. There is no doubt that Ruhelkhand was very close and if the Khans had had any appreciation of the fine arts they would have had the first opportunity to secure these people. They were religious and brave and had many excellent qualities, but they were completely devoid of any taste for learning or for the niceties of society. In evaluating them one realizes that their tastes were purely military. Apart from bringing together their fellow countrymen to add power to their military strength, they had no other interests. Their attitude towards polite society and the embellishments and etiquette of cultured life did not

allow them to appreciate poets, men of letters and other accomplished persons. As a consequence, whoever entered their country moved on quickly and arrived in Lucknow. Here he received a warm welcome from every class of person and all were eager to help him in any way they could. Would anyone reaching such a place wish to leave? All who went there remained. Members of every ruined family from Delhi, immediately they got there, decided to stay permanently. They had no further thought of their birthplace nor had they the desire to see any other court. A few people moved on to the territory of the Navab Nazim of Bengal, but they were those who had not been appreciated in Lucknow. These were few in number. It was not long before all the great and distinguished men of the most refined social classes of the day had congregated in Lucknow.

Before the establishment of the court in Lucknow only Arabic scholarship existed. The foundations for this were laid when the Emperor Aurangzeb presented the houses of Firangi Mahal to Mulla Nizam ud Din Sehalvi.[96] The presence of this scholarly maulvi and his family had in a short time made Firangi Mahal into such a fine university that this small quarter of Lucknow became the centre for learned men from all over India. After Shaikh Abdul Haq of Delhi (1551–1642), no outstanding scholar emerged in Delhi itself. Certainly the family of Shah Wali Ullah (1702–63) eventually achieved greatness, but their academic fame was limited to *hadis*,[243] the traditions of the Prophet. Lucknow was the university for all forms of [religious-based] learning. In those days Lucknow was little known internationally and it was astonishing that such a place should develop a great university, before which not only India but Bukhara, Khwarazam, Herat and Kabul bowed their heads. The whole Islamic world took pride in acquiring knowledge here and at their own universities following the syllabus[97] of Mulla Nizami. In short, before the establishment of this new court, the learned men of Firangi Mahal had made Lucknow the centre for the study of medicine (*hikmat*), doubt and religious principles (*kalam*), religious jurisprudence (*fiqh*), Islamic philosophy, logic, social and physical sciences and theology.[351]

Now I wish to describe in detail all that came from Delhi to Lucknow and developed here. First the Urdu language, the language of the nobles and army officers who came to Lucknow with Navab Burhan ul Mulk Bahadur.

The Urdu language had its origin in Delhi and its poetry originated in the Deccan. Wali[244] of Gujrat came to Delhi with his collection of poems and awakened those who spoke the language to its charm. There was such magic in the melody of these poems that they were immediately on everyone's tongue and Urdu poetry made its début in Delhi.[245]

At first there were only a few eminent persons who started to promote and give value to the language in Delhi, but at that time even if the Urdu language was not in its infancy, it was certainly in its childhood. The most learned, erudite and distinguished of the original pioneers was Khan-e-Arzu,[246] whose work the late Maulana Azad[247] classed as belonging to the second phase of Urdu poetry. In the ensuing period, among the greatest and most illustrious can be counted Sauda,[198] Mir,[197] Mirza Mazhar Jan,[248] and Khwaja Dard,[249] all of whom were *shagirds*[250] [pupils] of Khan-e-Arzu. Khan-e-Arzu laid the foundations of poetry and expert linguistic knowledge in Lucknow. Navab Shuja ud Daula's uncle, Salar Jang, had great admiration for his achievements and had invited him to Lucknow. He lived in Avadh for some time and died in Lucknow itself two years

after Shuja ud Daula's accession in 1756. He was the first preceptor of Urdu poetry and it was he who sowed the seeds of Urdu poetry and Urdu speech in Lucknow. But alas, his bones were snatched from the fond embrace of the Lucknow countryside and handed over to the soil of Delhi.

After Khan-e-Arzu, the most renowned man of letters of this phase was Ashraf Ali Khan Fughan.[251] He was a *koka*[252] [foster-brother] of King Ahmad Shah and came to Lucknow in the hope of recognition. Shuja ud Daula received him with great honour and the utmost respect and for a while made him a member of his court. But poets are by nature both sensitive and imaginative and he became annoyed because of some minor matter and went to Azimabad where he died two years before Shuja ud Daula himself left this world.

In the third stage of Urdu poetry, as defined by Maulana Azad, the pupils of Khan-e-Arzu reigned paramount over Urdu verse. Mirza Rafi Sauda, Mir Taqi Mir and Saiyyid Muhammad Mir Soz[253] were the leading men of letters of this phase. All had left Delhi for Lucknow.

Other distinguished men of letters who at this time came to Lucknow and stayed there were Mirza Jafar Ali Hasrat,[254] Mir Haidar Ali Hairan,[255] Khwaja Hasan Hasan,[256] Mirza Fakhir Makin,[257] Mir Zahik,[258] Baqa ullah Khan Baqa,[259] Mir Zahik's son Mir Hasan Dehlavi,[260] author of the famous *masnavi* and scores of similar poets. Mir Qamar ud Din Minnat,[261] Mir Zia ud Din Zia[262] and Ashraf Ali Khan Fughan came from Delhi to Lucknow, stayed and shone there for a time but were eventually enticed away by other courts who were on the lookout for talent. They went to Calcutta and then Azimabad, where they eventually died. Although Shaikh Muhammad Qaim[263] died in his native Nagina (in Bignor District, U.P.) he too had been a member of the Lucknow circle.

Only a few great men like Mirza Mazhar Jan-e-Janan and Khwaja Mir Dard who led ascetic lives and cared nothing for worldly possessions remained in Delhi. They were, furthermore, tied to Delhi because both were *sajjada nashin*,[264] leaders of their sects. In short, during this third phase of poetry the concentration of poets in Delhi broke up and started to reassemble in Lucknow. There was more enthusiasm and appreciation of talent in Lucknow than had ever been known before in India.

Now the fourth phase commenced. Although its exponents came from Delhi and Akbarabad, their poetry reached its zenith in Lucknow. Here they became famous and here they were the principal figures at the mushairas. Here they lived, here they gained repute and here they died. The most notable poets of this era were Jurat,[265] Saiyyid Insha,[266] Mushafi,[267] Qatil[268] and Rangin.[269] All were masters of the language of the time and their poetry acquired such fame that no other Urdu poet could surpass them. Where are the bones of all these men? In the soil of Lucknow.

One can judge the number of cultured people who came from Delhi to Lucknow from a story told by Saiyyid Insha. He describes a conversation between an elegant old nobleman of the time and a courtesan named Nuran. The nobleman and courtesan were both from Delhi but the conversation took place in Lucknow. Nuran said, 'Welcome Mir Sahib! You are like the Eid Moon,[270] which shows up only once a year. In Delhi you used to come and stay with me until late at night. What has happened to you in Lucknow that you never show your face? How I searched for you recently in Kerbala without finding a trace of you! Do

not forget to go there on the eighth day[271] of Muharram. For Ali's sake I implore you to go there on the eighth day of mourning.' The answer which Mir Sahib gave was extremely interesting, though too lengthy to include here. But he commented on contemporary fashions in Delhi and Lucknow and criticized the poets of the day. I have no argument with what he said and merely wish to point out that in addition to well-bred and distinguished people, even courtesans were continuously coming to settle in Lucknow and those who once found delight in the Delhi flower shows[272] now found enjoyment in Kerbala and the celebrations of the eighth day of Muharram.

The late Shams ul Ulema[273] Maulana Azad, without discriminating between poets or their period, placed all the later poets of Delhi and Lucknow into one category which he called the fifth phase. But this is not fair; the real fifth cycle belonged only to Nasikh and Atish and in it the language acquired a new form, old ideas were discarded and new constructions were created. The foundations were laid for the language which was unanimously accepted by the poets of Delhi and Lucknow and which is, to all intents and purposes, the language which is now firmly established in India. This is the period when Lucknow, for the first time, exercised its authority over the domain of Urdu poetry.

After this came the sixth phase when in Lucknow, Wazir,[274] Zia,[262] Rind,[202] Goya,[275] Rashk,[276] Nasim Dehlavi,[277] Aseer,[278] Navab Mirza Shauq[205] and Pandit Daya Shankar Nasim[279] demonstrated their talents. The last two acquired great fame as the authors of masnavis, whilst in Delhi, Momin,[280] Zauq[281] and Ghalib[282] were causing their melodious poetry to be acclaimed. It is certainly true that the poetry of this phase enriched the language more than any other.

Then followed a seventh cycle which consisted of the works of Amir,[283] Dagh,[284] Munir,[285] Taslim,[286] Majruh,[287] Jalal,[288] Latafat,[289] Afzal,[290] Hakim[290] and others.

When carefully considering these latter phases one realizes clearly what a strong tradition[291] of linguistic eloquence and poetry had been established in Lucknow. In a short time it became the fashion to compose poetry and it is unlikely that there has ever been a greater concourse of poets in any other language. Women also started to discuss poetry and language and even in the speech of the uneducated one could find poetically inspired thoughts, similes and metaphors.

10

The Development of Urdu Poetry—*Masnavi, Marsiya* and Forms of Humorous Verse

The real starting-point of Persian poetry was the *masnavi*[204] and this form of poetry has always been considered the most important and most forceful. Firdausi's[292] martial masnavi *Shah Nameh* led the way and Nizami,[293] Sa'di,[225] Maulana Rum,[294] Khusrau,[295] Jami,[296] Hatifi[297] and others achieved the highest renown in this field. Mir Taqi Mir wrote many short masnavis when he was in Delhi and Lucknow but they are so abridged and commonplace that it seems inappropriate to include them in the category of masnavis.

The first poet to write masnavis in Urdu was Mir Ghulam Hasan Hasan,[260] the son of Mir Zahik, who came to Lucknow in his childhood with his eminent father. He grew up as one of the community in Lucknow, he was nurtured here and his poetry developed in the local atmosphere. The society which influenced the writing of his masnavi *Benazir-o-Badar-e-Munir* was of Lucknow pure and simple. At the time, Mirza Muhammad Taqi Khan Havas wrote his masnavi *Laila Majnun* and taste for masnavis increased in Lucknow. At the time of Atish and Nasikh there was a waning of interest, until Pandit Daya Shankar Nasim[279] wrote *Gulzar-e-Nasim*, Afatb ud Daula Qalaq[298] wrote *Tilism-e-Ulfat* and Navab Mirza Shauq[205] *Bahar-e-Ishq*, *Zahre-e-Ishq* and *Fareb-e-Ishq*. These achieved such fame and prominence that their verses were on the tongues of all. At an earlier period an author had written the masnavi *Lazat-e-Ishq* in reply to Mir Hasan's masnavi. As this was published with the masnavis of Navab Mirza Shauq, it is usually ascribed to the latter. But in reality it is not his, nor is it of his period.

Compared with all these other masnavis *Gulzar-e-Nasim*, in spite of its universal popularity, contains hundreds of mistakes.[209] It appears as the work of a recondite novice who wished to introduce into his composition every sort of poetical charm but who, lacking the power of expression, stumbled at every step and was unable to achieve his object. In answer to it Agha Ali Shams, who was a poet of long experience, wrote a masnavi in the same metre which was free from errors and showed perfection in the use of simile and metaphor and in command of language. But unfortunately that masnavi was lost and could not prove its superiority over *Gulzar-e-Nasim* which had already acquired fame. Also at this time, in Delhi, Momin Khan[280] wrote some incomparable short masnavis which became popular and famous.

Momin Khan's poetic taste was a mass of recondite ideas. He built the edifice of his diction on fanciful similes and metaphors and in his masnavis defined imaginary desires and qualities in a way that rendered his style most attractive. One of Momin Khan's shagirds,[250] Nasim Dehlavi,[277] came to Lucknow and proved his worth to such an extent in mushairas that many people became his disciples.

Nasim Dehlavi added great lustre to the name of his master when he came to Lucknow and one of his pupils, Taslim[288] Lakhnavi, reproduced the beautiful thoughts of Naziri,[300] Urfi[301] and Saeb[302] in an Urdu masnavi and made Faizi[303] and Ghanimat[304] live again in Urdu poetry. At the end of this period Maulvi Mir Ali Haidar Tabatabai[305] Nazm Lakhnavi placed before the Urdu reading public an incomparable ethical poem censuring the drinking of wine, which he called 'Saqi Namah Shaqshaqia'. In short, if one disregards certain short masnavis of Momin Khan, the composition of Urdu masnavis began in Lucknow and also developed there.

Some scholars illustrate the difference between the speech of Delhi and that of Lucknow[306] by comparing Mir Hasan's masnavi with *Gulzar-e-Nasim.* Maulvi Muhammad Husain Azad[247] lent great weight to this idea but although *Gulzar-e-Nasim* acquired some renown, as did Nazir Akbarabadi's[307] *Banjari Nama,* to compare it with Mir Hasan's masnavi is an insult to Urdu poetry. A true comparison would be between Mir Hasan's masnavi and *Tilism-e-Ulfat.* However, if the language of *Gulzar-e-Nasim* is (unjustifiably) regarded as a true example of the language of Lucknow, the comparison between the masnavi of Mir Hasan and *Gulzar-e-Nasim* is not a comparison between the poetry of Delhi and that of Lucknow but one between the earlier and later speech of Lucknow. Mir Hasan's masnavi is an example of the early language of Lucknow and *Gulzar-e-Nasim* that of a later period.

An important early form of poetry is *marsiya,*[234] the elegy. In ancient Arab poetry the recital of elegies and *rajaz,*[308] battle hymns, was the means of displaying perfection in verse and eloquence. The recital of elegies in Persian had become rare until the time of the Safavi dynasty when the Shia religion had prominence in Persia. Then, in order to revive the memory of the calamities which overtook the members of the Prophet's family, poets turned their attention to the composition of elegies. Maulana Muhtashim Kashi composed a noteworthy marsiya consisting of a few verses which became universally popular. After this it became the custom for poets occasionally to compose a marsiya in order to lament the death of Imam Husain, but marsiyas were so scantily valued in the world of poetry that there was a saying, 'A down-at-heel poet turns to composing marsiyas.' However, as the Shia kingdom of Avadh became the religious successor to the defunct Safavi monarchy, a great impetus was given in Lucknow to mourning assemblies.[129] The composition of marsiyas was accorded such value that this art reached exceptional eminence. In fact these Shia practices are the source of Lucknow's cultural rise. In India the Mughal government had made Persian the court language. The social life of the Mughal nobles was that of the Persians and they considered it to be the acme of perfection. The result was that any Persian, immediately he came to India, was the cynosure of everyone's eye and his actions and mannerisms were watched with approbation. In Delhi, because the religion of the kings was Sunni, the Persians concealed many

of their customs and so were unable to reveal themselves completely. The court of Avadh had emanated from Khurasan and adhered to the Shia faith. Hence the Persians here showed themselves in their true light. The more brilliantly they revealed themselves, the more their co-religionists at this court began to adopt their mannerisms and deportment. Thus Persian culture, which had been nurtured in the stately and majestic laps of the Sassanide[309] and Abbaside[310] dynasties, permeated the society of Lucknow.

At the time of Sauda and Mir, Mian[311] Sikander, Gada, Miskin and Afsurda were the composers of marsiyas. They wrote short poems on the martyrdom of Imam Husain which they recited at assemblies of mourning. After them Mir Khaliq[312] and Mir Zamir[313] greatly enriched the art of marsiya composition and the present style was developed in their day. Mir Zamir's pupil Mirza Dabir[314] and Mir Khaliq's son Mir Anis[315] both reached the heights of fame and showed such poetical perfection in their composition of marsiyas that they shone like the sun and the moon in the firmament of poetry and letters. The controversy which had existed over the merits of Mir and Sauda and Atish and Nasikh was now centred on Mir Anis and Mirza Dabir. Mirza Dabir displayed a grandeur of language, lofty ideas and great erudition. Mir Anis's style had those fine attributes of simplicity, frankness and human allurement that cannot be learned but are obtained only from the Almighty. Both these great men composed marsiyas superior to any other form of poetry and made the innovations in Urdu literature that people had been seeking as a result of the influence of British education.[316]

Anis and Dabir had improved the composition of marsiyas to such a degree that instead of being despised the form was now considered the finest in poetic art. People of Lucknow praised these two great men to such an extent that the city was divided into two factions. Every literary man was the champion of either Anis or Dabir and the controversy between these two groups was unending.

Mir Anis made an art of the reciting of marsiyas, known as *marsiya khwani*,[317] in addition to composing them. One hears that some Greek orators made special efforts to render their speech effective and by raising and lowering their voices and varying their mannerisms and gestures gave force to their diction. In the long life of Islam, Anis was the first to introduce such techniques of oratory. The art of making desirable changes in the sound of words, of adjusting one's facial expression to the subject, of moving one's limbs in a way befitting the discourse and of making it forceful through minute gestures is distinctive to Lucknow, which is directly attributable to the family[318] of Mir Anis. The family is still making efforts to improve this technique, and if our speakers would take instruction from these accomplished people, they would achieve great success as orators.

Arabic and Persian literatures did not include the art of drama which is the life-blood of Western poetry. Urdu, being the pupil of Persian literature, has never paid any attention to the subject. There are several very fine Sanskrit dramas, but latter-day Indian society has become completely unacquainted with them. Certainly the exploits of Ramchandra Ji and Sri Krishna are depicted among Hindus with religious reverence, but Urdu poetry was not in the least concerned with them. Ramchandra Ji's adventures are depicted in martial dramas

in open spaces. Sri Krishna's adventures are reproduced in song, dance and music in religious gatherings. They are like operas and are known as Rahas.[317] Wajid Ali Shah became absorbed in the Rahas, and used their plots to compose a drama in which he himself played the part of Krishna, as well as that of a love-sick yogi who sat in meditation and was pursued by many beautiful women and lovelorn milkmaids. Then, when the gates of the Qaisar Bagh fairs were opened to the public, dramatic art made great headway in the city. The enthusiasm was such that some famous poets, in deference to the taste of the time, took to writing dramas. At the same time as Wajid Ali Shah was showing his love for Rahas, Mian Amanat,[319] a practised poet, wrote *Indar Sabha* and, in the manner of present-day theatrical companies, several associations in various parts of the city gave performances of it on the stage, young boys sometimes taking the parts of women. The *Indar Sabha* had attractive tunes especially composed for it and townspeople were eager to see the play. Because of Mian Amanat's success, others attempted to emulate him and many dramas of the same nature were produced. All were called *Sabha* and *Madari Lal* and others staged many *Sabhas* with different versions of the same plot. These were so attractive to the people that they became the only form of singing and dancing in which they took any interest. Old love stories were retold in pleasing verse with additional subject-matter and put before the public to suit the taste of the moment.

There is no doubt that the Parsi theatre,[320] with its excellent organization and engaging ostentation, superseded the Sabhas, but it should not be forgotten that this taste for drama originated, became popular and developed in Lucknow. For a start, the Parsis had taken their cue from Lucknow and the first play which they produced was Amanat's *Indar Sabha.* But despite the Parsi theatre even up to the present time plays like *The Snake-Charmer, Harish Chandra* and scores of others continue to be performed in Lucknow. A company of actors has been established which continues to delight the public even though cultured people have turned away from drama. In any case, there is no doubt that the foundations of Urdu drama[321] were definitely laid in Lucknow and from there became current throughout India.

One form of Urdu poetry is *vasokht*. It consists of a special kind of *musadas*, a six-lined verse, of an erotic nature. The subject of these poems usually involves a lover who first proclaims his love, then gives a description of the beloved and her infidelities. After this the lover becomes offended and tells the beloved that he has become enamoured of some other charmer. He praises the beauty and fascination of this imaginary loved one, thus making his true love jealous, teasing and tormenting her until her pride is broken and there is a reconciliation. This form of Urdu verse originated in Lucknow in the middle period when poets wrote very beguiling vasokhts. At a later period, various vasokhts were composed in Delhi; those of Momin Khan in particular are excellent. But their place of origin was Lucknow.

The voluptuous temperament of the nobles encouraged the development of several other forms of poetry that had originated in Delhi and flourished in Lucknow. Of these *hazal goi*, comic verse, was the most senseless of all, and another, having some attraction, was *rekhti*,[322] verses written in the language of women. Jafar Zattali,[323] who probably lived at the time of Muhammad Shah, started hazal goi in Delhi. I have read his work from beginning to end and,

except for lewdness and the height of immodesty, there is nothing in it; one can find neither poetic refinement nor beauty of language. Then a writer of hazal goi originally from Bilgram, U.P., called Saiyyid Imam Ali with the pen-name of Sahib Qaran, came from Delhi to Lucknow. He arrived in Lucknow at the time of Asaf ud Daula and kept company with degenerate and showy young nobles. Copies of his work are still in existence and although it is vulgar and obscene, it has some poetic beauty and a command of language and refined idiom. In the final poetic phase of Lucknow, Mian Mushir, who was a pupil of Mirza Dabir, brought hazal goi to perfection.

Now, ignoring any bigoted views held by either Shias or Sunnis, I want to say something about these faiths. The Shia faith is based on two canons. The first is *tawalla*, affection, that is to say showing affection to the family of the Prophet. The second is *tabarra*, condemnation, or showing unforgiveness, towards the enemies of that honoured family. This precipitated prejudice and led to abuse and vilification. On principle, Sunnis share this belief with Shias but differ in that they believe the first three successors to the Prophet to be the most pre-eminent of mankind after the Prophet himself and the true vicars of the apostleship. The Shias, however, consider them usurpers and tyrants and as such enemies of the Prophet's family—hence *tabarra*, objects of condemnation. Cultured and learned men minimize this distinction, but common Shias heap insults and abuse upon the first three Caliphs. This is the basis for antagonism between the Shias and the Sunnis.

These two religious doctrines had a very good and welcome effect on Lucknow, poetry. Tawalla took the art of *marsiya*, elegy-writing, into its embrace and made it the greatest form of poetry. Tabarra, the desire to condemn enemies of the Prophet's family, adopted *hajo goi*, satire, and from it developed *harzia goi*, frivolous poetry. Several brilliant men in Lucknow gained repute through it but unfortunately it was especially displeasing to members of the Sunni sect. At the time of the rule of the Navabs swords were drawn, and under the British, even to this day, there are sometimes quarrels and court actions because of it. The result has been that the composing and reciting of this form of poetry has not dared to emerge from the four walls of the house in which it originates. If the general subject had not become a matter of contention then that period would have shown the extent to which the writers of harzia goi had proved the excellence of their immodest utterances and obscenities.

The person who acquired the highest renown in this art was Mian Mushir, a pupil of Mirza Dabir. There had been satire and obscenity before, but the ways in which Mushir employed idiom, picked his words, formed his style and introduced humour into his similes were beyond description and his language and technique convulsed his readers with laughter. To introduce elegance into despicable subject-matter and to make it worthy of being placed before cultured people was a talent he alone possessed and one that has not been seen in anyone else either before or after him.

In considering hazal goi one should also mention the name of Mirza Chirkin.[324] Near the middle period of Navabi rule in Lucknow, there lived a learned nobleman of good taste named Ashur Ali Khan. At that time, to be numbered among his friends signified admission to the highest society. He discovered Jan Sahib[325] and Chirkin and some say that Sahib Qaran rose to fame

because of his patronage. All Chirkin's poems deal with urine and latrines and they are all so disgusting that his name would offend the senses of my readers. I have mentioned him however as he had a particular aptitude of his own. There is a certain amount of poetic beauty and apt metaphor in his writing, though even this is ruined by the filth and squalor of his thoughts.

The art of *rekhti*, verse couched in woman's language, although vulgar, is interesting and it is not offensive like Chirkin's verse. In every language there are certain differences between the idiom and cadence of a man's speech and that of a woman. These differences, while they are present in Persian and Arabic, are more pronounced in Urdu.

The old custom in Persian and Arabic was that if a woman wrote poetry, she wrote it in her own form of speech. If a man expressed an idea through a woman it was done in woman's speech and this added charm to his diction: the same applied in English. Urdu poetry has always been written exclusively in the masculine form, so much so that if women compose verses they do so as if they themselves were men.[326] They use men's speech and even apply masculine pronouns to themselves. If the poet's name is unknown, it is not possible to say whether the work is by a man or a woman.

In the third or fourth phase of Urdu poetry some humorous young persons created the form known as *rekhti*, women's speech, to approximate to *rekhta*, the usual masculine form. Mir Hasan, in his masnavi, used this form of speech where necessary and to good effect. Mian Rangin,[269] who lived in Delhi and would attend Lucknow mushairas, always employed this style, which was at first considered immodest and uncultured by people of polite society. I have written elsewhere of Saiyyid Insha's account of the conversation that took place in Lucknow between a refined elderly gentleman of Delhi and Nuran, a celebrated courtesan of the same place. The old gentleman says: 'Above all, listen to this. The son of Sadat Yar Tahmasp—adopted name Anvari[327]—whose nom de plume is Rangin and who considers himself rekhta personified, has written a masnavi and given it the name of "Dilpazir". It is couched in the language of harlots and makes bitter criticism of Mir Hasan and his masnavi "Badar-e-Munir", asking how anyone can call it poetry. And indeed, the late Mir Hasan was not much good. Still, everyone in Delhi and Lucknow reads Rangin's masnavi which goes something like this: "There she goes, corner of dress in hand, jingling her bangles." The wretched Rangin tells his tale in the same way. One wonders how a boy, the son of an army risaldar, more used to sword and lance, can have turned to poetry. The fact is that he degenerated by associating with prostitutes and so gave up rekhta and invented this new form of rekhti with a view to exciting the female members of decent families and corrupting their morals. He says, "Be sure of the address of Rangin: how far it is, O palanquin-bearers!" and he takes the trouble to collect the language of the prostitutes in a notebook.'

But such cultured old men died complaining and the young made Rangin popular. Thus rekhti became established as a form of Urdu poetry which, although created by a Delhi poet, was used by him in Lucknow and achieved prominence here. After the era of Mir Hasan, the heights to which Navab Mirza Shauq raised this form of poetry are beyond all praise. One can go on reading page after page without finding anything forced in the versification, as if this form of language came quite naturally to the author. Jan Sahib was Rangin's successor as a

writer of hazal goi. He was an ordinary resident of Lucknow who had gained polish and perfection at Ashur Ali Khan's court. After Jan Sahib, there were other writers of rekhti in Lucknow, but he was the best and the most famous. He wrote ghazals, vasokhts, and other forms of poetry in this style.

If rekhti had refrained from obscenity and immorality and had dealt in ideas of virtue and chastity, the art would have been worth cultivating to a certain extent. But it failed. Rekhti always marched outside the path of culture and moderation and, although it may have added something to the language, it certainly had a harmful effect on morals.

11

The Development of Urdu Prose

Urdu prose has not been in existence as long as Urdu poetry. For a considerable period it was usual among educated people to write verse in Persian as well as Urdu. However, the preference and inclination of the majority was towards *ghazal sarai*,[328] the chanting of odes, in Urdu, and in India the number of Urdu poets was much greater than that of Persian poets. But as regards prose, the whole country[329] preferred reading and writing in Persian. Books on science and the arts were in Persian, religious books were also produced in that language and things had reached the stage where old and young were corresponding in Persian. Children at school were given Persian lessons and were taught to write letters in that language. The result was that however sweet and eloquent Urdu might have been for conversation, immediately it came to writing people seemed to be struck dumb.

Mir Amman Dehlavi, with the encouragement and guidance[330] of the British, wrote his *Chahar Darvesh*, 'The Four Dervishes'. At the same time Mirza Ali[331] produced his treatise on Urdu poets which was printed through the efforts of Abdullah Khan, a resident of Hyderabad. Also about this period Maulvi Ismail Shahid[332] wrote his *Taqwait-ul-Iman*, 'The Strengthening of the Faith', on the subject of the unity of God and allegiance to the Sunni faith. However one likes to look upon these two books today, they were not written with a view to displaying literary perfection: their only objective was to present the subject-matter in unaffected and simple language so that the general public might benefit. If these distinguished men had wished to show literary perfection in Urdu, then in accordance with prevailing principles, they would have adopted the style of Zahuri,[333] Nemat Khan-e-Ali,[334] Abul Fazal[335] and Tahir Wahid,[336] who in those days held sway over the world of literature, and without reference to whom no writing was considered worthy of praise. In conversation, culture and refinement were shown by adopting a style similar to that demonstrated by Saiyyid Insha when he copied out some of the utterances of Mirza Mazhar Jan-e-Janan.

The fact is that Urdu prose-writing originated in Lucknow with the publication of Mirza Rajab Ali Beg Surur's[337] *Fasane-e-Ajaib* and other works. A little later *Nau Ratan* was also published in Lucknow. Its author was Muhammad Baksh Mahjur,[338] a pupil of Jurat, and a product of Lucknow society.

It is true that Rajab Ali Beg Surur showed the highest skill as a writer and when his book appeared it was received with admiration in Urdu circles. Unfortunately the author made an attack on Mir Amman in his preface, with the result that he was a failure in the eyes of the people of Delhi—so much so that a refined and distinguished man like Maulvi Muhammad Husain Azad called him 'that vagabond from Lucknow'. It is impossible to say how long it will be before the late Rajab Ali Beg is forgiven for his impertinence. Although the skill of Mir Amman as a writer may have come to the notice of the British in those days, it had not been recognized by any Urdu-speaking person. This was so because the effects of British education had not yet changed the country's literary style and oriental taste in literature.

In regard to literary style, I have often written that this is closely connected with one's upbringing and education. It is acquired in the same way as discrimination in matters of food, scent, colour and other similar things. Because of differences between countries and races the most delightful and best-loved thing in one person's estimation can be tasteless or even the object of disgust to another. Literature and literary taste are no exceptions. A style which has been fostered by one country and has become popular with its people might in the view of another be insipid, absurd and tasteless. Truth to tell, no one can come to a final decision as to which style is good and which is bad.

In pagan times in Arabia it was considered eloquent to employ rhyming sentences, to combine related and common words in uninterrupted sequence, and to repeat one subject several times over to render it effective and interesting. As the Quran was in the national language it had a miraculous effect in bringing this style to the pitch of perfection and it became the greatest work in Arabic literature. If considered by present-day standards, the best written Arabic books, like *Muqamat-e-Hurari* and *Tarikh-e-Timuri,* contain nothing but artificial rhyming and unjustifiable prolixity. It was a style, however, which had for centuries been a source of pleasure to all.

Persian writers also adopted this style and as literature progressed it became firmer and stronger. Because this style was very popular it was adopted by early Urdu writers and was acclaimed by all. Therefore to think that when *Chahar Darvesh* was written, except for its popularity with the British, who did not even understand Urdu, it was accorded any literary merit by learned men of India, is completely unrealistic.

Undoubtedly English influence had created a period when old Urdu literature discarded the jewels and clothing it used to wear and adopted the garments of the West. *The Four Dervishes* and other similar books became popular with the public, not because they had any particular merit but because they had discarded the old literary style which, having been universally popular, was not now in favour.

At that time Maulvi Ghulam Imam Shahid[339] wrote his celebrated *Maulud-e-Sharif,* 'The Birth of the Holy Prophet', in Lucknow. It conformed to such a degree with contemporary literary taste that everyone was very pleased with it.

Because of its acceptability from a religious point of view it is still popular today.

Present-day Urdu prose actually originated in Delhi and will always owe a debt of gratitude to that city. Mirza Ghalib adopted a stimple style in writing Urdu which is very near to the style of today. Although he sometimes made use of rhyming sentences, this use is so unaffected that the reader has to think twice before he realizes that he is reading rhyme. Present-day education has done a great deal to make this style acceptable to the public and it has been acclaimed by all classes of society. After Ghalib, Sir Syed[340] added some vigour to this simplicity but always with the aim that his writing should be in no way abstruse. Maulvi Muhammad Husain Azad added greater charm to this vigour at a time when the people of Lucknow, being unfamiliar with British influence, were still enamoured of the old-fashioned style. In Lucknow up to the end of Wajid Ali Shah's lifetime, flowery and rhymed composition was the order of the day and people had had no chance of acquiring a taste for simple style.

During this period the journal *Tahzibul Ikhlaq* was appearing from Aligarh, *Terwhin Sadi* from Agra and *Avadh Punch*[341] from Lucknow. The language of all these was the highest quality Urdu prose. In *Tahzibul Ikhlaq*, sorrow in regard to national tribulation was portrayed with seriousness and scholarly dignity. The phrasing was clear and analytical, incorporating ideas taken from the latest Western philosophy and literature together with impressive discourses. *Terwhin Sadi* with great skill preserved the old literary style whilst adorning it with new ideas. Old Eastern literature was portrayed with its ancient garments remodelled so that adherents to both the old and the new styles could not help acclaiming its contents. *Avadh Punch*, although humorous in content, was written in a dignified style. There were several contributors whose style possessed both charm and beauty. The wit of the editor, Munshi Sajjad Husain, the crystal-clear language of Mirza Machu Beg, the Persianized style of Munshi Ahmad Ali Ksamandavi and the Hindi verses of Tribhavan Nath Hijr, as well as his beautiful prose—all infused new life and elegance into Urdu prose.

At that time Pandit Ratan Nath's[342] novel *Fasana-e-Azad*, 'The Adventures of Azad', began to be published in the newspaper *Avadh Akhbar*.[343] It made a great impression on its readers, and through it the Urdu world acquired a taste for novel-reading that even became a passion. In *Fasana-e-Azad*, when the author described a scene or wrote about an incident, he employed the old style of Surur's *Fasana-e-Ajaib* and improved upon it. When he recorded conversations between two characters he used very simple and homely language; the language of the women is particularly lucid. Although the novel has some faults, it is true to say that his efforts achieved a higher standard than those of anyone before him.

This was also the time when Maulvi Nazir Ahmad,[344] on Government instructions, translated the Indian Penal Code. In this and in his other works, he gave his country a style which in terms of fluency and clarity is incomparable. In other respects it is difficult, recondite and ponderous because it is so full of Arabic words.

The writings of Maulvi Muhammad Husain Azad were also in a popular style. In particular his history of the Urdu language and treatise on Urdu poets made him famous.

In 1882 I started the weekly journal *Mahshar* under the pen-name of Maulvi Muhammad Abdul Basit Mahshar. It reproduced Addison's style in Urdu in

such an attractive way and with such suitable wording and ideas that it was universally admired among Urdu-speaking people. At the same time my articles began to appear in the columns of *Avadh Akhbar* and presented an entirely new style of writing that became very popular. It became apparent that most essayists had adopted this style and that it was given general preference. I then presented to the public my novel *Dilchasp* and a touching and interesting drama *Shadid-e-Wafa* and received encouragement from every direction.

Eventually realizing the feeling throughout the country, I produced my journal *Dil Gudaz* at the beginning of 1887. Its style appealed both to those who knew English and to people with old-fashioned tastes. From 1888 a series of historical novels was published in the journal. The first of these was *Malik ul Aziz aur Varjinia*. Readers eagerly took to these novels, and through them the foundation was laid for an increase in the reading of books. An appetite for reading history and for taking an interest in world affairs was engendered and these novels and the *Dil Gudaz* achieved a style on which present-day Urdu prose literature is based.

Urdu prose,[345] as far as the old literary style is concerned, had its origin in Lucknow. Certainly the new style originated in Delhi but wherever possible Lucknow vied with Delhi in efforts at improvement. Humorous and witty writing in particular was initiated in Lucknow and came to perfection here.

12

Dastan Goi—The Art of Story-Telling

The development of the Urdu language in Lucknow was not confined to the efforts of men of letters alone. Contributions were made at all levels of society that caused the language to improve, broaden and assume new aspects which were sources of interest to all classes.

The subject most worthy of attention is *dastan goi*, story-telling, which is in fact the name for extemporary authorship. This art actually originated in Arabia where in pagan times assemblies were held for the telling of tales. We do not know whether the recital of tales in India has any connection with that of Arabia. *The Tale of Amir Hamza*,[346] which is the basis for all raconteurs, was in fact in the Persian language. It is said to have been composed by a most gifted person named *Amir Khusrau*[347] in the days of the Tughlaq dynasty.

Famous raconteurs from Delhi came to Lucknow and here opium addicts so much appreciated their art that they made listening to stories an important element of their gatherings. In a short time the practice had such a hold on Lucknow that there was no rich man who did not appoint a story-teller to his entourage. Hundreds of them soon appeared on the scene. There are still one or two distinguished raconteurs in Delhi but in Lucknow their name is legion.

Their eloquence has had a great effect on the language of the general public. After the taste for reading novels had developed, attention was paid to writing tales in the language of these raconteurs, and Lucknow was able to produce most worthy exponents of the art. They wrote bulky volumes for distribution to the Urdu-reading public.[348] Among these were Jah and Qamar who are regarded with great appreciation throughout the country.

The art of telling stories is divided under four headings: 'War', 'Pleasure', 'Beauty' and 'Love', and 'Deception'. The raconteurs of Lucknow have shown such perfection in telling tales under these headings that one must hear them in order to realize the extent of their skill. The painting of pictures with words and the ability to make a deep and lasting impression on the minds of their audience are the special skills of these people.

For entertainment, wit and merriment, several devices were developed in Lucknow to enrich the language. One of these devices is *phabti*, pleasantry, to give an appropriate name in jest. It is connected with poetic simile and metaphor but has the peculiarity of making a target of its victim, revealing his faults and producing an apt, mirth-provoking simile to castigate him. In Lucknow even the humblest boys, courtesans, illiterate shopkeepers and tradesmen are so expert in producing apt phabtis as to amaze the stranger. A gentleman had returned from making a pilgrimage to holy Kerbala and was sitting with his friends dressed in resplendent white attire when a boy said: 'Well I never. Where has this Euphrates heron appeared from?' An old bridegroom, having dyed his hair, came to marry his bride and brought with him a most imposing bridal procession. Having emerged from the women's quarters he was going towards the reception. He bent down to take off his shoes and for a short distance advanced in this position. Someone asked 'Where is the bridegroom?' and a witty courtesan who was entertaining said laughingly, 'There goes the baby on all fours.'

A street-vendor was selling sugar-cane in the market. His cry was, 'O brother, who needs to hook in his kites?'[349] Can any metaphor be more apt than that? The most delicate metaphor is that in which neither the name of the object itself, nor the object to which similitude is given, is mentioned. What better example could there be than this case where there is no mention of sugar-cane nor of the pole by which the kite is hooked in? There could not be a more appropriate phrase to appeal to the sense of humour of the people of the bazaar. Thousands of similar examples may be heard at all times in everyday conversation.

Another device is *zila*, double meaning. This really is to prose what *riayet* is to poetry, a way of handling words in which most, if not all, the ideas introduced link up with what is suggested by the first word. When used by ordinary people, this device gives a special flavour and adds wit to conversation. Efforts are made with zila to bring in everything connected with the matter discussed from one point of view or another. Azad Faqir, who had a particular style of his own, is considered to have reached mastery in his employment of zila. In his poetry, Amanat concentrated to such an extent on the pursuit of riayet that he made it his primary objective, completely disregarding all other forms of poetical niceties. The result is that his diction left the field of poetry and entered the category of zilas. Most of the ordinary folk in Lucknow have advanced this art to such a degree in their everyday conversation that Amanat's poetry has been left far behind. Nowhere else have people attained one-hundredth the proficiency

of the inhabitants of Lucknow in uttering zilas. A book has even been published on the subject.[350] A third device is *tuk bandi*, rhyme-forming. This is poetical rhyming, and many unlettered people when they give their attention to this will, in competition with someone else, produce extemporary rhymes which amaze the greatest of poets. In my schooldays I used to see a Hindu sweet-meat seller who came out of his house in the early morning carrying his wares on a tray. As soon as they saw his face, hundreds of bazaar boys surrounded him and he would put down his tray and sit by the side of the road. Immediately a rhyming competition commenced, he on his own competing against all of the boys. There was a flood of abusive repartee between them, but the understanding was that the words of abuse must rhyme and as many words as possible must be used. I saw him scores of times. People would contest against him for hours on end but I never saw him at a loss for an answer. He used to produce some form of rhyme on every occasion.

In this way, in badinage and in ordinary conversation, many new ideas were formulated and ignorant people sometimes put forth ideas that left great poets dumbfounded. This period was in fact Lucknow's golden age. The beauties of poetry and literature had penetrated into the very hearts and souls of the people. Everyone who was more or less educated would try his skill. Even unlettered and common people of the lowest grades of society as well as stay-at-home women realized the sweetness of poetry and the elegance of literature. Illiterate vegetable-vendors were poets and the speech of the ignorant was so refined and polished, so full of words expressive of ethics and etiquette and so overflowing with cultured views on correct behaviour that the majority of learned men were astonished on hearing their conversations and no one could look upon them as ignorant. The cries of the street-vendors were so decorated with poetic conceits and eloquent obscurities that it was sometimes difficult for others to understand them.

Lower-class people had also evolved special literary interests according to their tastes. For instance, one practice arose which was known as *khayal* [lit. 'imagination']. People composed extemporary verses and recited them when sitting in a circle. The name *khayal* was given to the feat of everyone producing a masterpiece from his imagination and creating some new idea. Several exponents of this art achieved great success and although they had no connection with the best society or with educated people, still, if one considers the matter, one must admit that they produced real and natural poetry. It was the equivalent of the poetry produced in Arabia in pagan times.

In this manner there developed a style known as *danda* [lit. 'club-wielding']. The aim was to compose poems about important and well-known contemporary events, with complete freedom of expression. With the greatest temerity these poems would show up a person exactly as he was, no matter how influential and rich that person happened to be. They would reveal the good he had done for the country or the great harm he had inflicted on it. Then the verses would be sung in a special way to the accompaniment of the beating together of sticks.

In every country and in every race the speech of women is purer and more attractive than that of men. In Lucknow the speech of noble women and honoured ladies, in addition to having femininity and allure, was imbued with

literary and poetical refinement When they spoke it seemed as though 'flowers were dropping from their lips'. One realized from the perfection of their words, their pleasing constructions and the delicacy of their enunciation the excellence that language had attained in this part of the country.

13

Islamic Studies

At the same time as it achieved perfection in language and poetry, Lucknow advanced further in the field of academic studies[351] and erudition than any other city in India As regards learning, Lucknow was the Baghdad and Cordova of India and the Nishapur and Bokhara of the East.

Those responsible for the introduction of this scholarship and erudition were the learned men of the Firangi Mahal, whose circumstances I mentioned earlier in this book (Chapter 2). There is little doubt that learning came to Lucknow from Delhi in the first instance, although in the past only one person, Abdul Haq (1551–1642), among the learned men of Delhi emerges as having achieved lasting fame in regard to the Hadis[243] [the sayings of the Prophet], and religious lore. At no time can one find a centre of learning in Delhi like the Firangi Mahal. It is undoubtedly true that after the Firangi Mahal became famous the family of Shah Wali Ullah (1702–63) in Delhi gained great renown It is because of their favour and blessing that instruction in the lore of the Hadis has become current throughout India today. But if instruction in the lore of the Hadis is a memorial to that famous Delhi family, it must be remembered that grammar, logic, philosophy, eloquence of language and expression and instruction in other academic fields are memorials to that renowned university of Lucknow, the Firangi Mahal.

At no other period or place in India has it been possible to find such erudite scholars as those who existed in Lucknow and particularly in the Firangi Mahal The proof of this is that manuals used for religious instruction are the product either of famous Persians of bygone times or of members of the Firangi Mahal or their pupils.

The highest authorities on religious jurisprudence of the Shia faith, the Mujtahids, were products of the Firangi Mahal. The first Mujtahid, Maulvi Dildar Ali, started his studies at the Firangi Mahal, then went to Iraq and studied at the feet of the religious leaders of Kerbala and Najaf. On his return he was appointed Mujtahid, spiritual leader of the Shias by the ruling family of the time, with the approbation and ratification of the members of the Firangi Mahal. As he had studied in Iraq he brought with him the taste for new Arabic literature, with the result that he became more prominent in this field than the members of the Firangi Mahal school. The continuing interest of the later Shia religious

leaders in literature made Lucknow a very important centre for literary studies and produced such an eminent man of letters as Mufti[352] Mir Abbas [353]

The learned men of the Firangi Mahal had acquired special fame in the field of Islamic religious knowledge for *fiqh* [Islamic jurisprudence], *usul-e-fiqh* [principles of jurisprudence], the Quran, and *kalam* [doubt in religious tenets], in the field of literary knowledge[354] for grammar and eloquence of language and expression, in the field of scientific knowledge for logic, philosophy, natural science and metaphysics and in the field of mathematical knowledge for geometry and astronomy. Lucknow was the centre of India for the study of these subjects Shia religious leaders and Mujtahids of Lucknow had made literature, poetry and Arabic prosody their own particular subjects.

Munazirah [public debate] between Shias and Sunnis became an established custom in Lucknow. It started in India with the arrival of Qazi Nur Ullah Shustri who had come specially from Persia to contradict the Sunni interpretation of some points of Islamic doctrine From that period quarrels arose between Shias and Sunnis and eventually after Qazi's time, Shah Abdul Aziz Muhaddis (died 1824) of Delhi wrote *Tuhfa-e-Asna Ashari*, in refutation of Shia doctrine. Maulvi Dildar Ali, however, contradicted some of its chapters. Then Maulana Haidar Ali entered the dispute. He actually belonged to Faizabad but became famous in Lucknow. He wrote *Muntahi-ul-Kalam*, which was considered to be the best book in confutation of the Shia doctrine At this time Maulvi Lutf Ullah, who had been educated in Lucknow and had become an inhabitant of the place, wrote several books which had an amusing style as well as investigating and refuting the rival doctrine Mian Mushir violently opposed his arguments but his book exceeded the bounds of controversy and entered the realms of satire and obscenity. Eventually Maulvi Hamid Husain, an expert on theological literature, wrote several long books in confutation of the Sunni doctrine At present Maulvi Abdul Shakur is gaining recognition in this art through his championship of the Sunni doctrine.

Although religious dispute may appeal to some people, it is, to my mind, completely pointless and there is more harm than good in it. But I wanted to show here that the heights which this practice attained in Lucknow had never previously been attained in any other city.

Lucknow was not strong in the fields of theological science, *tafsir* [the interpretation of the Quran], *hadis* and *rijal* [investigation of hadis] Tafsir was understood to a certain degree, but no more than in many other places. The study of hadis has always been associated with Delhi. In recent times the late Maulana Muhammad Abdul Hai was granted a diploma in this subject by the hierarchy of Holy Mecca itself. On his return he started a course of instruction but the subject was never satisfactorily developed in Lucknow.

The subject of rijal is subordinate to that of hadis and the more knowledge a man acquires in regard to the hadis, the greater is his mental perception of rijal. Therefore the learned men of Lucknow were as wanting in this subject as they were in hadis. As regards history, India never achieved great distinction There is no doubt that Persian scholars gave it their attention both as an intellectual pursuit and a social record, but Muslim religious leaders in India paid no more regard to it than if it were a collection of legends and for that reason most of these men must be found wanting. Thus even in children's minds the idea grew,

'What reason have religious leaders to concern themselves with knowing what happened at a certain time? Their concern is purely and simply paradise '

Realizing the necessity of the times, the religious leaders of both factions have started to make appropriate additions to their manuals. The university of Nadvat-ul-Ulema[385] has also been inaugurated and is paying particular attention to these necessary subjects which have so far been neglected In spite of these shortcomings, Lucknow has done much more than any other place to remedy these defects.

14

The Development of Yunani Medicine

This most noble of all sciences, concerned with preserving and developing humanity, was practised in every country in the past in a spontaneous and elementary manner. But in ancient times in the West, the people of Greece achieved notable success in advancing medicine and in the east talented Hindus also developed the science.

When the Muslim court of the Caliphate was established, the doctors of Baghdad included skilled physicians coming from both of these regions For one or two centuries all the regular doctors at the Abbaside court were either Hindus, Christians or Jews, there was not a single Muslim The eminent physicians of this era, whatever faith they embraced, were supported by the Muslims and were famous in the Islamic world. In their hands the science of medicine began to be based on efficient collation and classification of information Basic Greek medicinal methods, with a few improvements and alterations, were adopted, incorporating the experience gained in other countries Later, distinguished Muslim physicians appeared who developed the science of medicine experimentally on their own lines This culminated in Abu Sina (Avicenna, 980–1037), who presented to the world an incomparable book of codes to which all nations of the East and West bowed their heads in admiration. The court of Andalusia[356] made great progress in development and experimentation and the science of medicine became the special prerogative of the Muslims. They became the fount of medical science, and every nation acquired knowledge from them Present-day European medicine is founded on these early studies which were closely connected with the Muslim medical school of Andalusia

But when this Muslim society started to disintegrate, the effects were felt in the arts and sciences and especially in the science of medicine. In most countries medical knowledge had reached only early Greek levels. Persons of ordinary capability, without access to the best books on the subject, used their limited experience to treat their patients. The result was that in a short while Egypt, Arabia, Asia Minor and Iraq were devoid of physicians. Among the Islamic

countries the science remained in existence only in Persia and India. In the last century, Persia, too, has lacked physicians There has been such ignorance in all Muslim countries regarding their ancient science that when French and British doctors appeared from Europe they were regarded by all as a blessing from heaven No one ever considered that the science had originally belonged to the Muslims or that they had ever possessed competent physicians

If Muslim medicine survived at all it was only in India where today physicians of the Yunani school are more numerous than doctors of the European school.

In former days in Delhi there were many who achieved distinction in the field of medical science Hakim Arzani, Hakim Shafai Khan, Hakim Alavi Khan and Hakim Muhammad Sharif Khan—all acquired great fame as physicians From the time of Burhan ul Mulk, skilled physicians started to come from Delhi into the Province of Avadh When Shuja ud Daula was ruling, not just one or two but all the best physicians left Delhi to come to Lucknow. One learns from the history of Faizabad that every noble there had his own physician of the Yunani school who was treated with great consideration and respect and who would be honoured with favours and rewards in addition to his monthly emoluments.

From the days of Asaf ud Daula, when Lucknow became the cultural centre of India, many Delhi families[357] whose profession was medicine became domiciled here Just as language and poetry were regarded as local arts, so the science of medicine was adopted as a local science As a result, Lucknow produced eminent and celebrated physicians such as Hakim Masih ud Daula, Hakim Shafa ud Daula and Hakim Mirza Muhammad Jafar, all of whom were renowned experts As time went on, the science progressed to such a degree that there were few quarters in Lucknow which did not contain a celebrated family of professional physicians. Apart from those existing in the hundreds of quarters of the city itself, thousands of clinics had been set up in neighbouring villages and small towns. All the famous physicians practising at the courts or in the towns of India had come from Lucknow or its neighbourhood. There was one physician at the court of the Gaekwar[358] of Baroda who was accorded such honour as rarely falls to the lot of any member of his profession. In short, Lucknow produced such eminent men of medicine that their achievements are remembered even today.

In the final days of the court of Avadh, there was an exemplary pupil of Saiyyid Muhammad Murtaish, Hakim Muhammad Yaqub, who established his own clinic and through it gained great renown. His family and descendants have continued the tradition and they are, without exaggeration, unrivalled. Among the distinguished members of this family who are now deceased are Hakim Muhammad Ibrahim, Hakim Hafiz Muhammad Abdul Aziz and Hakim Hafiz Muhammad Abdul Wali. Hakim Abdul Hafiz, Hakim Abdur Rashid and Hakim Abdul Moid are still displaying[359] their skills. It is a pity that some members of the family, because of other interests, are not concentrating whole-heartedly upon their traditional profession

The family of Hakim Muhammad Sharif Khan, which included such distinguished men as Hakim Mahmud Khan and Hakim Abdul Majid Khan, still exists in Delhi Haziq ul Mulk[360] Hakim Muhammad Ajmal Khan is today upholding the family tradition

In Delhi Hakim Muhammad Ajmal Khan has set up a medical college[361] and,

having established contact between exponents of the Muslim and Vedic schools[362] of medicine, is giving great impetus to medical knowledge. Hakim Abdul Aziz has set up a college in Lucknow called Takmil ut Tib,[363] the Perfection of Medicine, from which scores of hakims graduate every year, go to different parts of the country and demonstrate that Lucknow is the centre of medicine.

The Muslim medical system known as Yunani is now dead everywhere in the world except in India, where its only two centres are Delhi and Lucknow. In Delhi there is only one family, that of Mahmud Khan, which still practises it, whereas in Lucknow there are scores of such families. In Delhi one sees mostly hakims who have recently established themselves. In Lucknow, although there are many such practitioners as well, there are also many from old families who have continued and improved the science for centuries.

There is another difference between the hakims of Lucknow and Delhi I do not know whether the present medical text-books were drawn up by the physicians of Delhi or those of Lucknow, but whereas the latter rigidly adhere to them, the former do not. Instruction from these text-books is given in Delhi but the Delhi physicians' medicinal system diverges to a great extent from the original. They have adopted Vedic remedies, using them indiscriminately and without integrating them properly into their own system Delhi's Madarsa Tibbia, the College of Medicine, apart from the method of diagnosis, includes so many European medical practices that the original science of Muslim medicine, instead of advancing, seems to be heading for disaster. The Delhi physicians showed this carelessness in adopting the principles of Vedic medicine and are now doing likewise in adopting the principles of European medicine. With this state of affairs, the future of our ancient medical science in Delhi appears to be greatly endangered.

Unlike those of Delhi, all the medical families of Lucknow, particularly that of the late Hakim Yaqub, and the Takmil ut Tib College, make every endeavour to preserve and improve upon the principles of Muslim medical science Their medical system does not diverge in the least from the original science It is progressing so smoothly that one can hope that Islamic medicine may survive the difficulties of the age, although our physicians are still far from doing full justice to it The essence of medical art is the preparation of remedies, which is a branch of the ancient science of alchemy. The European science of chemistry is based on alchemy and ancient books on the subject, written by Muslim authors, have not all disappeared Many still exist and it is the duty of preceptors of medical science to study them continually. They should give them deep thought and analysis and incorporate them in manuals of instruction. New discoveries should be added to the original principles, bringing them up to date and making full use of them. If such action is not taken, medical progress will be retarded and good results will not be obtained.

In spite of some defects, Lucknow has improved and strengthened[364] Muslim medical science to a much greater degree than Delhi, and in this respect it has no equal anywhere in the world.

15

The Significance of the Persian Language

In spite of the fact that Lucknow produced great and distinguished scholars of Arabic lore, it must be said that Arabic learning was confined to religious leaders and their followers. In India, the court language was Persian. To gain employment and to shine in refined and honoured company, a knowledge of Persian was considered quite sufficient Not only in Avadh, but throughout India, Persian alone was the road to literary and social advancement. Apart from Muslims, the leanings of élite Hindus were towards Persian writing and literature, so much so that distinguished Persian compositions flowed from the pens of Hindu authors Tek Chand Bahar was the author of *Bahar-e-Ajam*, which is an unequalled and unique storehouse of Persian idioms and which presents, in support of each idiom, numberless verses composed by Persian writers. When Lucknow started to develop, Mulla Faeq and later Mirza Qatil[268] who had been converted to Islam were famed as Persian scholars. The latter would say jokingly that the smell of kebab[305] had turned him into a Muslim, but the truth is that instruction in Persian, his inclinations and his keen desire to become truly proficient in the language forced him to embrace Islam Because of this he travelled in Persia and lived for years in Shiraz, Isfahan, Teheran and Azerbaijan. He reached such heights in Persian literature that it is not surprising that even people whose mother tongue was Persian envied his mastery of the language.

Mirza Ghalib made occasional attacks on Mirza Qatil No doubt the former was an extremely good judge of Persian and he often stressed the point that no one could be an authority on the subject if it was not his mother tongue. But in his day people from Avadh to Bengal were devotees of Qatil and were always mentioning his name with reverence This would enrage Ghalib, and once when Qatil's devotees criticized him, he wrote the following verse:

> This language belongs to Persians,
> 'tis hard for us and not for them.
> The matter is plain and not obscured,
> Delhi and Lucknow are not Persia. . .

But this does not show that the efforts Qatil made in acquiring a knowledge of Persian and the lifetime he spent in gaining erudition were completely in vain. One will agree that no claim of Qatil regarding Persian was worthy of acceptance without the support of a native speaker and Qatil himself would have agreed. But this is not confined to Qatil. No one in India can be an authority on Persian usage. Even Mirza Ghalib could never employ a Persian idiom without the

authority of Persian sources. If the authority of any Indian scholars of Persian can be established it is only on the basis that they had an extensive knowledge of the language and had mastered the use of each word in its correct significance. In this respect, Qatil's standing was much greater than Ghalib's· Ghalib had never left India in his life and had always been busy with problems of livelihood. Qatil had lived a life of ease and for many years had spent his time wandering from village to village in Persia.

The study of Persian in Lucknow began with Qatil. Shortly before him Mulla Faeq, whose family had come from Agra and had become domiciled in the environs of Lucknow, was the author of excellent books on Persian literature, poetry and prose. There had been other Persian speakers and Persian scholars in India before him, but the desire to assemble the principles and rules of the language and its grammar in order to perfect knowledge of it arose in Lucknow. Qatil's books are of a very high order, indeed, they are incomparable.

After Qatil Persian became an ordinary subject of instruction and an intense and complex course of studies was introduced which was more advanced than the curriculum in Persia itself. In Persia, as in all countries, people like their language to be straightforward and simple. Their courses of studies are designed to this end. However, in India the intricate poems of Urfi, Faizi, Zahuri and Nemat Khan-e-Ali were included in the syllabus of instruction along with the works of abstruse writers like Mulla Tughra and the author of *Panj Ruqub*. It may thus be claimed that knowledge of the Persian language in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was greater in India than it was in Persia itself and people of this country wrote learned commentaries on all the Persian manuals of instruction. The most remarkable result of this was that whilst poets of all countries of the world normally write in their own language—and even if a few write in a foreign language they are not taken seriously by those whose mother-tongue they have adopted—there was as much if not more Persian poetry written in India as there was in Persia itself. This was particularly the case during the last century when Lucknow was famed throughout the world for its progress and education, when every child could speak Persian, when ghazals were on the lips of all, even the uneducated, the courtesans and bazaar workers, and when even a *bhand*[366] [entertainer] would jest in Persian. A refined pastime and means of livelihood for better-class people in the small towns of Avadh was the teaching of Persian. The streets and alleys of Lucknow were filled with excellent local teachers whose knowledge of the language evoked the praise of native Persians themselves. Their accent and intonation may not have equalled those of native speakers but they had acquired a mastery of Persian idiom, construction and the exact and finer meanings of words.

One can judge how far a taste for Persian has developed in Lucknow from the Urdu spoken in the town. Persian forms, constructions and genitives are on the tongues of all, even the uneducated and the women. If there is one fault with the Urdu of Lucknow it is that it has been influenced by Persian to an excessive degree. But judging by present-day standards this enhances the beauty of Urdu speech Persian influence was greatest in the latter phases of the Urdu language.

Like the Muslims, Hindus also gained prominence for their knowledge of Persian, a fact that became evident in the early days of the Mughal Empire when there were several famous Hindu scholars and speakers of Persian. This vogue

reached its zenith in Avadh, when there were more Hindus with an eminent knowledge of Persian in the environs of Lucknow than anywhere else Kayasths[72] and Kashmiri Pandits[367] considered it obligatory to learn Persian and progressed to such a degree that Urdu became their mother-tongue There was little difference between their knowledge of Persian and that of the Muslims. As the Kayasths were natives of Avadh their language was Bhasha,[368] but the idea of learning Persian was engrained in them and they were in the habit of using Persian idiom without discrimination This affinity with Persian, however, was not shared by Hindu sects in other parts of the country Sometimes people would laugh at the Kayasths' speech, but actually instead of laughing at them they should have appreciated their efforts because these were proof of academic progress. In the same way nowadays people consider that bringing English words into their conversation, either in or out of place, is a sign of their advance in education, although in actual fact their use of English is characterized by a complete lack of discernment and discrimination.

In Lucknow of this period there were hundreds of writers of Persian prose and poetry and there were mushairas for Persian poetry just as there were gatherings for Urdu poetry Persian was a mark of distinction not only for the better classes but also for the masses. Despite the fact that Persian has ceased to be the court language and that Urdu has become predominant and in standard use in Government circles,[369] Persian has set its seal on polite society up to the present day. Persian has been eliminated from the syllabi of schools and colleges and knowledge of it is no longer considered necessary as a means of obtaining a livelihood, nevertheless one unacquainted with Persian cannot be considered worthy of moving in refined circles nor can he be regarded as a person of any intellectual consequence

French used to be the court language of England. It has long since ceased to be so Yet no one can achieve social advancement in England today without a knowledge of French. French still holds sway over food, drink, manners, clothes, gaiety and speech; in fact, over everything that goes to make up life, and young ladies cannot take their place in refined society without having acquired a knowledge of the French language. The same standards obtain in Lucknow Persian has ceased to be the court language and is no longer used for correspondence but it is still paramount over all departments of society. Without a knowledge of Persian our sentiments cannot be correctly expressed nor can we correctly achieve polished conversation.

Of the few people who lived in Matiya Burj, Calcutta, with the ill-fated last king of Avadh there was not a single educated person who did not know Persian. The language of the secretariat was Persian and there were hundreds of Hindus and Muslims who wrote Persian poetry. Even women composed Persian verses and every child could make himself understood in the language

In present-day Lucknow Persian teaching has been very much curtailed and Hindus have given it up to such an extent that the speech of the Kayasths[72] and the semi-Persian language of the bhands[366] are now no more than a dream. Nevertheless a great taste for Persian remains among older scholars, particularly Muslims, because their knowledge of Urdu is, to a certain extent, a means towards their acquiring a knowledge of Persian. Among Muslims, an authority of the calibre of Khwaja Aziz ud Din is with us to remind us of the old Persian

literary tradition. There are many Persian scholars, now advanced in years, among Hindus, an outstanding example of whom is the Raja of Sandela (District Hardoi, Avadh), Durga Parshad.[370] We should revere him as we would the moth-eaten pages of some ancient holy manuscript, and place the brow upon him [371]

16

Scripts—Calligraphy and the Urdu Press

Calligraphy and penmanship are connected with learning. The old Muslim script was the ancient Arabic Naskh [372] Until halfway through the time of the Baghdad Caliphate (750-1268) this script was used by the whole of the Islamic world. It had evolved from the old Armenian Hira[373] through the Kufic.[374] From the time of the Tahira dynasty[375] in the ninth century, intellectual pursuits that had developed in Baghdad were introduced into Iran and Khurasan. By the time of the Deylamites (945-1055) and Seljuks (1037-92), most of the knowledge of Baghdad had found its way to Persia. In particular, Azerbaijan, the western province of Persia situated in the bosom of Persian and Arabian Iraq, became the cradle for all the perfections and improvements resulting from the Deylamite love for learning

In that region, writing started to take on a new form Script, advancing beyond the boundaries of mere writing, entered the realm of engraving, and the finesse of painting was introduced To Persian lovers of delicacy the robustness of the old Arabic script appeared crude and so its original form started to disappear. In Naskh the writing of each letter and each word from beginning to end was the same. There was a lack of symmetry and badly-proportioned unevenness in each letter, the circles were not round but elongated and crooked and here and there took the form of angles The delicacy of engraving was added to the script, fastidiousness was cultivated and the circles became beautifully rounded. The first person to introduce these new accomplishments was Mir Ali Tabrizi, a native of Deylam. He laid down formal rules and principles for the script, which he called Nastaliq, and made it current throughout Eastern Islamic countries. The name he gave his script is actually formed from *Naskh* plus *taliq*, hanging on, in other words an adjunct of Naskh.

It is not known at what period Mir Ali Tabrizi lived Munshi Shams ud Din, who is a famous and established calligraphist in Lucknow at the present time, puts his period as before that of Tamerlane.[376] However, one finds old books written in Nastaliq and I think that this script must have been invented before the time of Mahmud of Ghazni. There is no doubt that at the time of Mahmud's onslaughts, Persian calligraphists started to come to India and it was through them that this script became current here A large number of Nastaliq calligraph-

ists sprang up in every district and province of India. Therefore either Mir Ali Tabrizi lived a very long time ago or he was not the actual inventor of the script. There is however no doubt that the present-day calligraphists of Delhi and Lucknow and the rest of India consider him to be their master Many years later the name of Mir Amad al Hasani became famous as a master of Nastaliq in Persia. He is recognized to be the most eminent of calligraphists and the best exponent of the art His nephew Agha Abdur Rashid of Deylam came to India at the time of Nadir Shah's invasion and lived in Lahore. He had hundreds of pupils there who spread throughout the country and proved themselves if not the Adams, then certainly the Noahs of calligraphy in India Two of his most renowned pupils, who were Persian, came to Lucknow Hafiz Nur Ullah and Qazi Nemat Ullah It is said that Abdullah Beg, a third distinguished pupil of Agha Abdur Rashid, also came to Lucknow All these probably came at the time of Asaf ud Daula when no eminent newcomer wanted to leave the city. Immediately Qazi Nemat Ullah arrived, he was appointed to improve the princes' handwriting and Hafiz Nur Ullah was also attached to the court of Avadh. Both of them stayed in Lucknow and taught calligraphy.

Apart from these distinguished men there were already some other calligraphists here in Lucknow, such as the celebrated Munshi Muhammad Ali. The pupils of Agha Abdur Rashid had acquired such fame that all those desiring to learn calligraphy, in fact the whole city, turned to them and anyone interested in scripts became their pupil Earlier calligraphists were forgotten and drowned in the shoreless seas of anonymity It must be admitted that these distinguished men, because of their great skill, deserved all the fame they had acquired.

The respect with which Hafiz Nur Ullah was regarded in Lucknow cannot be judged from the fact that he had become a government servant; a true indication of the appreciation accorded to him was that people bought passages written by his hand at enormous prices. Even rough copies of his work were sold from hand to hand in the bazaars at one rupee per letter of the alphabet.

In those days both the wealthy and the not so wealthy would decorate their houses with *qatat* [usually four-lined verses] instead of pictures. Because of this there was a very great demand for qatats, and whenever a specimen of the writing of a good calligraphist came to light, people fell upon it like moths and put it reverently to their brows [371] Society benefited because ethical quotations and sentences or verses giving moral advice were constantly before the people and there was always moral instruction in the home. Calligraphy benefited because calligraphers and penmen of repute dedicated their skill to producing *katbas*[377] on pure and noble subjects which they wrote out in their own houses and from which they acquired wealth But unfortunately this vogue for qatat and katbas is disappearing and is being replaced by pictures With the dying out of this delicate and refined religious taste, calligraphy has also disappeared from India. Now there are *katibs*,[378] clerks, not calligraphers. If one or two well-known penmen have remained, they are forced to earn their living by *kitabat*, the copying out of documents and manuscripts, which is actually inimical to the art of calligraphy To counteract this a group was established whose aim was to adhere to the principles of calligraphy and occasionally to make suitable improvements. Earlier calligraphists thought that getting involved in writing a manuscript was beneath their dignity as it would be impossible for anyone who wrote

out a whole book to maintain throughout the principles and standards of calligraphy

One can judge the amount of effort involved from the fact that Navab Sadat Ali Khan once asked Hafiz Nur Ullah to write him out a copy of the *Gulistan*. Navab Sadat Ali Khan was extremely fond of Sa'di's[225] *Gulistan* and it is said he always kept it at hand. If anyone else had given such an order, Hafiz Nur Ullah would have taken it as a personal insult. But as it was an order from the ruler of the day he agreed and said, 'Please order eighty *gadis* [reams] of paper, and one hundred penknives for fashioning and sharpening goodness knows how many thousand bamboo quills.' Sadat Ali Khan asked in amazement whether all these things would be necessary for just one copy of the *Gulistan* He received the reply, 'Yes, sir, I always use this amount ' It was not difficult for the Navab to collect the articles and he ordered them Now Hafiz started to write out the *Gulistan* but he never finished it. He had written out seven chapters and the eighth chapter was still to be written when he died After his death, when his son Hafiz Ibrahim was presented at court and given a black khilat to mourn his father, Sadat Ali Khan said to him, 'I asked Hafiz Sahib to write out the *Gulistan* for me: goodness knows what has happened to it.' Hafiz Ibrahim said, 'He has completed seven chapters, the eighth remains. Insignificant as I am, I will write it out and make it so similar in quality that Your Excellency will not be able to recognize the difference. But certainly, if some expert calligraphist saw it he would recognize the discrepancy.' The Navab agreed and Hafiz Ibrahim finished the *Gulistan*.

The most eminent of Hafiz Nur Ullah's pupils was his own son Hafiz Muhammad Ibrahim and the next was a distinguished Hindu, Munshi Sarab Singh, who according to some was a Kayasth and according to others a Kashmiri Pandit The third was a Lucknow calligraphist named Muhammad Abbas. Hafiz Ibrahim acquired great fame and trained hundreds of calligraphists He made innovations in the art and created a technique different from that of his father. Hafiz Nur Ullah's curves were completely rounded whereas Hafiz Ibrahim made them slightly oval. It is said of Munshi Sarab Singh that he had assimilated his teacher's style to such an extent that he was able to distribute hundreds of tablets as having been written by Hafiz Nur Ullah The most eminent calligraphists could not tell the difference in spite of the fact that distinguishing a copy from the original was in those days their speciality.

Eminent pupils of Hafiz Ibrahim included his own son Hafiz Said ud Din. In addition to him were Munshi Nazir Hamid and Munshi Abdul Majid who was employed by the government to write royal edicts, memoranda and correspondence with the British Government. Two of Hafiz Ibrahim's pupils acquired great prominence and were in their own time recognized as masters in the whole of Lucknow. One of these was Munshi Mansa Ram, a Kashmiri pandit who excelled greatly in his art, and the other Munshi Muhammad Hadi Ali, who in addition to writing Nastaliq had no equal in Lucknow in the writing of Naskh and Tughra[379] scripts. Besides these there were two pupils of Qazi Nejat Ullah, one of whom was his son Maulvi Muhammad Ashraf and the other Maulvi Qul Ahmad.

In short, these people were masters in writing Nastaliq and through them calligraphy reached perfection in Lucknow Then after printing-presses[380] had

been introduced, *kitabat*[378] became the vogue. Thanks to the latter thousands of Muslims and Kayasths in Lucknow, who abound in the Nau Basta and Ashrafabad quarters, as well as hundreds of Kashmiri pandits, became calligraphists. Unfortunately Kashmiri pandits became interested in British culture and seeing the decline in calligraphy, gave up this art altogether. Nowadays all good penmen are either Muslims or Kayasths

In recent times, Munshi Abdul Hai of Sandela was a very distinguished calligraphist Among his pupils were Munshi Amir Ullah Taslim, his elder brother Munshi Abdul Latif, Munshi Ashraf Ali and some others At the present time Munshi Shams ud Din and Munshi Hamid Ali are famous writers of Nastaliq and Naskh respectively They are both pupils of Munshi Hadi Ali

In India the first expert to whom the writing of Naskh script can be attributed is considered to be a man popularly known as Yakut-e-Mustasmi and called Yakut the First. One cannot find any accomplished scribe of that name at the time of Mustassim Billah. It would not be strange if Amad Katib Juvaini, entitled Fakhr al Kitab, who died about 1167, was intended. He wrote the well-known book *Kharida* and was scribe to Sultan Atabak Nurud Din Zangi in Asia Minor and later scribe to Sultan Salah ud Din Ayubi, the conqueror of Jerusalem, in Egypt He is certainly considered the greatest of the later Naskh penmen. Subsequently, in the days of Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir, a distinguished calligraphist of the Naskh script named Muhammad Arif made his appearance and was given the title of Yakut the Second. It is generally agreed that he evolved a new form of Naskh writing and made it more beautiful than before. The Lucknow masters of Naskh claim that the whole Islamic world acknowledged his supremacy. I am not ready to agree with this. Whatever supremacy Yakut the Second may have gained in India, his name was unknown in countries where the national writing is Naskh and the national speech Arabic People of those countries do not copy his style.

At the time of Muhammad Arif, Yakut the Second, there was a man called Abdul Baqi, who was an ironsmith by trade. Seeing how Yakut had become universally popular he too wanted to become adept in the art There was another Naskh penman famous at the time, named Abdulla Tabagh. The ironsmith enrolled as one of his pupils and worked so diligently that he became renowned as a master of the art of calligraphy. After these two had passed away, Yakut's nephew, Qazi Ismat Ullah, took his place and the ironsmith's two sons, Ali Akbar and Ali Ashghar, also became experts.

After that many distinguished calligraphists came into being and the Naskh script in India continued to improve Eventually Shah Ghulam Ali, who was adept in the Naskh script, became famous and after him Maulvi Hadi Ali gained great renown in Lucknow as a writer of Tughra.

A contemporary of Maulvi Hadi Ali was a famous Naskh calligraphist named Mir Bandey Ali Murtaish. His instructor was Navab Ahmad Ali, a well-known nobleman and distinguished master of Naskh. Mir Bandey Ali's hands were palsied but directly they touched paper it seemed as if they were made of iron and he could not lose control. He was so perceptive in the recognition of handwriting that even the greatest bowed to his expert opinion

Munshi Hamid Ali tells how on one occasion Munshi Muhammad Yahya, an accomplished Naskh penman who was the first man in Lucknow to write out

the Quran for printing, Munshi Abdul Hai of Sandela (U.P.), Munshir Mir Bandey Ali Murtaish and he himself were together. It was like a congress of the best Naskh calligraphists. Someone put forward a Naskh script for sale and although the name of the writer was not on the script, all these experts immediately recognized it as the work of Yakut. They all wanted to have possession of it. Munshi Hadi Ali said, 'Let me keep it for a day and I will go into the matter carefully and satisfy myself whether it is really Yakut's handwriting or not' The owner handed it over and he took it home. The next day he brought it back and said, 'This is assuredly by the hand of Yakut I had another similar excerpt by Yakut and compared the two. I found them exactly the same and I am convinced that this is truly the work of Yakut' Then he placed both excerpts before the assembly and all agreed without hesitation that both had been written by Yakut But Mir Bandey Ali scrutinized Muhammad Hadi Ali's excerpt carefully, then smiled and wrote beneath it, 'This comes from your hand Let people say what they like' Munshi Abdul Hai looked at what was written and said with annoyance, 'Have you any doubt in the matter?' Mir Bandey Ali said, 'This excerpt cannot have been written by Yakut.' Munshi Abdul Hai and others present who did not agree with him said, 'This is certainly Yakut's writing.' Mir Bandey Ali pointed out the top of a *waw* [letter *v*] and said, 'This cannot be Yakut's.' At this everyone began to feel uncertain and Munshi Hadi Ali tore off a corner of the tablet and showed his own name on the bottom sheet. Now all were assured that the work was that of Munshi Hadi Ali and gave him unlimited praise. He himself said, 'I, for my part, salute Mir Bandey Ali's fine perception.'

In accordance with the general practice of calligraphists, it was unprofessional for Mir Bandey Ali to engage in any form of writing except the production of excerpts. He never once wrote out even the shortest of books When Haji[381] Harmain Sharifain inaugurated a printing-press, after much exhortation he got Mir Bandey Ali to agree to write out *Panj Sura*, five sub-sections of the Quran Mir Bandey Ali put in an immense amount of work and took many days to accomplish the task. When he took it to the Haji and had a last look at it in his presence, something about it displeased him and instead of handing it over to him, he tore it up and said, 'I can't do it'

In discussing these accomplished men it is not my intention to prove that Lucknow attained a distinction in calligraphy which was unrivalled throughout India. On the contrary, I think that the writers of Lucknow did not have a fraction of the skill of the Naskh penmen who lived in India before the days of the Mughal Empire. Besides, in the period under discussion, Naskh writing was already a thing of the past As regards Nastaliq, this much can be said. the recognition given throughout India to the qatat of Hafiz Nur Ullah and Hafiz Ibrahim had probably never been accorded to the work of any other calligraphist Even so, the art of penmanship in Lucknow was of much the same standard as that of other cities of culture.

The benefit that Lucknow's calligraphy conferred on the printing-press is probably unrivalled. I am not certain where the first printing-press in India was established. Great attention was given in Calcutta to the promotion of Urdu literature and also to supporting Eastern sciences in general. But I have never seen old books there which were lithographed; all I have seen is type-printing.

At the time of Ghazi ud Din Haidar, a European named Archer came to

Lucknow and popularized the idea of the printing-press. When learned people became interested, he opened Lucknow's first press. He constructed the press and all the materials required for it and started to print. He produced *Zad ul Miad*, *Haft Qulzum* and *Taj ul Lughat*, the latter a dictionary which ran to several volumes. Learning from him, other people started to open up presses, the first of which was probably that of Haji Harmain Sharifain. In those days a rich glass merchant named Mustafa Khan took something to Haji Harmain to be printed. The Haji was so rude to him that when Mustafa Khan got home he decided to start his own press, and the Mustafai Press subsequently proved a great success Soon afterwards, Ali Baksh Khan started the Alvi Press and many printing firms opened in Lucknow.

At first printing was not undertaken on a commercial basis but purely as a private pursuit. The finest quality paper, highly appropriate for lithography, was used and the best calligraphists were employed at high salaries. They were shown great favour without any stipulations as to working conditions or how much they wrote in a day or even whether they wrote anything at all. In the same way the printers were never asked how many pages they had printed in a day. For the ink, thousands of lamps of mustard-oil were lighted to produce fine-quality lamp-black. Instead of acid, fine-skinned lemons were used and sponges took the place of cloth. In short, only the finest materials were employed. As a result, Persian and Arabic educational and religious books in the days of the monarchy could not have been printed anywhere else but in Lucknow, where they were produced irrespective of cost for discriminating eyes. Books printed at that time represent a fortune to those who possess them. People search for them but cannot find them

My father's uncle, Maulvi Ahmad, was very fond of travel and trade at a time when people were frightened of leaving their homes. He went as an agent for Haji Harmain Sharifain from Lucknow as far as Rawalpindi, taking thousands of books with him in bullock carts and other similar conveyances He used to say that in those days books were very rare. On seeing books printed in Lucknow, people would open their eyes wide and be drawn to them like moths to a candle. They were so eager that at whatever town or village Maulvi Ahmad arrived, his coming was known beforehand and his arrival was attended by great pomp and ceremony When he came to a village, he was surrounded by people, a crowd would collect and any book he offered, at whatever price, was willingly accepted and reverently placed on the brow of the purchaser He used to sell *Karima* and *Ma Muqiman* at a few annas a copy and each volume of *Gulistan* or *Bostan* at three or four rupees. Even so he could not meet the demand Between one town and another the supply of books would run out and he had to wait months for further supplies In those days it was difficult for goods to be transported but he eventually made arrangements for a regular supply from Lucknow

Towards the close of the rule of the Navabs the printing of the Mustafai Press had no equal When the monarchy collapsed, Munshi Newal Kishore opened his press.[382] Although its printing could not compare in elegance with that of the Mustafai Press, it was run on such sound commercial lines that it produced a greater quantity of Persian and Arabic books than any other press would have had the courage to attempt The fact is that the interest taken in the printing-press in Lucknow was such that it needed an energetic and ambitious man like

Munshi Newal Kishore to take full advantage of it. Eventually the Newal Kishore Press gained such pre-eminence that it revived all Eastern literatures and Lucknow acquired great distinction in this field Lucknow benefited in that it was able to meet all the literary demands of Central Asia, including those of Kashgar, Bukhara, Afghanistan and Persia. Consequently the Newal Kishore Press is still the key to the literary trade. Without using it no one can enter the world of learning

But sad to say, in spite of the number of presses in existence, the printing situation in Lucknow is bad and is getting worse every day, so that now other cities have taken precedence over it. Lucknow printers' standards have deteriorated, and I think that printing in Lucknow is now inferior to that of most other towns But we can comfort ourselves with the thought that in Kanpur, because of Munshi Rahmat Ullah, the printing-presses are in a good state and Kanpur is actually an adjunct to Lucknow's progress

When printing-presses started, the art of *musleh sangi*, stone correction, was invented in Lucknow. The technique of making an impression on stone and scraping and correcting with a pen probably originated in Europe. But to correct Naskh and Nastaliq letters in this way so that the calligraphist's art remained unspoilt was an invention of Lucknow At first this art was confined to putting right letters and designs that had become obliterated, overlaid or spread out. Soon the desire for improvement increased and expert stone correctors came to hand who could write out whole books in inverted script, or mirror-writing. The letters were so perfectly formed that no one realized they had been written in reverse on stone. The first expert was a veteran stone corrector who was responsible for the fame of the Mustafai Press His many pupils were of benefit to the Lucknow printing-presses, much improvement was made and the number of stone correctors increased.

When the art of musleh sangi became common Munshi Jafar Husain, a famous stone corrector, persuaded the printing-presses to dispense with taking impressions in the ordinary way, that is, from the copy prepared by the katib. It was he who originated mirror-writing on stone This work was initiated in small bazaar presses and then was adopted more or less by all presses Now Munshi Saiyyid Ali Husain has made such progress that few eminent calligraphists can vie with his inverted scripts. One example of his mirror-writing is our *Dil Gudaz*, the copy of which Munshi Ali Husain writes on stone in inverted script Readers of *Dil Gudaz* can judge the excellence of the art of musleh sangi in Lucknow for themselves.

Although in most Indian towns the stone correctors are from Lucknow, up to now no other presses have succeeded in printing from mirror-writing and the art is confined to Lucknow. Unfortunately,[383] owing to the fact that wages and conditions in printing have greatly deteriorated, Lucknow cannot derive as much benefit from the art of musleh sangi as it should.

17

The Arts of Combat and Self-Defence

I shall now deal with many subjects that are peculiar to Lucknow. While these mostly concern cultural and social affairs, it nevertheless appears appropriate that I should also make brief mention of some matters connected with the art of war.

It is true that this last Eastern court was established at a time when soldiering among Muslims and among Indians in general was on the ebb. It would be more accurate to say that the old military arts had not quite disappeared but that old methods and weapons of war had become useless in face of new military tactics and modern weapons As a result these old arts of war, instead of being passed on by Muslims and other Indians to other valiant people, were completely lost to the world. In fact they were so lost that the present generation knows absolutely nothing about the courageous deeds and military prowess of its ancestors. When I lift up my pen to describe these arts, I can find scarcely anyone from whom I can get information. I am extremely indebted to Prince Mirza Masud Qadar Bahadur and to a very venerable Lucknow sage of long standing, Suleman Khan, of the family of Hafiz Rahmat Khan the famous ruler of Bareilly. All that I write with regard to these ancient arts of war is due to their help.

The military arts that developed in Delhi and later in Lucknow actually emanated from three different races, and their progress was determined by the intermingling of the three traditions. The extraordinary thing is that in spite of this intermingling the distinctive characteristics of these arts remained Some of these arts were derived from Aryan military sources, some were brought to India by Turks and Tatar warriors, and some belonged to the Arabs and came to India by way of Persia The arts of combat which were practised in Lucknow, and of which there were past masters in the city, appear to have been as follows: *lakri*, combat with long wooden sticks, *pata hilana*, with wooden swords; *bānk*, with knives; *binaut*, with staves; *kushti*, wrestling; *barchha*, with spears; *bana*, with cudgels; *tir andazi*, archery; *katar*, with stilettos, and *jal bānk*, underwater bānk.

Lakri

This art which they called *phankainti*, akin to single-stick fighting, is Aryan in origin and was common among the Aryans in India and Iran. After the Arab conquest, Arabian belligerence had its effect on Persian phankainti, more advanced that that of India. These two arts always remained in their separate forms

in India and schools for both were established in Lucknow. The Persian phankainti which had been influenced by the Arabs was known in India as *ali mad*, and the pure Indian as *rustam khani* In ali mad, the left foot of the fighter is fixed to one spot and only by moving the right foot forwards or backwards is the stance changed. In contrast to this, in rustam khani the fighter can change his stance and move forwards or backwards, right or left, as much as he likes or finds room to do so. By advancing or retreating, he falls unawares on his enemy. Another difference is that ali mad was only for aristocrats and nobles Its teachers never accepted people from the lower classes as their pupils and would not permit them to learn anything of the art. On the other hand, rustam khani was common among the lower orders.

A great teacher of ali mad is mentioned in *The Delightful History*[14] as having been attached to the government of Shuja ud Daula and subsequently to the court of his widow Bahu Begam. It appears that he was the first teacher of the art to live in Faizabad and that he then came to Lucknow The second teacher of the art was Muhammad Ali Khan who used to live in my own quarter, Katra Bizan Khan, and who is generally accepted as the inventor of ali mad The third teacher was Mir Najam ud Din who first went with the Delhi princes to Benares and from there came to Lucknow. His custom was to accept only nobles as pupils. When he accepted a pupil he used to take money from him if he were a prince and only sweetmeats if he were a noble. None of this did he keep for himself; he would present it in person to the Saiyyids [384] He lived at the time of Navab Asaf ud Daula. A very great expert was Mir Ata Husain who was a companion of Hakim Mahdi Another great teacher was Patey Baz Khan who, because of his prowess, was popularly known at the time of Ghazi ud Din Haidar as the originator and inventor of ali mad. It is said that he was a convert to Islam. He also confined the teaching of his art to nobles and never taught the lower classes To commemorate his name he left a mosque in Lucknow which is still standing in the neighbourhood of Alam Nagar beyond the Dhanya Mahri bridge.

Rustam khani remained for the lower classes, and for this reason it was particular neither to the Hindus nor to the Muslims Hundreds of teachers of the art were to be found throughout the villages and towns of Avadh but none of them acquired the skill and renown of Yahya Khan in Lucknow. Navab Fatehyab Khan, in addition to being a nobleman, was a great calligraphist and also attained perfection at rustam khani. A well-known and dashing athlete, Mir Langar Baz, was likewise a rustam khani expert. The art is still carried on to a certain extent. Since ali mad was particular to the aristocracy and since none of them now has any interest in military matters, the art has died out. Rustam khani was confined to the lower classes and as these people go on squabbling and fighting, they have preserved the skill to this day

I saw one or two teachers of ali mad at Matiya Burj; lastly there was Mir Fazal Ali who lived in the Mahmud Nagar quarter

Pata hilana

The object of this art was that if a man were surrounded by enemies he could, by swinging his *pata* (wooden sword) like a stick in every direction, drive them

back and escape, having inflicted blows on all of them To fence and protect oneself with a pata required great skill, the height of which was the ability to leap with one end of the pata on the ground as a lever Praise was accorded a man who, if he were shot at by ten arrows, could cut through them all with his pata This skill did not exist in Delhi; it came to Lucknow from the eastern part of the Province (U P) and was most practised by weavers although eventually it was adopted by a number of nobles, particularly the Shaikhzadas who lived in the neighbouring townships. Gauri was considered the best exponent of the art in Lucknow Hundreds of his deeds were well known to all and sundry, but alas, even these tales are being forgotten by the present generation.

Mir Rustam Ali had a double-edged sword, and by swinging it he would cut his way through hundreds of opponents A Shaikhzada of Asaun, Shaikh Muhammad Husain, would grip his sword with both hands when swinging it. At the time of Ghazi ud Din Haidar, the Resident and some other European visitors wished to see some expert exponent of the art Shaikh Muhammad Husain came forward and as he had no wooden sword at the time he was given a grand pata encrusted with jewels from the royal armoury. He showed such prowess with it that he was acclaimed on all sides Excited by the acclamation, he left the assembly still swinging the sword, and went home It was common knowledge among masters of the art that anyone who could swing a pata could stop ten swordsmen from getting near him.

In Lucknow there was one expert in the art, Mir Vilayat Ali, who was known as 'the Club Breaker'. It was said of him that however strong his opponent's club, he could cut through it.

Bānk

Bānk was an extremely important and useful combative accomplishment considered superior to all such arts. Young noblemen would make great efforts to learn it. The aim was to defend oneself with a knife when faced with an antagonist. From ancient times this art was practised by both Hindus and Arabs but their knives were different Hindu knives were straight and double-edged whilst Arab knives curved like a dagger and had only one edge Later the Arabs developed a knife called *junbiah* which had a four-sectioned tip that could inflict a clover-shaped wound extremely hard to sew. The method of instruction was that the instructor and pupil knelt opposite each other In training with the straight Hindu-knife, the two opponents knelt opposite each other with one knee raised. In training with the Arab knife, the opponents crouched with both knees on the ground. Then they were taught blows, and very complicated holds, compared with which the holds of wrestling are as nothing. One difference is that in the Arabian style there were seven forms of blows and in the Indian style there were nine. In the Arabian bānk, when there was a complete hold, it was not in the power of the man who had pinioned[335] his opponent to set him free; in the Indian style one had the option up to the end to release the hold and let one's opponent go.

This art was not only a matter of administering blows; there were also the most intricate holds and both opponents would remain interlocked for hours, continuously trying to make the hold more complicated and inflict a wound.

The holds and tricks of this art were so sure, so reliable and so well-founded on principles of human physiology, that it is said all the tricks of wrestling and single-stick fighting originated from them Bānk experts asserted that the full art was practised in the lying position, half in the sitting position and only one quarter in the standing position One should not imagine that the essence of this art was confined to wounding one's adversary with a knife; the real object was to pinion him alive and to make him a helpless captive.

The exponents of bānk tried to conceal their art as far as possible, so that from their habits and deportment one could not possibly realize that they were combat men. A reliable bānk fighter appeared to be an ordinary gentleman and he dressed accordingly. He never carried arms and even took a vow not to keep a metal penknife or needle on his person. He carried a handkerchief in one corner of which a lump of iron was tied, and this was a sufficient weapon in times of necessity. If he was more highly cultured he carried in his hand a *tasbih*[386] [rosary] to which a small but heavy iron bead was attached in the centre, and this was sufficient.

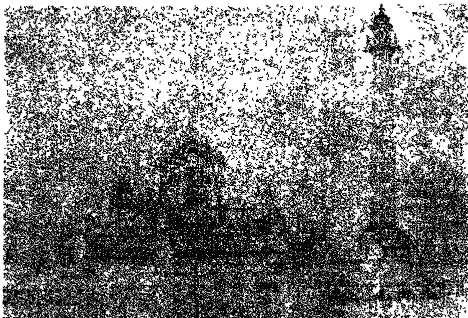
Among the Hindus in ancient days, the art was confined to the Brahmans The Rajputs knew nothing of it, neither did the Brahmans teach it to them, nor did the Rajputs try to learn it as they considered it contrary to their nature The probable reason was that a prerequisite for bānk was secrecy, and Rajputs were openly soldiers. Brahman exponents of bānk did not carry an iron weight; instead they had a key attached to the *janeu*[387] [the sacred thread] which they wore and with which they used to finish off their enemies most politely and firmly Prince Mirza Harun Qadar says that the art came to Lucknow at the time of Shah Alam when Mirza Khurram Baksh went to Benares and brought back one or two experts. But I know from reliable sources and from having studied the history of Faizabad that the first expert in the art was Mansur Ali Khan who came to Faizabad at the time of Shuja ud Daula

In the days of Navab Asaf ud Daula, Shaikh Najam ud Din was a master of bānk in Lucknow About the same time there was another expert in Lucknow who went by the name of Mir Bahadur Ali. His claim was 'Put a wild pigeon under a bed and see the fun If it manages to fly out in any direction I am no bānk expert.' This was an attribute of bānk and was not confined to him; any expert could have made the same claim There was a third instructor in Lucknow, Wali Muhammad Khan, and at the time of Nasir ud Din Haidar the name of Mir Abbas, a pupil of Najam ud Din, was famous He had four accomplished pupils; one of them became a dacoit but the other three were refined men of good breeding. The last instructor in the art was Mir Jafar Ali who went with Wajid Ali Shah to Matiya Burj after the collapse of Lucknow. I knew him and in my childhood became one of his pupils, but gave up the lessons after a month or two. Whatever I learnt is now no more than a dream and I do not know whether anyone still exists who knows anything of the subject.

Binaut

The primary object of this art is to disarm one's opponent of the sword, staff or whatever weapon he is carrying and to deal him such a blow, either with a

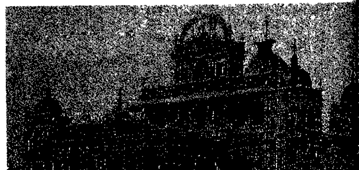
10 Old Chauk On the left is the entrance to the Imam Bara of Asaf ud Daula, at centre, the back of the Rumi Gate Pencil sketch by Robert Smith, 1814



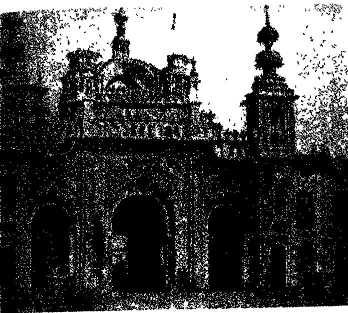
11 'La Martinière', residence of General Martin Pencil sketch by Robert Smith, 1814

12 Farhat Baksh, Lal Barah Dari, with Chattar Manzil in the foreground
Pre-Mutiny photograph

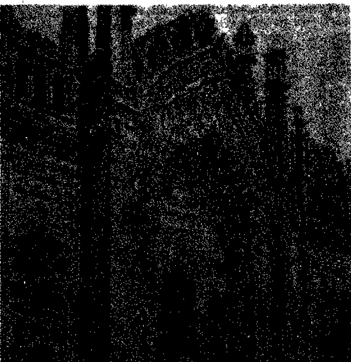
13 Dil Kusha
Pre-Mutiny photograph



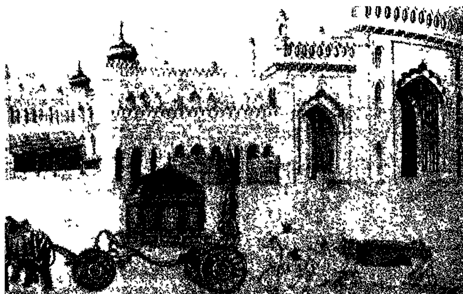
14 Palace of Raushan ud Daula
Photograph taken in 1859



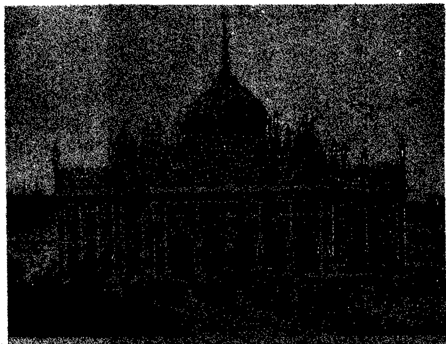
15 Chau Lakhi Gate, Qaisar Bagh Pre-Mutiny photograph



16 Rumi Gate Pre-Mutiny photograph



17 Part of a procession by Muhammad Ali Shah and the British Resident from the Rumi Gate to Husainabad Imam Bara. Detail from an unfinished water-colour and pencil scroll by a Lucknow artist, 1848



handkerchief into which a coin is tied, or with one's bare hand, that he becomes powerless It was known from the outset in Lucknow that the greatest experts in the art were in Hyderabad Deccan and on making inquiries I discovered that this art is still alive there to a certain degree People who know something of the subject say that if the opponents face each other standing unarmed it is *kushti*[388] (wrestling), if they have knives it is bānk, and if they carry about two-yards-long staves or handkerchiefs it is binaut. Exponents of binaut also keep their art secret and have a mutual pact that they will give instruction only to well-bred persons. They also make their pupils swear that they will never fight anyone who is particularly weak or who is inoffensive. The exponents of binaut always aim to make their movements, which they call *paule*, movements of the feet, highly dexterous, swift and clean This is not possible for a man who is at all advanced in years In addition to this they have knowledge of the nerves and muscles of the human body and are well aware of how to render an opponent powerless or breathless by pressing on a certain spot with a finger or by inflicting a very slight injury

Although Hyderabad was famed for this art, there were many accomplished exponents in Lucknow It is said that the first of these was Muhammad Ibrahim Khan who had brought it from Rampur In Lucknow there was a very dashing and expert swordsman named Talib Sher Khan. When he heard of Ibrahim Khan's claims he wished to oppose him with a sword and Ibrahim Khan accepted his challenge. As soon as Talib Sher Khan struck the first blow with his sword, Muhammad Ibrahim Khan cast his handkerchief, into the corner of which a coin had been tied, with such dexterity that the sword left Talib Sher Khan's hand and fell with a crash some distance away. He was left standing in bewilderment and all the onlookers acknowledged Muhammad Ibrahim Khan's prowess.

This art flourished in Lucknow until the end of the Navabs' rule and was continued in Matiya Burj by a man named Muhammad Mahdi who was *darugha*[389] [supervisor to the household] of the lady Navab Mashuq Mahal, and who was recognized as an expert instructor in the art of binaut.

Kushti

This art belonged especially to the Aryans The Arabs and Turks in India and Persia knew nothing about it, neither did the pre-Aryan inhabitants of India. In Lucknow various types of holds and methods for throwing one's adversary developed rapidly but the real essential in wrestling is bodily strength The people in Lucknow, however hard they tried, could not possibly compete with people of other parts of the country, especially those of the Panjab. Providence has not accorded the climate of Lucknow the quality to produce brawny wrestlers like Ghulam. For this reason Lucknow wrestling could rely only on tricks whereby victory might be obtained over a man twice one's size, but an extremely strong man could never be thrown. There are many famous stories about the Lucknow arenas and former wrestlers, but all concerning tricks and holds and having nothing to do with superiority of strength. On one occasion I saw a bout between a famous local wrestler, Saiyyid, and a Panjabi wrestler of twice

his size. There is no doubt that from the start Saiyyid's wrestling was very pretty to watch His movements, nimbleness and agility were worthy of praise but after an hour he was bathed in perspiration, his strength had given out and he could scarcely breathe. The Panjabi wrestler on the other hand was not in the least affected and was completely fresh. Eventually Saiyyid fled from the arena and acknowledged defeat without finishing the bout

Barchha

Fighting with spears is an ancient art which was equally prevalent among the Aryans, the Turks and the Arabs. The Arab spears were long and their heads triangular The Turkish spears were short and their heads rounded and pointed, that is to say, conical. The spears of the Aryans in India were long with fine-edged heads of the shape of a betel leaf All three types of spear were to be seen in Lucknow. The long spears were expected to be very flexible—the best of them could be bent double—while the short ones had to be stiff and not resilient at all A well-known and genuine spear-man of Lucknow was Mir Kallu, who was famous at the time of Burhan ul Mulk. After him Mir Akbar Ali became famous and several other experts began to come to Lucknow from Bareilly and Rampur At the time of Ghazi ud Din Haidar, when the King was interested in hunting elephants, much was thought of those who were practised in the art of spearmanship and the weapon was used in hunting. It is a pity that the use of this old weapon which gained fame for great nations in the past and which is still known in Lucknow, is now employed only on the occasion of wedding processions

Bana

Fighting with cudgels is common among the lower classes and still exists to a certain extent The art of inflicting blows and strokes in fighting developed from this. The object and limit of bana was that a person swinging his stick should escape from his encircling enemies. Bana was the name of a long stick at the end of which was an iron knob; some sticks had knobs at either end. It would be swung so that no one could approach. Some would tie cloth around the knobs, soak them in oil and set them alight. They would then swing the staff so that while they themselves were not in the least affected by the fire their adversaries had to remain at a distance to avoid it.

Tir andazi

This is the old weapon of all the warlike races of the world and is the gun of ancient times. Great prowess can be displayed in archery and both the noble and humble considered it essential to acquire the art With this weapon Raja Ramchandra and his brother Lakshman are said to have slain Ravana, the chief of the demons and ruler of Sri Lanka, Ceylon. Although the invention of firearms curtailed its value, archery is still considered a jewel among military arts.

Bows were made so stiff that it was not easy for everyone to pull them The stiffer the bow, the further the arrow went and the more effective it became In their conquests the Arabs showed astonishing prowess at archery At the time of the taking of Damascus, Um Ayan, an Arab bride of a few days' standing, shot two arrows in revenge for her martyred bridegroom with such effect that the first slew the enemies' standard-bearer and the second pierced the eye of the valiant enemy leader Thomas so deeply that it could not be removed Eventually the shaft had to be cut off and the arrow-head left in the eye.

The Pansis and Bhars of Avadh had been well acquainted with the art for a long time Then various experts came from Delhi and during the rule of Asaf ud Daula one of them, Ustad Faiz Baksh, at the King's instigation, shot an arrow with such rapidity at Mir Haidar's father, who was coming towards him on an elephant, that no one even saw him take aim and his victim felt nothing. Although the arrow had passed through his cloth belt and come out on the other side, he knew nothing of it at the time When he got home and took off his belt he discovered that it was covered in blood and a fountain gushed from the wound. In a few minutes he was dead.

Instruction in this art was difficult and now it has ceased to exist among all civilized nations because present-day firearms have made it completely useless. However, the wild tribes of India generally still use arrows for hunting game and killing beasts of prey and also sometimes in their inter-tribal warfare

Katar

This was an ancient weapon like a stiletto, peculiar to the Aryan race, and recently has been made use of by thieves and brigands. It was not used when meeting an antagonist in open fight but rather to attack him when caught unawares. For this reason most of the better-class people in Delhi and more particularly those in Lucknow completely abandoned its use. All used to carry it but no one knew how to fight with it or use it as a weapon It was extolled as a weapon of attack because, if desired, the attack could be stopped before any real injury, or it could be driven home to the hilt. Thieves generally used it at night to take their victims unawares or when asleep and so silently finish them off.

Jal bānk

This was the bānk which had swimming as one of its attributes. The object was to gain mastery over one's enemy in deep water and either to tie him up and bring him out or to destroy him in the water. It does not appear ever to have been practised anywhere else but in Lucknow where it was invented by a master of swimming named Mirak Jan who taught it to hundreds of pupils. Even today there are some Lucknow swimmers who are recognized in other parts of the country as masters.

18

Animal Combats—Beasts of Prey and Other Quadrupeds

There is an Urdu adage: 'In old age a man's sexual powers go into his speech.' In the same way, experience shows, with regard to the bravery of valiant and intrepid men, that, when weakness comes and the power of their limbs gives out, courage and strength are concentrated in tongue and eyes. One tells stories of past courage and fame. Unable to display deeds of valour one looks for them through the medium of fighting animals. One enjoys watching courageous acts and seeks acclaim by causing others to watch animal combat.

This is what happened in Lucknow When men had given up territorial conquest and no longer had the ambition to face the foe on the battlefield, then their warlike instincts led them to initiate the pastime of causing animals to fight. This gave them the opportunity of witnessing intrepidity and bloodshed. To a certain degree a predilection for this sport existed everywhere, but the diligence with which the people of Lucknow applied themselves to this wanton, cruel form of pleasure-seeking and the pitch of perfection to which they brought it could never have entered the dreams of people from any other place. The scenes that were witnessed in Lucknow were probably never seen in any other city of the world, let alone in Delhi or any other Indian court.

The desire to vent spleen through the courage of animals was fulfilled by three methods in Lucknow: combat between beasts of prey and other quadrupeds, fighting between birds, and matching small and large kites against each other. Combat between beasts of prey and other quadrupeds included fighting between tigers, cheetahs, leopards, elephants, camels, rhinoceroses, stags and rams. This interest in fights between beasts of prey, unknown in ancient India, originated with the ancient Romans, where men and beasts of prey were sometimes pitted together and sometimes against each other. Interest waned with the rise of Christianity, but even today in Spain and some other European countries wild bulls are set to fight each other and human beings.

It is probable that in Lucknow, British friends interested Ghazi ud Din Haidar in fights between beasts of prey. The King took to it and in a short time royal interest in these terrifying and savage contests had greatly increased and all possible efforts were made to further the sport. In Moti Mahal, right on the bank of the river, two new houses, Mubarak Manzil and Shah Manzil, were erected. Opposite them on the other side of the river, beautiful park-land stretched for miles and in it an extensive preserve had been enclosed with iron railings. Into this hundreds of animals of various kinds were let loose, the

beasts of prey being shut up in cages. At one end of the preserve, on the river bank, large expanses of land were enclosed by bamboo fences or iron railings for wild animal combat These were exactly opposite Shah Manzil on the other side of the river, which is very narrow at this spot. The King, his guests and his companions would sit in the shade of elaborate marquees decorated with gold and silver thread on the upper terrace of Shah Manzil. In ease and comfort they watched the uproar and confusion of combat across the river. It was easy enough to make beasts of prey and rutting elephants fight each other but it was a very difficult matter to control these fights. If a rutting elephant or a tiger escaped from a cage all was confusion and many lives could be lost. But the people had become so adept at these dangerous operations that European travellers who were present at the court have testified in their diaries that there were none in the world better at looking after, training and controlling the wild animals than these keepers They brought the elephants and beasts of prey into the arena, let them loose and exercised control over them. When the combat was over they took charge of both victor and vanquished. For these duties hundreds of men with goads and spears were appointed who prodded the beasts and warded off any attacks. They were equipped with red-hot, iron-tipped staves and torches with which they could turn the animals in any direction or drive them to any place they wished and also were responsible for locking up the tigers and leopards in their cages. One may say that the movement, agility, skill and presence of mind of the keepers was as interesting to watch as the fights themselves.

Tigers

The King had collected a large number of tigers from the foothills of Nepal. Some were extremely large and he had become very fond of several because they had been the victors in numerous encounters

For the fights their cages would be brought up to the enclosure of the preserve and then opened. Directly they were freed, both antagonists would spring roaring at each other, and would close together and inflict wounds with tooth and claw until one succeeded in forcing the other to the ground and getting on top of him. After a long and terrifying battle one of the antagonists sometimes lost its life or became so badly wounded that it lost heart and being weakened by excessive loss of blood, it would turn to flee. It was then that the skill, efforts and proficiency of the trainers in bringing the animals under control could be seen

Tigers were often pitted against leopards, but the leopards were so powerful that the tigers could hardly ever beat them. These fights followed the same pattern as those between two tigers. Sometimes tigers and elephants fought each other but they were not evenly matched and the result was often contrary to what had been expected If an elephant was alert, the tiger could rarely put up a fight against it.

The most interesting battles were those between a tiger and a rhinoceros. Except for the underpart of its belly, the rhinoceros is brazen-bodied and the tiger's teeth and claws have no effect on it. With the assurance of this strength,

the rhinoceros cared nothing for the strongest of foes and, lowering its head, was able to get under its adversary's belly and rip it open with the horn on its snout; all the entrails came tumbling out and the adversary's days were over. Only rarely did a tiger knock a rhinoceros flat on its back and then tear open its belly with teeth and claws. Generally the rhinoceros managed to kill the tiger with a thrust of its horn.

At one time during the reign of King Nasir ud Din Haidar the tigers were completely defeated by a certain horse. This astounding animal was more dangerous to man than were beasts of prey. It was impossible for anyone to come near it. Its fodder was thrown to it from a distance and if it got loose it was capable of killing people. It would kill any other animal in its path, chew up its bones and mutilate its body to such an extent that it was unrecognizable. With no other solution in sight, plans were made to have it attacked by tigers Accordingly a tiger named Bhuriya, of which the King was fond and which had been victorious in many combats, was let loose upon it. The horse, instead of being frightened by the tiger, prepared to fight and, immediately the tiger sprang, lowered the front part of its body so that the tiger landed on its back and dug its dagger-like claws into the horse's hind quarters. The horse lashed out so violently that the tiger was turned head over heels and struck the ground some distance away. When the tiger had recovered it sprang on the horse again. The horse employed the same tactics as before and, lowering its forehead, the tiger landed on its hind quarters again. The tiger's instinct was to knock the horse over with its paws and then kill it, but the horse kicked out with its hind legs so powerfully that the tiger landed flat on its back some distance away with a broken jaw This injury so disheartened the tiger that it turned its back on the horse and started to run away The onlookers were amazed and another, larger tiger was let loose. It would not face the horse and had to be removed. Now three wild buffaloes were brought in. They too refused to attack the horse which, without being provoked, advanced on one of the buffaloes and kicked it so hard with both hind legs that it fell over. Its two companions started shaking their heads as if in appreciation of what had happened. Eventually the horse was granted its life and Nasir ud Din Haidar said, 'I will have an iron cage made for it and make arrangements for it to be looked after. I swear on my dear father's head that it is a very valiant animal'

Cheetahs

All beasts of prey were starved for a couple of days before a fight, but with cheetahs great care had to be taken because, fierce and blood-thirsty as they were, they sometimes proved to be cowardly. It was generally believed that they had a desire for adulation like the spoilt sons of rich men. Therefore in the arena, when they wished to fight, they would fight, but if they did not wish to, nothing on earth could make them do so, they would flinch and shrink away when advancing on an adversary. When they did fight, first they sprang with the hope of inflicting wounds but after one or two such attacks they stood up on their hind legs and started fighting, with their paws. Their contests were very bloody, with both contestants roaring the whole time and striking out with

their claws. Eventually the stronger one brought the weaker to the ground and tore it apart with its teeth, though itself covered with wounds from head to tail.

Leopards

The leopard is small but despite its size it is said that most of the leopards that fought against tigers in Lucknow were such marvellous fighters that they often were victorious. Fights between leopards were exactly the same as those between tigers. In the course of the fight both antagonists were grievously wounded The one that was vanquished either fell down and died in the arena or, acknowledging defeat, fled from its enemy

Elephants

In Lucknow people were particularly fond of elephant fighting. Such was the interest taken that at the time of King Nasir ud Din Haidar there were one hundred and fifty fighting elephants which were never ridden. For fighting purposes it was essential that an elephant should be ruttish, because it would not fight until it was in rut, and even if it should fight, it would not be truly angry or have any urge for victory over its opponent.

Before two elephants were put to fight, a rope was tied around the neck and tail of each. Both contestants, when confronting one another, raised their trunks and their tails, and trumpeting loudly, charged to meet with a terrific impact. They then continued to butt and jostle each other, pushing and thrusting with their tusks, and one realized from the contortions of their bodies what force they were putting into their blows The mahouts kept striking them with an *ankas*[391] [goad] to excite them to further efforts. Eventually one of the elephants would weaken and, no longer able to stand up to the jostling, fall to the ground The victorious elephant then usually gashed its victim's belly with its tusks and finished it off. Often when an elephant weakened, it would avoid its antagonist's tusks and run away. The victor then pursued it and if it succeeded in catching up, knocked it to the ground and killed it by tearing open its belly. The only way a vanquished elephant could save its life was by escaping.

Rhinoceroses were often pitted against elephants, but usually these animals did not like fighting each other. If it came to a fight, however, that fight was certainly ferocious. If the elephant managed to push the rhinoceros over the latter would be killed by the elephant's driving its tusks into its belly. If the rhinoceros got the chance to thrust its horn into the elephant's belly it would make a wide gash in the hide. But the elephant with the help of its trunk could stop the horn penetrating too deeply and would thus escape a mortal wound.

Camels

Although as a rule any animal is capable of fighting, none could be less suited to it than the camel. In Lucknow even camels were made to fight each other when ruttish and excited The camel's bite is well known, but the clumsy way in which they fall is very dangerous for them. They would show their excitement

by discharging froth and saliva. They started their fights by rushing at each other, foaming at the mouth, spitting froth at their adversary's head, discharging mucus and vilifying each other If one got the chance, it seized its adversary's drooping lower lip with its teeth and pulled at it. The camel whose lip was seized usually fell down and was defeated. Thus the battle ended.

Rhinoceroses

No animal is more powerful than a rhinoceros. It has been fashioned with such a brazen body that neither the tusks of an elephant nor the claws of a tiger are effective against it. Only the skin of its belly is soft, and if any animal managed to attack that part of its anatomy it could destroy it. Otherwise an animal would expend its strength in vain and eventually tire. Then the rhinoceros would drive the horn on its snout into the adversary's belly and kill it.

In Lucknow, rhinoceroses were pitted against elephants, tigers, leopards and against each other. At the time of King Ghazi ud Din Haidar, some rhinoceroses, besides being made to fight, were so well trained that they were harnessed to carts and, like elephants, used to carry people on their backs. The rhinoceros is not by nature a pugnacious animal and avoids fighting whenever possible. If, however, it is baited, it will face an opponent and fight with great ferocity. At the time of Nasir ud Din Haidar there were fifteen or twenty fighting rhinoceroses which used to be kept at Chand Ganj. When their keepers prodded them and set them to fight they would lower their heads, charge and butt at each other. Each tried to rip open its adversary's belly with its horn. They bellowed loudly and banged their horns together. In fighting, their heads met and their horns became interlocked. Then they both started pushing and the one who weakened started to retreat slowly, giving up its ground If this didn't save the animal, it tried to run away. The stronger continued butting until the weaker one disengaged its horn, turned from the contest and swiftly took flight. If the arena was limited in size, the victorious opponent attacked its antagonist as it fled, knocked it over and killed it by driving its horn into its belly. In large arenas, the vanquished rhinoceros was often able to escape by running away. The keeper, by prodding and beating with burning staves, got control over the victor, stopped its pursuit of its adversary and drove it back. A fight between rhinoceroses depended upon the animals keeping their heads down and protecting their bellies The minute one raised its head, its opponent could take full advantage of the lapse. On one occasion, a rhinoceros had won a fight and its antagonist started to run away. Seeing this, the victor raised its head. The vanquished rhinoceros immediately ran in like lightning, lowered its head and ripped its opponent's belly

Stags

Lucknow is probably the only place where these delicate animals were made to fight in order to provide entertainment.* Their fights were very interesting to

* *Author's note* Maulana Habib ur Rahman Sherwani[161] points out, and I have confirmed this from historical sources, that combats between beasts of prey as well as elephants were staged in Delhi (This was probably under the later Mughal Emperors)

watch Poets liken the beloved to a deer, and even when these beasts are in combat, one is reminded of loving gestures Confronting one another, both antagonists showed very graceful footwork Eventually they would strike at each other using their horns both as swords and shields. After this had gone on for some time, their horns would get inextricably locked together and they started pushing and shoving each other until one of them weakened The one who weakened became so overcome with fear that its delicate legs would shake and its whole body tremble. Its opponent, on the other hand, would become violent and push its adversary right across the arena until they both reached the fence. The defeated stag gave up all hope, tears would fall from its eyes and blood drip from its horns. Disengaging its horns, it would turn from the fight. Then the victor started to gore its body with its horns and the vanquished stag ran for its life But however swiftly it ran, its adversary kept up the pursuit. This was a race worth seeing, both animals moving at such a pace that it was difficult to keep them in view The victor showed no mercy and continued to gore its opponent until the latter died of its wounds. Even then it went on striking the corpse with its horns Eventually it turned away, preening itself upon its victory.

Rams

These are extremely gentle and harmless animals but their butting is terrific When they fight it is as if two mountains collide, and people made them fight in order to watch them butting This was not a new practice but had been going on since ancient times. It was started in India by the Baluchis and interest in it spread from Baluchistan to other places. Looking after these animals and training them to fight was usually the duty of butchers and lower-class persons. Nobles and gentlefolk used to send for rams and watch the fights. It is said that Navab Asaf ud Daula and Sadat Ali Khan were fond of watching ram-fighting and Ghazi ud Din Haidar and Nasir ud Din Haidar would often watch the sport When Wajid Ali Shah was in Calcutta he derived a certain amount of pleasure from it and the Munshi ul Sultan, his Chief Secretary, kept several pairs ready, in the charge of butchers I have myself seen a strong ram butting so violently that it has split its opponent's skull. When a ram is worsted and cannot stand up against the butting of its adversary, it escapes by swiftly dodging its opponent's attack and running away.

I remember that once a year crowds of British from Calcutta came to see the King's park On one such day the King, contrary to his custom, came out riding on a sedan chair, and in order to please his guests, ordered that some rams be brought out and made to fight. Soon the noise of butting could be heard but it was nothing in comparison with the noise made by the Europeans in their 'hurrahs' and shouts of acclamation

In Lucknow, even after the fall of the monarchy, Navab Mohsin ud Daula used to take a great interest in watching ram-fighting. Recently nobles and better-class people have given up the pursuit and now it only exists among the lower classes.

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Bird-Fighting and Pigeon-Flying

Organizing fights between beasts of prey in Lucknow was confined to the royal family and nobles of the court Keeping the animals, training them, controlling them after the fight and protecting spectators from injury were beyond the means of the richest men, let alone the impecunious. For this reason fights between beasts of prey were only witnessed in Lucknow whilst the court existed, and when the court disappeared so did the terrifying amphitheatres.

But bird-fighting was different. Rich and poor alike could indulge in it. Any interested person, if he took the trouble, could train cocks and quails to fight The birds that people in Lucknow used for fighting were cocks, bush quails, partridges, *lavway, guldum, lals,* pigeons and parrots [392] Lucknow pigeon-flying and quail-fighting were famous throughout the country, but nowadays educated people, who make a show of modern culture, are apt to ridicule these sports. They are totally unaware of the degrees of perfection to which their devotees have raised them, having in fact made them a fine art However, when they go to Europe and see that these 'frivolous' sports are also practised there, they will at least be sorry for their utterances in regard to the interest taken in them in their own country.

Cock-fighting

Although every sort of breed of cock will fight, the best fighter is the *asil,* the thoroughbred, and it is a fact that there is no braver beast than the thoroughbred cock. Braver than tigers, they would sooner die than turn away from a fight Experts believe that the breed came from Arabia and this appears reasonable, as thoroughbreds are found mostly in Hyderabad Deccan, the area in India where Arabs came to settle in greatest number The breeds of cock in the mountainous regions of India originated in Persia

A well-known Lakhnavi cock-fighter used to tell the tale that his cock was unluckily beaten in a fight. He was distressed and went to the Sacred Najaf in Iraq where he spent some months in divine worship He prayed day and night that God, as *sadqa*[393] [charity] for the sake of his Imams, might grant him a cock which would never be beaten in a fight. One night in a dream he received a revelation: 'Go into the wilds.' The next morning when he awoke he went into the desert taking a hen with him. Reaching a valley he heard the sound of crowing He approached and released his hen. A cock, hearing the hen, came out of the scrub and the man managed to seize it. Its progeny was such that never again was he put to shame in a cock-fight.

Interest in cock-fighting dates from the time of Navab Shuja ud Daula, who was extremely fond of the sport. Navab Sadat Ali Khan, in spite of the fact that he was very abstinent, also enjoyed cock-fighting His interest had a great effect on society and in addition to the Lucknow nobles, Europeans at the court also became its devotees General Martin[137] was an expert at cock-fighting and Navab Sadat Ali Khan used to bet his cocks against those of the General.

For fighting purposes in Lucknow, the cock's claws were tied so that they could not cause much damage, whilst their beaks were scraped with penknives and made sharp and pointed. When the two cocks were released in the cock-pit, their owners stood behind them, each trying to get his own cock to deal the first blow When the cocks started to fight with beak and claw their owners incited and encouraged them, shouting, 'Well done my boy, bravo! Peck him, my beauty!' and 'Go in again!' On hearing the shouts of encouragement the cocks attacked each other with claw and beak and it seemed as if they understood what was being said to them.

When they had been fighting for some time and were wounded and tired out, both parties, by mutual consent, would remove their birds. This removing was called *pani* [literally water] in cock-fighting idiom. The owners would wipe clean the wounds on the cocks' heads and pour water on them. Sometimes they would suck the wounds with their lips and make other efforts, whereby the cocks were restored to their former vigour in the space of a few minutes. They were then once again released into the cock-pit This method of *pani* was continued and the fights would last four to five days, sometimes even eight or nine days. When a cock was blinded or was so badly hurt that he could not stand and was unable to fight, it was understood that he had lost It often happened that a cock's beak was broken. Even then, whenever possible, the owner would tie up the beak and set the cock to resume the fight.

In Hyderabad the sport is much more violent. There they do not tie up the claws but scrape them with penknives and make them like spearheads. As a result the fight is decided within the space of an hour or so. The practice of tying up the claws in Lucknow was probably adopted to lengthen the fight and thus to provide longer entertainment

When preparing cocks to fight, the owners would show their skill not only in the feeding and upkeep: they also massaged the bird's limbs, sprinkled it with water, tended its beak and claws and displayed their dexterity in tying up the claws and removing any signs of fatigue. From fear that the beak might be injured by pecking food from the ground they sometimes fed grain by hand.

Great interest was taken in the sport until the time of Wajid Ali Shah. In Matiya Burj cock-fights were held in Navab Ali Naqi's residence and some English people from Calcutta would bring their birds to fight there

In addition to kings, many nobles were interested in cock-fighting. Mirza Haidar, the brother of Bahu Begam, Navab Salar Jang Haidar Beg Khan, and Major Soirisse, who lived at the time of Nasir ud Din Haidar and used to set his cocks against the King's, and Agha Burhan ud Din Haidar, were all fond of the sport. The last-named nobleman always kept, throughout his life, two hundred to two hundred and fifty birds. They were kept with scrupulous care and cleanliness and ten or eleven men were employed to look after them. Mian Darab Ali Khan was a great devotee, as was Navab Ghasita.

The respected Pathans of Malihabad were also adherents of the sport and had very good breeds of game-cock. In Lucknow there were many who were considered outstanding experts Mir Imdad Ali, Shaikh Ghasita and Munavar Ali had acquired such skill that they could tell from the noise a cock made whether it would win its fight. Safdar Ali and Saiyyid Miran, a *vasiqa dar*,[394] were also famous In latter days the names of the following were well known. Fazal Ali Jamadar,[395] Qadir Jawan Khan, Husain Ali, Nauroz Ali, Muhammad Taqi Khan, Mian Jan, Dil, Changa, Husain Ali Beg and Ahmad Husain. None of these men is now alive

These were the people who perfected the sport of cock-fighting in Lucknow but nowadays I think that interest in the sport is greatest in Hyderabad Deccan. Many noblemen, landowners and officers are devotees. They have an unequalled stock of game-cocks and give great care to breeding.

Quail-fighting

The interest in quail-fighting came to Lucknow from the Panjab Some gypsies from this area, whose women were of easy virtue, went to Lucknow in the days of Sadat Ali Khan and brought bush quail with them, which they used to cause to fight. (Some well-known courtesans of today are descended from these gypsies) There are two kinds of quail, bush quail and button quail.[396] In the Panjab there is only the bush quail, which is bigger and stronger than the button quail In Lucknow both the bush quail and the button quail exist. The button quail is small and delicate but it is the more powerful fighter and its fighting the more interesting to watch. In Lucknow, the button quail was considered more suitable for fighting

Quail-fighting does not require a large arena nor does one even need to leave one's house to watch a performance One can sit comfortably in a room on a nice clean carpet and watch the fight. For this reason the sport was very popular in Lucknow society. Dainty bamboo cages adorned with strips of ivory were made to keep the quails.

To prepare a quail for fighting it is first necessary to keep him wet with drops of water and to hold him in one's hand for hours. He then becomes quite tame and starts chirping and chirruping. After this he is starved and subsequently given a purgative containing a large amount of sugar so that his inside is thoroughly cleansed Then late at night his trainer shouts the word 'ku' into his ear and this is known as *kukna*, winding up. By these methods the quail loses his surplus fat and any awkwardness and his body becomes very active and strong The more diligently these details are carried out the more efficient is the quail when the bird begins to fight.

For the fight, grain is sprinkled over the floor and the quails are taken out of their cages, their beaks having been previously sharpened with penknives When they are set against each other their fight is much the same as that of cocks. They strike with their beaks and feet. With their beaks they wound and lacerate their opponent's head and with their feet they sometimes split open his crop. The fight usually lasts fifteen to twenty minutes but it can go on longer. Eventually the vanquished quail turns and runs. When he has once run away he will never stand up to another quail again.

There are three stages in the development of a quail which are considered landmarks in the bird's career. The first is when he is originally caught, tamed and then has his initial fight. If he wins several fights and never runs away, he is put into a cage at the end of the fighting season This is the time when he sheds his old feathers and moults, which is known as *kuriz*, the first moult period. When this period is over, he enters his second year and his second stage of progress. The bird is then known as *nau kar*, an apprentice After this, when he has moulted a second time, known as the second kuriz period, and is trained for the third year's fighting, the bird himself is known as *kuriz*. This is the third and final stage of a quail's progress. It is generally acknowledged that a nau kar is stronger than a newly-entered quail and that a kuriz is stronger than a nau kar A newly-entered quail could scarcely stand up to a kuriz even if the bird had two beaks. Expert quail-fighters and enthusiastic noblemen use only kuriz for fighting; they consider fights between first-year birds to be a very poor form of sport.

Many artifices and harsh practices can be employed in quail-fighting Some people occasionally put bitter and poisonous oil or *etar*[397] on their quail's beak so that the other quail after a few encounters moves back and abandons the fight Should the bird go on fighting, he will die after the encounter. Some people introduce intoxicants into the sport and a few hours before a fight, administer such a strong drug to their bird that he does not realize when he is injured in the fight and never thinks of running away He goes on fighting like one possessed until he has driven his opponent from the pit.

Interest in quail-fighting in Lucknow produced such expert fighters that they were unrivalled elsewhere. Some people seeing a famous and successful quail could produce a very ordinary quail and make it resemble the other in every detail. Then when they got the chance they changed the birds round in the course of conversation. This was of course a sharp practice amounting to theft.

Some experts acquired the ability to re-train a quail which had run away and make it fight and beat very good third-year birds. There was also an expert in intoxicants who used to prepare such efficient pills that he received one hundred rupees for ten of them and people were only too willing to buy them These people showed their highest skill in the field of the medical treatment of quail They cured quail which were very sick, and on the point of death They diagnosed their ailments with accuracy and used such suitable ingredients in their medicine that physicians were astounded. They even made great efforts to breed quail from eggs which were kept in dried grass, but without success

Quails were given high-sounding names such as 'Rustam', 'Sohrab' (Persian fairy-tale heroes), and 'Shuhra-e-Afaq', World-Famed Large bets were made on the encounters and I myself have seen a fight on which one thousand rupees were wagered. Some kings took an interest in the sport and Nasir ud Din Haidar was fond of watching quail-fighting on a table set before him.

The memory remains of old quail-fighters such as Mir Bachchu, Mir Amdu, Khwaja Hasan, Mir Fida Ali, Changa, Mir Abid and Saiyyid Miran I remember, forty years ago in Matiya Burj, finding Darugha Ghulam Abbas Chotey Khan and Ghulam Muhammad Khan Khalispuri, both very old men, adept at the sport. Ghalib Ali Beg, Mirza Asad Ali Beg, Navab Mirza Mian Jan, Shaikh Mumin Ali and Ghazi ud Din Khan attained great fame in later days.

The hunting of quails is also interesting. At first it was merely an interest which led to some carefree people, who never otherwise left the town, going into the country and fields to get some fresh air; but now many make their living by it. They say that quails leave the mountains at night and fly about at great altitudes. Hunters get hold of a certain kind of quail having a loud call which they then train to call throughout the night: these are known as call-birds. Nets are erected round a field of pulse and call-birds are put into it. On hearing them, the quail in the sky come down into the field, where many of them collect during the night. In the early morning they are driven into the nets where they become enmeshed and are then put into cages.

Partridge-fighting

Partridges, when fighting, leap into the air more than other birds. Interest in the sport is taken only by villagers and lower-class people. Noblemen and gentlefolk never go in for it

The birds are trained by being rolled in the dust and made to race. They are fed with termites to make them worked up and excited But this is really no sport and was never taken up by refined society, though the lower classes in Lucknow took it up quite extensively and still indulge in it.

Lavwa-fighting

The *lavwa* is a variety of partridge, smaller than a quail. While other birds fight over grain, they fight over a female. A fight would begin, therefore, with a cage containing a female lavwa being placed before two male birds to make them angry. The sport was more popular in the State of Rewa and other regions of central India, but people in Lucknow followed it to a certain extent. Lavwas are usually trained by being starved and rolled in the dust and their fighting is more attractive to watch than quail-fighting. The lavwa spreads his wings, closes with his opponent, rises like a blossoming flower and then descends. Some rich men in Lucknow took an interest in the sport and there was also an expert at the late Wajid Ali Shah's court at Matiya Burj. Lavwa fighting began before quail-fighting but eventually the latter became more prevalent and the former died out. The method of catching the birds is quite interesting Like quails, they have the habit of flying about at great altitudes. People tie an earthenware pot on top of a pole, cover the mouth of the pot with a dried animal skin, drive a stick through the skin and fasten it inside the earthenware pot. A cord is tied to the stick and when this cord is pulled a loud humming sound is emitted from the skin. This noise attracts the lavwas so that at night they fly down to the nets around the pole. In the early morning they are caught in the nets in the same way as quails.

Guldum-fighting

Most people call the *guldum* a nightingale, but this is incorrect. The nightingale is a song-bird from Badakhshan and other parts of Persia, whereas the bird in

question is called *guldum*, Rose-Tail, because it has red feathers like a rose beneath its tail Villagers and lower-class people often make them fight but better-class people have never taken much interest in the sport

Guldum-fighting is not unattractive to watch. During training the birds fight over grain sprinkled on the ground. When they fight, both birds fly into the air as they close with each other, become enmeshed and then descend still entangled.

Lal-fighting

Lals are really only suitable as cage-birds, but in order to get some short-lived pleasure, people also used to make them fight. In the first place, it is difficult to tame the lal sufficiently to ensure that it will not fly away directly it is released from its cage. Secondly, it is not easy to work these birds up to a pitch of excitement sufficient to make them attack and fight However, when they do fight, they fight very well. They become entangled as they fly into the air, close with each other and go on fighting for a long time, in fact their fights last longer than those of other small birds. Lal-fighting was never popular in Lucknow There were only one or two experts and as a general rule people were opposed to the sport which, in any case, was confined to the lower classes.

Pigeon-flying

Pigeons can be classed among those tame animals in which human beings everywhere have always taken interest, from ancient times until today. There are several varieties. Among the fliers are *girah baz* and *goley* which are kept merely because of their beauty and bright colours [398] The best-known varieties are *shirazi*,[399] *guli*,[400] *peshawari*,[401] *gulvey*,[402] *laqa*, [403] *lotan*,[404] *choya* or *chandan*[405] and some others. The *yahu*[406] never stops cooing night and day and because they utter the sound 'Yahu, O God', they were very popular with the pious Muslims and holy men.

I believe that tumbler pigeons were first brought to Lucknow from Kabul. These were the first variety to be flown. After these came the goley, a variety which was originally bred in Arabia, Persia and Turkestan. The tumbler pigeon, if it is released in the morning, will fly for hours. They rise up into the sky, vertically, and encircle the house. If water is put into a basin in the courtyard their reflection can always be seen in it. Sometimes they fly about all day and only come down at night. They recognize their cots and are particularly home-loving. As an example of their intelligence, I once had a tumbler pigeon which was caught by someone who clipped its wings. Three years later, when it got the chance and its feathers had grown again, it returned, went straight into its cot and attacked the pigeon which was occupying it at the time.

Tumbler pigeons only fly in flocks of ten or twelve. Those who preferred to fly flocks of one or two hundred kept goleys. Pigeon-flying reached such perfection in Delhi that they say when the last Mughal king, Bahadur Shah, went out in procession, a flock of two hundred pigeons would fly in the sky above his head, thus providing shade.

Pigeons are extremely fond of their homes In Delhi pigeons were taken by cart to distant places where they were released at any given spot and then called back to the cot.

From the start, the ruling family in Lucknow practised pigeon-flying Shuja ud Daula took a great interest in it and an inhabitant of Bareilly, Saiyyid Yar Ali, was attached to his court as an expert in pigeon-flying. Navab Asaf ud Daula and Navab Sadat Ali Khan were also interested and at the time of Ghazi ud Din Haidar and Nasir ud Din Haidar the art had reached a high level Mir Abbas, an expert pigeon-flier, could go by invitation to anyone's house and for a payment of five rupees would release a pigeon from a cot and call it back by whistle By no chance would the pigeon come down anywhere else.

So great was the interest taken in this sport that some rich men would fly up to nine hundred female pigeons in one flock and some nobles flew the same number of male pigeons without mixing the two flocks

From Khost, a territory on the borders of Afghanistan, came some special-coloured pigeons called *tipait*. They were extremely costly and nobles used to spend thousands of rupees on these birds.

An old gentleman in Lucknow who was fond of novelties produced an unusual phenomenon with two young pigeons. He cut off the right wing of one and the left wing of the other and then stitched them together, thus making them into a double pigeon Then he nurtured it with such care that when it matured it was able to fly. He produced many such composite pigeons

Nasir ud Din Haidar, when he crossed the river from the Chattar Manzil in his boat and sat in his kothi,[139] Dil Aram, admiring the river scenery, would make a habit of watching these extraordinary composite pigeons. They were released from the far bank by this same old gentleman. They used to fly across the river and sit near the King. This pleased him very much and the owner was rewarded.

Another old gentleman named Mir Aman Ali invented something fantastic. He could produce a pigeon of any colour he desired Pulling out most of the original feathers and inserting different coloured feathers into the apertures, he could fix them so that they held as firmly as the original ones Sometimes he used to paint them in a way that was so lasting that the colours did not fade throughout the year. But after the bird had moulted, the original feathers returned These pigeons used to be sold for fifteen or twenty rupees each and wealthy men were eager to buy them. The same man could produce coloured designs and floral patterns on the wings which were extremely rare in nature and unequalled in beauty.

Navab Paley was a great expert. He used to fly tumbler pigeons like goleys. His speciality was that with a given signal at any place he could make his pigeons show off their tricks and turn somersaults in the air

Wajid Ali Shah collected many new varieties of pigeon in Matiya Burj It is said that he paid twenty-five thousand rupees for a silk-winged pigeon, and that he developed the breed of a certain form of green pigeon. When he died he had more than twenty-four thousand pigeons with hundreds of keepers to look after them. Their darugha was Ghulam Abbas who was unrivalled as a pigeon expert.

Interest and skill produced the most wonderful varieties of pigeon, not only for flying but for raising as well. I myself saw a shirazi pigeon which was large enough to fill the whole of a cage a yard in breadth and a guli pigeon which could pass through the bracelet of a twelve-year-old girl

20

Parrots and Kite-Flying

An interest in training and watching birds fight became extremely common among carefree people in Lucknow, and the art of training pigeons was so perfected that nobles from all over India who took an interest in such matters—and this frivolous interest became common among the leisured wealthy—sent for experts from Lucknow. These are now the superintendents of everything having to do with the management of these activities.

Parrots

The abundant interest in pigeon-flying led to the development of means whereby other birds could be made to perform like pigeons. An old gentleman named Mir Muhammad Ali was very successful in getting parrots to behave like pigeons

A parrot is by nature without fidelity. You can keep and nurture one all its life but if it gets out of its cage it will fly away and never return A parrot's second name is 'infidelity' [407] It will copy other animals and talk if it is taught a sentence or two but it is useless for flying purposes because directly it leaves its cage it is completely out of control However, Mir Muhammad Ali managed to change the parrot's nature and would fly a flock of ten or twelve As soon as he blew a whistle for their return they would, without fail, descend from the sky and enter their cages In the evenings he brought these parrots to the Husainabad quarter and flew them from there

Having described the training of these birds, I feel impelled to say that if the people of Lucknow had paid as much attention to the training of themselves and their bodies as they did to the training of animals, things would have been very different.

Kite-flying

Interest in kite-flying remains throughout India, and nowadays most boys and youths are extremely fond of this pastime. Seeing this, one would imagine that it has existed in India for a very long time. But this is not so and it is unlikely

that it has been in existence for more than a hundred years. The centre in which it developed was Lucknow.

Boys in Europe fly cloth kites which remain in the air as long as they run holding the string Immediately they stop, the kite comes down, unless there is a high wind. I cannot say when these kites originated or whence they came. However, in India, I believe that interest was first taken in this pastime in Delhi at the time of King Shah Alam I and that it was limited to a few select people.

Great care was taken in the construction of a kite It was composed of two *tukkals,* paper kites, joined together back to front The tukkal had three rounded edges arranged in the shape of an inverted triangle, a batten was fixed to the centre of the frame and was called a *thaddi*, back-stick, and two curved battens, scraped and softened, were fixed to the top and bottom of the frame and called *kamps*, bows Between these light paper was inserted, and this made up a tukkal Two such tukkals were put one in front of the other and joined together by fixing supporting battens in various places. Then paper was fastened round the tukkals making a sort of triangular Chinese lantern Into this a ball of cloth soaked in oil was hung by a wire and set alight. People used to fly the kite at night, holding it by a strong cotton or silken thread. The beauty of the kite was that it looked like a lantern flying in the sky, which could be left flying or pulled down at will. Sometimes it turned upside down, but it could then be righted

At that time some people used to fly effigies of human beings in this manner and reliable elders state that these effigies were the first kites to be invented in Delhi and that *changs* were invented as an improvement. As these changs were equal in length and breadth, they were easy to fly and to keep in the sky Hindus took a greater interest than others in these kites and it is likely that they were associated in their minds with something pertaining to religion, probably *akas diyas*,[408] Lamps in the Sky. Then tukkals gained popularity, as they could cut down the strings of the changs in kite-fighting and be flown in the daytime. They were actually half or one side of a chang The tukkal was easier to fly than a chang. It could dance in the air and fly far away into the sky. The chang stayed in one place, whereas the tukkal moved about and was so easily controlled that whenever one liked one could cut down someone else's chang by fraying its string with that of the tukkal.

People soon gave up the idea of Chinese lanterns and illuminated effigies and took to flying this new kite, which was easier to control than the chang and could move about in the sky. Interest in tukkals increased among rich Muslims and élite Hindus and money started to be lavished upon the sport The best type of tukkal was known as *patang* Its back-stick was made of bamboo from Murshidabad (Bengal) and cost eighty rupees, its decorations cost twenty rupees, paper two rupees and labour about five rupees That is to say, it cost one hundred and seven rupees to make a patang.

After tukkals and patangs had become popular in Delhi, the patrons and others interested in this sport came to Lucknow. Later kite-fighting instead of kite-flying became the vogue. Such strong tukkals were made that a man of normal strength had difficulty in controlling them. Eight strands of strong cord would be rolled into a kind of pulley in order to cope with the tukkals. For the

fight, the cords of two tukkals would cross with each other and the tukkals would rise twisting and knotting into the sky, the cord coming from the pulleys on either side[409] One may judge the interest taken in Lucknow from the fact that Navab Asaf ud Daula's tukkals were decorated with five rupees' worth of gold and silver fringes. Whoever brought one of the Navab's tukkals back was given five rupees Whoever retrieved one but did not bring it back to the Navab could still sell it for five rupees anywhere

Experts of former times in Lucknow at these kite competitions were Mir Amdu, Khwaja Mathan and Shaikh Imdad There was also a weaver who achieved such distinction in the art that he was received with respect among elegant kite-fliers.

In the time of Amjad Ali Shah a paper kite named *guddi* was invented which was shaped like an upright diamond and was easier to construct than a tukkal. In a tukkal there were two bows and one back-stick. In a guddi there was only one bow and one back-stick

In Wajid Ali Shah's time kites were produced with one and a half bows and a back-stick. They were shaped like the present-day kite except that, like the tukkal, they had a small paper tassel at the bottom Then Muhammad Husain Khan of Salar Jang's family, Agha Abu Tarab Khan and one or two other interested noblemen produced a kite which had a *patta*, triangle, cut out of paper, instead of a tassel at the bottom. This is still in use today and it appears that it has come to stay. Nowadays kites with pattas, called *kankava*, or with tassels, called *dehr kana*, are flown all over India They were invented in Lucknow In fighting with these kites a string was fed as with tukkals. Very large kites were made which carried a large amount of cord

Towards the end of the Navabi rule there was a famous expert named Mir Vilayat Ali, who was popularly called Vilayati Then there was Ilahi Baksh Tundey, who went to Matiya Burj and became renowned there as well. There were hundreds of other experts in Lucknow but the greatest of them all was undoubtedly Lamdur.

At the commencement of the British period *khinch*, the dragging-pulling style of kite-fighting, was established It was really begun by small boys who had very little cord and would put their indigence to rights by recklessly cutting down other people's kites In those days experts would look on them with contempt and keep their kites at a distance But eventually this art became very popular in kite competitions and many experts sprang up Today in Lucknow there are scores of people who have frittered away lakhs of rupees on this pursuit and have ruined themselves but have achieved prominence and have become honoured and revered in kite-flying circles.

21

The Origin and Growth of North Indian Music

Now I will describe the art of music and the circumstances of the people in Lucknow who were connected with this art [410]

Singing is one of the skills that human nature evolved in very early times People sang words that they wished to emphasize, and danced when their emotions were aroused by deeds or actions Since religious sentiments arouse more fervour than any others and since among wordly affairs the most important emotions are those of love and affection, singing originated, in the first instance, with worship and with love In India it was with worship that singing was connected at first. The first singers were Brahmans, who at worship sang hymns of praise to their deities Later love for Krishna became divine adoration and amorous music was established. It is for this reason that poetry is written in the feminine gender, and song and dance in India are expressed by women

Originally Brahmans would sing *git*,[411] devotional songs, either solo or sometimes accompanied by *sangit*,[412] instrumental music. As a result of the intermingling of this with Egyptian, Babylonian and Persian traditions, a characteristic style evolved in India It was noticed that every sound, as it alters pitch, changes in quality, and having made an exact estimate of these changes, experts determined seven *surs*,[413] fixed notes

Later in India *ragas*,[414] musical modes, were sung during worship in glorification of Brahma, the divine creative element, or in praise of Vishnu, the divine element of preservation, or in homage to Mahesh or Mahadeo, the divine element of destruction.[415] On these lines three distinct groups of ragas evolved Of the first it is said that the Brahmans divulged nothing and kept its secrets with them until death. The second was concerned with aspects of life such as childbirth, marriage and worldly affairs The third was concerned with life after death, religious merit and final chastisement. It was designed to inspire awe and to emphasize the transitory nature of this world. Amorous musical modes were included in the third category simply to show how a lover longs for death and because Sri Krishna was an incarnation of Mahadeo These ragas were given the names of *barog*, which included *bhairun* and *saras*, and their *raginis*[416] were called *bhairvin, parach, kalangra, soni, sindhi, pilu* and some others.

In later days when Brahmans had to sing odes in praise of rajas at their courts, ragas suitable to express dignity and splendour were created and were given the names *malkus, darbari, shahana* and *adana.*

The Muslims brought their own music with them to India This had originally been perfected by Ibn-e-Mashaj [Ibn-e-Mushajjah] After this, when the Abbaside court was established in Iraq, Arabian and Persian music were added to it and a very fine art was evolved called *ghena*, vocal music, which spread throughout the Islamic world and was finally known as the music of Persia This was the art that Muslims brought with them to India and present-day *qavvals*[417] are the musical descendants of these Muslim singers The instruments they play are *sarod*,[418] *chang*,[419] *shahnai* or *sinai*,[420] *barbat* and *rabab*

The Muslims made their influence felt on almost everything in India They brought about changes in the arts and sciences and in all aspects of social life, but far less did they influence the music of the sub-continent. It is generally thought that the reason for this is that Indian music was already so well organized and of such calibre, so firmly established and so elaborately developed, that it could not be affected by outside influence The real reason, however, is that the music or musical system of a country rarely receives real attention from anyone unless he is a long-term resident or is born in that country and has assimilated its language and culture. The Muslim invaders, mainly Arabs and Persians, paid no attention to local music When they did start to devote attention to it they had become so completely Indianized that they forgot their own traditional music and became enamoured of local airs. By then they were incapable of influencing Indian music in any way or of offering the slightest form of criticism.

But the music of the qavvals from Persia had a certain effect on Indian music, and several of their ragas became incorporated into the local Hindu music. It is thought that *zangula* (or *jangla*), *zaif*,[421] *shahana*, *darbari*, *zila* or *khamach* and others were airs of the Persian ghena system which have become included in the Indian ragas

Amir Khusrau[422] mastered both of these traditions and made great efforts to blend the two together. It is said that he invented the *sitar*[423] and it is certain that he originated many *dhuns*,[424] but his actual contribution to the development of Indian music is difficult to establish.

It appears that among Muslims, the Sufis gave their attention to music earlier than the courts. Their *hal-o-qal*,[425] musical assemblies of the devout, which were established in Iraq and Persia as part of the form of worship, became established in India as well Singers who formerly used to sing hymns in Hindu temples sat in the circles of these Muslim devotees and mystics and chanted odes of worship.

Indian singers and courtesans who sang and danced were attached to the courts, but they were always under the direction of a Persian singer who had a certain amount of influence over the music they produced. In the reign of Muhammad Tughlaq[426] the greatest court singer was Amir Shams ud Din Tabrizi, who was in charge of all male and female musicians. In those days, in the vicinity of Deo Garh, that is to say, Daulatabad, there was a village known as Tarabadad,[7] City of Entertainment, which was inhabited only by musicians. In the centre of its market-place was a tower in which the *chaudhri*[427] [village headman] would take his seat every evening and all the troupes of singers and courtesans would collect and take their turn to sing. Some of them were Muslims and practised their religion. In the village there were mosques in

which *taravih*[428] [special prayers in the holy month of Ramzam] were held. Great rajas came to listen to the singing, as did some Muslim crowned heads. The musicians' leader and supervisor was usually a Muslim, and thus the Arabic, Persian and Indian arts of vocal music were blended together

The centres of Hindu music in northern India were Mathura, Ajodhya and Benares (U.P.) The art of music developed in these places as they were the main centres of pilgrimage. Of the Sharqi Sultans of Jaupur, Sultan Husain Sharqi was very fond of music and he was himself a great singer.[429] Because both Ajodhya and Benares were in his territory, it is certain that he did a great deal to improve this noble Indian art

Akbar had such a great appreciation for the art that he included the most famous singer of his time, Tan Sen,[430] among his *nau ratan*,[431] Nine Jewels Seeing such consideration and favour from a Muslim Emperor, Tan Sen or, according to some accounts, his son Bilas Khan, became a Muslim As a result of the appreciation of the court, Hindu music reached great heights through the medium of this family, and at later courts singers of this lineage continued to be honoured.[432] Members of the family today *still* consider themselves to be connected with the Mughal court It is generally thought that the accomplishment of Hindu music was acquired by Muslims through the Tan Sen family, but from what I have written it is abundantly clear that Muslims acquired it long before the family existed. Nowadays the greatest experts of Hindu music and all its famous singers are Muslims.[433]

The first book to be written on this art in Delhi is entitled *Shamul Aswat* and appeared in the reign of Emperor Shajahan It is no longer procurable anywhere Later at the time of Akbar Shah II a distinguished man named Mirza Khan, with the help of pandits and Sanskrit scholars, wrote a book called *Tuhfat ul Hind* of which a few copies are still in existence. It is a collection of Hindu arts and sciences[362] and deals with such subjects as astrology, palmistry, sexual pleasure and magic. There is also a description of Hindu music.

Such was the stage that music had reached in Delhi when the art came to the court of the Navabs Navab Shuja ud Daula's approbation of it and his liberality attracted musical experts from all over India who came together in Avadh. Some fruits also remained of the enthusiasm of the Sharqi Sultans of Jaunpur, so that when accomplished singers and musical experts from Tan Sen's established school in Delhi gathered in Lucknow, a great impetus was given to music and one can say that it started a new era.

The author of *The Delightful History* states that Shuja ud Daula took great interest in musicians. Thousands of courtesans who were singers had come to Lucknow from Delhi and other places It had become the custom that when the Navab Wazir or any of the nobles or army officers set out on a journey, the tents of the musicians and courtesans accompanied them

At the time of Asaf ud Daula, a book was written in the Persian language entitled *Usul un Naghmat ul Asafiya*, 'Principles of the Melodies of Asaf'. No better book has ever been written about the art of Indian music. Although very few copies of this book are available, I possess one and have read it. The author was an extremely intelligent and erudite man who appears to have had a complete mastery of Arabic, Persian and Sanskrit and who made very successful efforts to impress Indian music on the minds of all with great clarity.

The late Asad ullah Khan Kaukab, who died very recently, was an expert and a noted professor of Indian music in Calcutta. With reference to this book he wrote me a letter in which he said: 'I have a copy of this Persian treatise on music. Its subject-matter has been taken from those esteemed books that contain the essence of the ancient knowledge of this science and it was written after much research and in great detail.' It is a great pity that this incomparable book has never been reprinted. There are so few copies in existence that there is a danger of the book's complete disappearance If some wealthy man would give his attention to the problem, he would be conferring a great favour on our country and its history.

The book describes to what heights music had risen in the days of Asaf ud Daula. Its learned author begins by discussing a work of Avicenna, *Shafa*, and gives further expositions of the principles of Arabic and Persian music In order to complete the subject for *Dil Gudaz*, I asked the late Professor Kaukab for his help. I reproduce word for word what he wrote in his reply, from which one may appreciate exactly the conditions of the art of music at the time when it was introduced to Lucknow. It is sad that the professor is no longer in this world, otherwise I should have been able to get much more help from him especially as he wished to have his new book, an excellent exposition of musical science, printed by our press. After affirming that music had made great advances at the time of Asaf ud Daula, he writes:

> In the days of Sadat Ali Khan a blight fell on music. When Ghazi ud Din Haidar was reigning, there lived in Gola Ganj quarter in Lucknow a man who was inimitable and unparalleled in the art. His name was Haidari Khan, and owing to his supine nature he was known as 'Crazy Haidairi Khan'. Ghazi ud Din Haidar very much wanted to hear him sing, but never got the chance
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> One evening Ghazi ud Din Haidar was taking a ride along the river bank in his *havah dar* [carriage]. People saw Crazy Haidari Khan walking through the Rumi Gate and said to the King, 'Your Majesty, that is Haidari Khan ' As the King was interested, he gave the order 'Bring him here ' The musician was brought before the King, who then said, 'Mian Haidari Khan, why don't you ever let me listen to your singing?' Haidari Khan replied, 'Well, why not? I will sing to you but I don't know where you live ' The King could not help laughing and said, 'All right, come with me, I will take you to my house.' 'Very well', said Haidari Khan, and calmly accompanied the King. When they got near to the Chattar Manzil, Haidari Khan appeared annoyed and said, 'I will come with you, but you must give me *puris*[484] [pancakes] and *balai*[485] [cream]. Then only will I sing.' The King promised to do this and, seating himself in the palace, began to listen to the singing. After listening for a while he became enraptured and ecstatic. Seeing this Haidari Khan fell silent. The King told him to sing again, but he said, 'Sir, the tobacco in your *pichvan*[486] [*huqqa*, hookah] appears to be excellent. From whose shop do you get it?' Ghazi ud Din Haidar was temperamental by nature, and this question irritated him, so his companions replied, 'Your Majesty, this man is quite mad, he hasn't yet realized to whom he is talking '

> At a sign from the King, Haidari Khan was taken to another room, given pancakes and cream to eat and a pichvan to smoke He asked for a *pao*[437] [half a pound] of pancakes, a quarter pound of cream and a *paisa* [a farthing's worth] of sugar. These he sent to his wife as was his practice everywhere.
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> While he was thus employed, the King was drinking wine When he was really happy he remembered Haidari Khan; he sent for him and ordered him to sing. As soon as he started to sing the King stopped him and said, 'Listen, Haidari Khan, if you only make me happy and don't make me weep, I will have you drowned in the River Gumti ' Haidari Khan was confounded and realized that this was the King He said, 'Sir, everything is in the hands of God.' He then began to sing as he had never sung before. The power of the Almighty was such, that Haidari Khan was destined to live, for he so affected the King that in a short time he could not refrain from weeping To show his pleasure he said, 'Haidari Khan, ask for whatever you wish ' Haidari Khan replied, 'Will you give me anything I ask for?' The King promised to do so, then Haidari Khan made him confirm his promise three times and said, 'Sir, I wish that you will never send for me again to listen to my singing ' The King was surprised and asked, 'Why not?' Haidari Khan replied, 'What is it to you? If you have me killed the world will never know another Haidari Khan If you die someone else will immediately become King.' Ghazi ud Din Haidar was angry at this answer and turned his face away. Seizing the opportunity, Haidari Khan fled for home still in possession of his life

In short, Haidari Khan was the only distinguished musician in Lucknow at the time of Ghazi ud Din Haidar. In Nasir ud Din Haidar's reign there were a large number of singers, but none was of the standard of Haidari Khan In Muhammad Ali Shah's and Amjad Ali Shah's reigns little interest was taken in these worldly affairs: the former had no energy because of his advanced years and the latter did nothing without referring to religious authority. Therefore, in their days enthusiastic nobles of the city, even if they enjoyed musical entertainment, could only listen to it in private. So whatever appreciation was given to the art dates from the time when Wajid Ali Shah ascended the throne as a young man and the cup of luxury in Lucknow was about to overflow, the time when the lamp which was about to be extinguished flared up for the last time.

22

The Development of Light Classical and Instrumental Music

I should like to say something more about the music of Nasir ud Din Haidar's time and in the years after him, but before doing so, I think it would be to the point to present the remaining part of the late Asad ullah Kaukab's letter, which is an expert's evaluation of music in Lucknow. He states.

> During the reign of Wajid Ali Shah there was a large number of musical experts in Lucknow, but the singers who had influence at court and received royal titles were not among the most adept One Qutub ud Daula, a resident of Rampur, was certainly an expert sitar player and was proficient at the art, but Anis ud Daula, Musahib ud Daula, Vahid ud Daula and Razi ud Daula, although good singers, were not excellent and had only become title-holders because of royal favour The real experts were Piar Khan, Jafar Khan, Haidari Khan and Basit Khan, all of whom were of Mian Tan Sen's family. Nowadays two well-known members of this family still remain, Wazir Khan[438] who lives in Rampur state and Muhammad Ali Khan who is employed in Puranda state [453] Muhammad Ali Khan's father was the above-mentioned Basit Khan.

The late Kaukab Khan relates that his deceased father, Nemat ullah Khan, learnt the science of music from Basit Khan. For about eleven years Nemat ullah Khan was with Wajid Ali Shah in Matiya Burj and then spent thirty years at the court of Nepal Then he writes·

> There was much talk of music at the time of Wajid Ali Shah, but the art had fallen from favour and only the commonplace aspects were in vogue In Lucknow, Kadar Piya[439] composed *thumris*,[440] which became popular with the masses with the result that music was cheapened. Most music-lovers lost interest in the classical forms of ragas and raginis and began to enjoy Kadar Piya's thumris.
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> The deterioration of the music had commenced at the time of Muhammad Shah Rangeley when Mian Sarang composed his *khyals*,[441] which were a departure from the original musical principles. Far more harm however was done by Kadar's thumris. Matters got to the state that if by chance someone listened to pure classical music, he could not appreciate it nor take any interest in it. In fact he often disliked it.

Of the singers at Wajid Ali Shah's court, Anis ud Daula and Musahib ud Daula had learnt their music from Piar Khan He was an excellent master and what he taught these two pupils was certainly of a very high order However this music had no place in the court and was not appreciated and the rahas and gopis of the day were full of cheap music

But whilst little interest was taken in pure classical music, expert musicians were much esteemed at the royal court The reason was that Wajid Ali Shah had been taught the science of music by Basit Khan and had a very good understanding of it. Being highly talented, the King had evolved new raginis to his own liking. These he named *jogi*, *juhi*, *jasmine*, or *Shah pasand*, 'favourite of the King', according to his predilections Wajid Ali Shah was a master at the art and possessed the knowledge of an expert but he cannot escape the criticism that it was his conventional and cheap tastes that made the music of Lucknow frivolous and easily understandable by all. In accordance with popular tastes even the most discriminating singers omitted difficult techniques and based their music on light, simple and attractive tunes which could be appreciated by everyone. Ghazals[442] and thumris were the vogue and no one paid any attention to heavy intricate ragas such as *dhurpad* and *hori* Short attractive raginis, such as *khammach*, *bhairvin*, *jhanjhauti*, *sendura*, *tilak* and *pilu*, were selected for entertainment As they were pleasing to the King and the connoisseurs of Lucknow society, these modes flourished Today Lucknow's *bhairvin* raginis, sung in the early morning, have become as famous throughout India as Lucknow's melons. Bhairvins belong to Lucknow and this style of singing is its own contribution to music. None to equal them are sung anywhere else in India. By adopting them in *soz*[443] [laments], singers rendered them still more popular. With their religious undertones they became popular even with stay-at-home noble ladies. Expert singers were astounded when they heard these songs of lamentation sung by the noble ladies of the house Most singers of soz were the pupils of Piar Khan and Haidari Khan.

Lai, rhythm, more commonly known as time-beat, is an integral part of music. Wajid Ali Shah possessed in full measure this natural gift, which is present to a greater or lesser degree in everyone The metres, which have been established by poets, are connected with lai and the science of prosody is really a perfected form of lai, for poetical metre is based on rhythm. A person in whom this faculty is developed will automatically make rhythmic movements and start to move His whole body will respond to the rhythm. Others may think that these movements are senseless and absurd, but the person who makes them cannot help doing so. His limbs start moving on the impulse of lai When Wajid Ali Shah acted in this manner, people would say he was dancing, but in actual fact Wajid Ali Shah had never danced at any time. He was more affected by rhythm than the musicians themselves. I have heard from reliable court singers who were his companions that even when asleep, the King's big toes used to move rhythmically because of the influence of lai. *Nirat*, which is to depict inner feeling through bodily movements, is also an important part of the science of music. Important speakers and lecturers practise this and

no one ever criticizes them, whilst the same habit was criticized in Wajid Ali Shah.

From the above account by Professor Kaukab, it is clear that although Lucknow gave no encouragement to pure classical music, its society was instrumental in developing a variety of light classical styles and making them popular throughout India.[444]

At the time of Ghazi ud Din Haidar, Lucknow was famed for possessing eminent qavval musicians Jhagu Khan and Ghulam Rasul Khan were recognized as experts in the art Shori was such a great innovator in the art of qavvali that the invention of *tappa*[445] is ascribed to him. Both Bakshu and Sulari were considered outstanding at playing the tabla At Muharram thousands of enthusiasts came to Lucknow from other places and sat hopefully in Haidar's Imam Bara waiting for the courtesan Lady Haidar to commence her song of lamentation

In later days the most expert tabla player was Muhammad Ji who was renowned throughout India About thirty years ago I met a Maratha gentleman in the Chauk market-place, dressed in European-style clothes, who had some respected employment. As we met he said, 'I have come to Lucknow to find out about the proficiency of the musical experts here.' 'Who are you?' I asked. He said, 'I come of a family of singers and my ancestors were singers at the court of Shiva Ji. Although I have now taken up other employment and have received a British education, I still know my family art.' Another gentleman, who used to visit the famous singer Muhammadi, joined us at that moment He said, 'Come along with me.' The Maratha gentleman took hold of my arm and we all went to Muhammadi's house together. As chance would have it, Sadiq Ali Khan was there and they all showed off their skill, the Maratha also sang. After that we went to the house of the Chaudarayan,[427] the chief courtesan, which was considered to be the principal meeting-place of the local artists From there both Munney Khans were sent for. They came and displayed their skill at singing Eventually the Maratha gentleman said, 'The real reason for my coming here is to sing a *tarana*,[446] with Muhammad Ji accompanying me on the tabla '[447] Muhammad Ji was immediately sent for and the Maratha's singing and Muhammad Ji's playing were much appreciated and applauded by all present Finally the Maratha admitted, 'I have been everywhere but I have never heard a more accomplished tabla player.'

Music has made such great strides in Lucknow that in contrast to the richer classes in other places, those of Lucknow are genuinely fond of it They understand it, recognize tunes, raginis and dhuns, and after listening to one or two notes, they can judge the standard of a vocalist so that an indifferent singer will get nowhere. Boys from the bazaar who go about singing in the streets sing tunes with such accuracy that one would think they were trained musicians. In most towns one meets many people who cannot read poetry rhythmically. But in Lucknow one would not be able to find anyone, however illiterate he may be, who is unable to give proper rhythm to verse A feeling for rhythm is ingrained in everyone, including children. Sometimes bazaar boys have been heard singing *bhairvin*, *sohni*, *behag*, and other ragas with such excellence that those who heard them were entranced and the greatest singers envied them.

Whilst on the subject of music, it would seem appropriate for me now to say something about musical instruments. To spoil either of the two elements in music—*sur*, notes, and *lai*, rhythm—in singing is an unpardonable fault. Therefore, two instruments were found necessary for their correct maintenance: to help keep the tune, the *sarangi*,[448] a stringed instrument, and to keep time, the *tabla*, a pair of small drums.

The old Indian instrument to help keep the tune was the *bin*,[449] which consisted of a hollowed-out, wooden tube, with a gourd affixed to each end. It had seven strings for the seven surs and when these were struck the sound, running along the tube, echoed in the gourds. The Muslims brought the *rabab*, the *chang* and the *sarod*. The rabab was probably an Arabian instrument which had been greatly improved upon at the time of the Abbasides. The chang and sarod were non-Arabian instruments The chang was a very ancient instrument which can be traced to Assyria, Babylon, Egypt, Greece and Asia Minor; in fact it was used by all the earlier races. The sarod is a purely Persian instrument which the Abbaside musicians adopted and improved to a great extent After the Muslims came to India and their music joined forces with that of the Hindus, the *tamboura*[450] was invented This was actually a smaller version of the bin and was used only to accompany a singer. It was not an instrument which could be played by itself. Soon after this, Amir Khusrau invented the sitar, which was a simple instrument reminiscent of both the bin and the tamboura. But whether it was the bin, the tamboura, or the sitar, none proved a perfect accompaniment to the human voice. Seeing this deficiency, Mian Sarang, who was an accomplished and famous musician at the court of Muhammad Shah Rangeley, invented the sarangi, which was named after him. The sarangi forced the bin, tamboura and sitar into the background and received such a welcome in singing and dancing circles that the older instruments disappeared Among the old instruments played in Lucknow was also the *qanun* which the Muslims brought with them from Syria and Iraq. Today one rarely comes across people who can play this instrument The sarangi replaced all these instruments at joyous gatherings. Occasionally, however, a die-hard among experts still achieves distinction by playing the bin or sarod, the rabab or qanun. The sitar has remained an instrument to give pleasure to the young. They usually play it and listen to it without singing, but sometimes they sing to its accompaniment.

There remains the tabla Although this instrument is extremely important in maintaining tempo and rhythm, no trace of anything of its kind can be found among the ancient races of any other country In ancient days in other countries, drums were beaten in war-time and the chang was played, and in guard-houses kettle-drums were beaten But only in India was the tabla found to aid dancing and singing. Arabs used the *daf*, a tambourine, to accompany their singing. It would appear that in India too, the daf was an early nstrument to accompany singing. It used to be played along with the bin as an aid to maintaining tempo. After that, still in very ancient times, the *mardang* was developed, although it could have already existed at the time of Sri Krishna, assisting the tunes of his flute in the Braj forests on the banks of the Jamna. After the mardang, an improvement was made with the evolution of the *pakhavaj*,[451] which could be used effectively to accompany classical music. Subsequently it

became customary for ordinary people and women in the home to use the *dhol*,[452] which had been evolved from the mardang and the pakhavaj, and which had become widely popular Finally, for the most sophisticated musical gatherings the tabla was invented. It was made by dividing the pakhavaj into two separate drums, one being called 'right' and the other 'left' The tabla was certainly invented after the Muslims came to India, but I do not know precisely when or by whom the improvements were made in these percussive instruments

23

Dance and the Development of the *Kathak* School

Together with music, dance in Lucknow developed strongly and became a pre-eminent art. Dance is common to every nationality and has existed since time immemorial Sophisticated, attractive women danced to music in the presence of the Pharaohs of Egypt At the time of Christ, Herod's daughter danced before having St John the Baptist decapitated But it appears indisputable that, like singing, dancing in India was connected with divine worship and that this art was always nurtured by religion For instance, the people who knew and practised it were the Brahmans and their centres were Ajodhya and Benares where the *kathak*[454] dancers lived, just as the *rahas* dancers flourished around Mathura and Braj. An extraordinary thing is that in all the old Indian temples, although a large number of women danced every day before the image of the gods, and in all the important centres of worship there have always been from earliest times a large crowd of female dancers, instruction in dancing was always given by men. It was they who would teach the young women

Dance is essentially the regulation of bodily movements If this regularity of movement is the same among several people, it amounts to drill or military exercises or to the performances of European music hall, now often seen in Indian theatres. But if these movements are to the accompaniment of musical tempo and the rise and fall of sound, it is dance. Genuine Indian dance occurs when the movements of the body conform to and fit in with the treble and bass notes of songs and intoned poems. This evolved into a great art for which hundreds of new *gats*[455] and *torey*[456] were created. Later mime and gesture were added to portray thoughts and emotions with the result that dancing interpreted the singing Then when the dancing of beautiful women gave pleasure to the spectator, the portrayal of amorous dalliance and coquetry became part of the art In this respect the Lucknow school differentiated between the functions of male and female dancers To portray amorous dalliance

with elegance and grace in all their movements and to display feelings of love were the functions of women. This could on occasion become tedious for the onlooker. Therefore as a contrast it became the function of male dancers to show sprightliness and vigour in their movements in accordance with the rhythm and to display their emotions with poetic allure Although there is a certain relationship between the art of both groups, male and female, there is a palpable difference between them

I have already mentioned the enormous influx into Avadh and Lucknow of musicians and troupes of singing courtesans in the days of Shuja ud Daula. Besides these, kathaks from Ajodhya and Benares, seeing the interest which was taken, were attracted to the court The forgatherings of these people advanced the art of dance and gave it great local importance.

There are two groups of male dancers in Lucknow: the Hindu kathaks and rahas dancers, and the Kashmiri Muslim bhands. The real dancers are the kathaks, and the Kashmiri dancing troupes, in order to give life to their performances, have apparently introduced a young boy who wears his hair long like a woman and dances with such animation and vivacity that his activities arouse the spectators.

There have always been accomplished Hindu kathaks in Lucknow. These people believe that Mahadeo or Shiva, Parvati his consort, and Krishna were the founders of their art [415] At the time of Shuja ud Daula and Asaf ud Daula, Khushi Maharaj was a very expert dancer. In the days of Navab Sadat Ali Khan, Ghazi ud Din Haidar and Nasir ud Din Haidar, Hallal Ji, Parkash Ji and Dayalu Ji were celebrated dancers From the time of Muhammad Ali Shah until Wajid Ali Shah's reign, Durga Prashad and Thakur Prashad, the sons of Parkash Ji, were famous. It is said that Durga Prashad taught Wajid Ali Shah to dance. Later the two sons of Durga Prashad, Kalka and Binda Din, became renowned and nearly everyone acknowledged that no one in the whole of India could rival either of them at dancing. The older experts achieved fame because of some particular aspect of the art but these two brothers, especially Binda Din, were masters of every aspect Most of the well-known dancers of today are the pupils of these two brothers and their house is the greatest school for dance in the whole of India.[457]

Kalka died a short time ago and his death undoubtedly had a detrimental effect on Binda Din's dancing Binda Din is now seventy-seven years of age but even now devotees of the art consider that to watch him is one of the greatest pleasures in life. His dancing to a gat, his portrayal of delicate technical aspects of *tora* and *tukra*,[45] the superb control with which he makes as many bells on his ankles as he likes resound, is individual to him and beyond all compare [459] He gives to every step and gesture a hundred fascinations and embodies in them a variety of subtle perceptions. His deft movements and originality are such that the onlooker, unless well-versed in the art, is unable to follow them

Binda Din used to perform *batana*,[460] depiction through bodily movements, and Kalka[461] used to give a verbal interpretation From this commentary people were able to realize how perfect Binda Din was in displaying his art. When dancing, his feet touched the ground so lightly that he used to dance sometimes on the edges of swords and come to no harm.

24

Light Entertainment

The second category of male dancing is that of the *bhands* In these performances, a handsome adolescent boy with long hair in the chignon style, wearing gaudy-coloured male clothes and with bells on his ankles, dances and sings. The accompanying music is rhythmic and gay In the dance itself musical nimbleness, playfulness and fun are displayed and the singing is suited to the style of the dance Apart from the instrumental musicians present there are about a dozen bhands who loudly applaud the boy's dancing and singing. They become excited at the beat of the *tals*[462] and make amusing and frivolous remarks about the postures, movements and gestures of the dancer When the boy has performed for some time, they come forward and mimic him, showing great skill in their witticisms and imitations. There are two groups of these people in Lucknow: the Kashmiris who originated in Kashmir and the local people who formerly followed another trade but who have now adopted this form of acting as a profession.

Acting, especially mimicry with song and dance, was a very ancient art in India and achieved great heights at the court of Raja Bikramajit,[463] before the time of Christ In those days, serious dramas were enacted in this manner and it was certainly a very refined and cultured form of acting. Today it is the custom among the lower classes in India to accompany their dancing and singing in celebration with a droll form of mimicry.

There is no trace of bhands or actors of that kind in the Muslim era before the time of the Mughals. It is possible that they existed and that the recorders of events in those days did not think them worthy of mention But in the time of the Mughals, the bhands had certainly achieved fame. They are known to have existed after the days of Aurangzeb Alamgir when the nobles and kings of Delhi felt free from the cares of war, conquest and government and started to think that to care for their courts and live a life of luxury were their birth-rights. In actual fact, these bhands did wonderful work for local society. They were the national critics and satirists and did much for India.

The first well-known bhand in Delhi was Karela, who lived in the reign of Muhammad Shah. Muhammad Shah, becoming annoyed over some matter, gave orders that all the bhands should be expelled from his dominion. The next day, when the King was out with his cortège, the sounds of dhols and the singing of bhands became audible overhead. The King, amazed, looked up and saw that Karela and some other bhands had climbed to the top of a date palm and were beating drums and singing. The King halted the cortège and said, 'What impudence is this? Why have my orders not been carried out?'

Karela replied, 'Mighty King, the whole of this earth is under your control and there is nowhere left for us to go so we thought of seeking a place in the regions of the atmosphere and this is our first stage.' At this answer the King and his companions had to laugh and the bhands were pardoned

After they came to Lucknow, these people were so appreciated that they made the city their centre As far as I know there are no bhands in Delhi at the present time. If there are any, they are very much in the background Certainly there have been troupes of bhands in Bareilly from the earliest days and some of the *doms*[464] and *dharis*[465] in Lucknow came from there From this it would appear that the Khans of Ruhelkhand had an appreciation for music and that, because of their generosity, musicians were able to prosper in Bareilly and Muradabad From there too the most expert doms and dharis came to Lucknow and made the city their home.

Their jokes, witticisms, innuendos and great skill in mimicry are well known in Lucknow. One incident comes to mind. Some noblemen had given a shawl as a reward, but the shawl was old and worn out. One of the bhands took it in his hands and looked at it carefully, giving his whole attention to it Another asked, 'What are you looking at?' The first said, 'I see something written on it' The second asked, 'Well, what is it?' Putting on his spectacles the first bhand, after much scrutiny, read out with difficulty, 'There is no God but God.' The other said, 'Is that all? Is it not written that Muhammad is his Prophet?' The answer came, 'How could it be written that Muhammad is the Prophet of God? This thing dates from before our Holy Prophet.'

In Lucknow there was a Navab who was known as the Navab of Garhiya, the Lord of the Pond, because there was a pond near his residence. On one occasion he arranged a party with dancing and singing in his house. A bhand, looking perturbed, came forward and said to his companions, 'Get up and make your salutation.' They all said, 'Whom shall we salute?' He said, 'The Navab Sahib is coming.' Saying this, he took the lid off an earthenware pot and a large frog jumped out and joined the party He then said, 'Get up quickly, get up quickly Don't you see the Navab of the Pond?'

It was well known that these people used to mock the person at whose house they went to entertain and it was impossible that they should not make a jibe at him in some way. It is true that the manner in which they made their hosts aware of their shortcomings would not have been possible otherwise. In their acting, personifications and mimicry, they showed great perfection and received much applause. They used to ridicule the Persianized Urdu of the Kayasths in the same way that Babu[466] English is ridiculed in British circles today Their acting in playing the role of *divanji*[467] [a Hindu bookkeeper] was so accomplished that spectators were amazed

There was a bhand in Lucknow, also called Karela, at the time of Nasir ud Din Haidar Then Sajjan, Qaim, Daim, Rajbi, Nau Shah and Bibi Qadar also became famous. Ali Naqi Khan and his wife, who were very influential people, came to see Qaim's *sabil* [stall that distributed free cold drinks as a religious gesture] [468] It was beautifully decorated and sherbet flowed freely. On seeing the distinguished pilgrims, Qaim came forward, pressed his hands together respectfully and said, 'May God preserve the Navab and keep the Begam young forever.' In order to avoid further remarks of this nature both the Navab and

the Begam were obliged to offer gratuities. One of Qaim's most outstanding feats was the occasion on which for three and a half hours he did nothing but make various kinds of grimaces

Later the troupes of Fazal Husain, Khilona and Badshah Pasand became famous, as is that of Ali Jan at the present time. These troupes were unrivalled in the art of this kind of entertainment.

But Lucknow society was more affected by *domnis*[464] [female entertainers] than by any of these people. In towns of all sizes from time immemorial, *mirasans*[469] and *jagnis*[470] have attended weddings as singers. Their performances never vary. The domnis on the other hand were great innovators. Giving up dhols they adopted tablas, sarangis and cymbals, as was the practice with male and courtesan musicians. They advanced from mere singing to dancing as well and, not content with this, started to give personifications in the manner of bhands at female festivities. They became the most important feature of all wedding celebrations and so fascinated the ladies of wealthy families that there was no household which did not employ a troupe of domnis. As they were unequalled at dancing and singing, female celebrations became much more lively and interesting than those of men. Their witticisms and innovations were so entrancing that most men had a strong desire to get some chance of witnessing their performances—but the domnis themselves were averse to dancing and singing before a male audience. There are still a large number of domnis here who perform in the traditional way, but the quality of their performance has been lost.[471] It is unlikely that there have been singers anywhere else to equal the accomplished domnis of Lucknow.

25

Courtesans and Theatre

Dance instruction is in the hands of men, and they are the masters of this art. However, the widespread popularity that the art attained could never have been achieved by men. Dancing is more natural to women and they display more grace in the art. This can be observed in every city in India, but it is unlikely that anywhere else were there more perfect demonstrators of the art of dance than the courtesans of Lucknow.

Forty years ago a celebrated courtesan, Munsarim Wali Gohar, went to Calcutta and achieved fame At one performance I witnessed her skill in *batana*[460] on the same theme for a full three hours. All those present at the gathering, including the most expert dancers and distinguished people of Matiya Burj, were spellbound There was not even a child who was not impressed by the performance Courtesans, Zohra and Mushtari, were not only poetesses and accomplished vocalists, but were also incomparable dancers. And Jaddan,

also a courtesan, had entranced people for a long time with her dancing and singing.

The courtesans of Lucknow were usually divided into three categories The first were the Kanchanis, women of the Kanchan tribe, who were actually harlots and whose primary and regular profession was to sell their virtue They were actually inhabitants of Delhi and the Panjab, whence they had started to come at the time of Shuja ud Daula. Most of the well-known prostitutes of the town belonged to this category. The second category were the Chuna Walis Originally their work was to sell lime but later they joined other groups of bazaar women and became well known. Chuna Wali Haidar, who was renowned for her voice, belonged to this category and collected a large group of courtesans of her caste. The third category were Nagarnt, from the Gujrat area These three classes were the queens of the bazaar They established themselves and worked in groups. Some women who had already gone astray joined these groups.

In addition to these courtesans who sang and danced, another group of similar character developed in Lucknow. Perhaps it would not be wrong to say that these courtesans are peculiar to Lucknow. This is the group which performs rahas The art of rahas belongs to Mathura and Braj and the constant flow of dancers from these areas made it popular in Lucknow.

After Wajid Ali Shah came to like rahas, he produced a new representation of Krishna according to his own taste and with a plot of his own imagination. Directly they saw it, the people became extremely enthusiastic about it, because amorous tales, which in those days were mostly concerned with supernatural love and beauty, were now portrayed by living human beings. Realizing the feelings of the public, Mian Amanat, who was a famous poet, wrote his *Indar Sabha*, which is the first example of the mixture of Muslim Persianized taste with the ideas of Hindu mythology.

When *Indar Sabha* was performed in Lucknow, it completely charmed and captivated everyone. In no time scores of *Sabhas*,[472] theatrical societies, were established in the city and became so popular that for some time courtesan musicians lost favour. Later, in addition to Amanat, many others, less talented, wrote their Sabhas in simple language Still, this popularized the Urdu language, for the unpolished language in these plays came to permeate the speech of people as far away as the eastern part of the Province, as well as local tradespeople. This interest in Sabhas laid a strong foundation for drama and the theatre. If the monarchy had existed a little longer *natak*,[473] the traditional Indian stage-play, would have evolved further along new lines while retaining its Indian character

But suddenly refined society lost interest in these new plays Love for the art of music made the élite turn their attention again to troupes of singers and dancers and forms derived from natak were patronized only by the masses and the people of the bazaar Former enthusiasm had however produced a group of people who, according to present idiom, are called actors These actors of ours, because they were esteemed in refined society, used good language and continued to improve their Urdu. But now because their audience consists only of the masses their refined speech no longer exists. they give scores of different sorts of performances, but their language is that of the bazaar.

The most important cause of the deterioration in our tastes in drama was the Parsi theatre[320] which was set up in Bombay on British lines, in which no musical art was displayed, nor any real acting But its expertise in stagecraft, its organization and its magical scenery with marvellously painted stage properties strangled our national drama which was at the time still in its infancy. The élite became enamoured of the splendour of these plays and forgot their former tastes.

These theatres[474] certainly did India incalculable harm as far as the arts of singing and dancing are concerned First of all, they ruined music by adopting tunes which spread throughout the bazaars without reference to musical principles Nothing could have been more vulgar Then they tried to put an end to our dance, which was a highly developed art, by staging European 'drill' in the name of dance and by introducing boys who gave it interest by changing their appearance and dress

Although both the music and acting of the rahas are imperfect, they are permeated with national colour and taste. They should not be abandoned but should be improved

26

Soz—The Chanting of Dirges

I shall now discuss *soz khwani*,[443] the chanting of dirges, in a musical framework. Although it is presumptuous to include this new religious art in the arts of singing and dancing which are contrary to Muslim religious law, the fact remains that it is definitely music. It was begun by the Shias in India to keep fresh the memory of the martyrdom of the Prophet's family, especially during the period when this faith became the national religion of Persia and people coming from that country were gaining influence at the Indian court.

Just as religious fervour created for poetry *marsiya goi*, the recital of elegies, and *taht ul lafz khwani*, so did it create *soz khwani* for music. In *taht ul lafz khwani* an elegy is read out and explained simply and forcefully, just as a poet reads out his odes in a *mushaira* A soz khwan sings an elegy to sad melodies. Both these accomplishments advanced to such an extent that they became distinct art forms which were from start to finish peculiar to Lucknow

The old and original *marsiya khwani* was actually *soz khwani* In *majlises*, gatherings of mourning, marsiyas were recited to melodies. These gatherings were held not only in Delhi, but in all the cities of India where Shias lived, even as far distant as Madras and the Deccan. *Nauhas*,[334] dirges, which were composed about two hundred years ago still exist. To recite elegies in poetic cadence was the special talent of Lucknow and I have already described the heights to which Mir Anis, Mirza Dabir and a few others rose in the art.

Although soz khwani dates from ancient times and was widely known, Lakhnavis brought it to such perfection that they made it an art peculiar to themselves They raised its standards in India to such a degree that they became more accomplished than the professional singers.

Like many other artists, these cantors came to Lucknow with Navab Shuja ud Daula or during the time that he was ruler. In *The Delightful History* it is written that Bahu Begam used to hold majlises at her residence and that Khwaja Sara Javahar Ali Khan, who was the superintendent of her household and personal estate, listened to the chanting of elegies At that time the standard of the art in Faizabad was the same as anywhere else.

Some people say that Khwaja Hasan Maududi created the art. Instructor to the author of *Naghmat ul Asafiya*, he was a self-taught man and such an expert musician that none within miles could rival him. One can judge his musical skill from the following anecdote He was travelling from Lucknow to Etawah (U P.) by palanquin at the time of the Maratha raids As he was passing through a certain village, news came that the Marathas were on the point of attacking it The palanquin-bearers, who had covered a great distance, suddenly put down the palanquin and said they were too tired to go any further They were told over and over again that the place was in danger but they would not listen. The Khwaja gave up all hope of life, made his ablutions, said his late afternoon prayers and sitting on the ground, commenced to sing His song so affected the bearers that they recovered their strength and took him to a place of safety

Although he was by religion a Sunni, he harmonized some special *dhuns* [airs] to the singing of dirges, and taught them to his pupils. The foundations were thus laid for this art on a regulated and defined basis. Later,'Crazy' Haidari Khan chanted dirges during Muharram to tunes suited to his taste As he was a great singer and was held in esteem by the court, his efforts met with outstanding success. It was realized that if further improvements were made, this art could achieve a dignity of its own. From the thousands of existing dhuns those tunes were selected that were expressive of grief and sorrow and were used for hundreds of dirges. Eventually Haidari Khan taught this art to Saiyyid Mir Ali who came of a noble Saiyyid family and who gave great impetus to the art because of his religious fervour. He became so well known in the days of Sadat Ali Khan that on one occasion, when he was annoyed about something and had decided to leave Lucknow, Insha Allah Khan exerted his influence and the Navab consoled him, assured him of his esteem and stopped him from going.

Later a singer of the family of Tan Sen named Nasir Khan came to Lucknow and became famous Seeing the vogue for dirge-chanting here, he lent his musical skill to the art and achieved popularity and fame Taking pity on the indigent widow of a Saiyyid who lived in the neighbourhood, he gave her two children, Mir Ali Hasan and Mir Bandey Hasan,[475] instruction in the chanting of dirges. These two outstripped in skill all former experts and brought the art of chanting dirges to the level of a raga Although even some singers may not remember the exact notes of certain ragas, these notes, when interpreted through a dirge, are so comprehensible that people can recall their ragas and dhuns.

In emulation of these distinguished individuals, people of good families

became interested in the art and the chanting of dirges in Lucknow passed from the hands of professional singers. Numerous persons who were not musicians came to be able to chant so excellently as to eclipse professional singers.

At the moment Manjhu Sahib[476] and a few other accomplished individuals are so expert at chanting dirges and have become so well known that they are welcomed with open arms everywhere in India. The appreciation shown to them by people of other places robs Lucknow of their presence at the time of Muharram and other days of mourning.

This enthusiasm had its greatest effect on the women of Lucknow.[477] As soon as the impressive and heart-rending notes of dirges were chanted by Mir Ali Hasan and Mir Bandey Hasan, hundreds of men from élite families began to sing them, and then the women of noble Shia families also intoned them with their matchless voices. Women are naturally more fond of music and singing than men and their voices are usually more attuned to rhythm. When women began to practise this regulated form of music it became incredibly attractive and in a short time not only Shias but some Sunni women as well were attracted to the chanting of dirges. Matters have now reached the stage that during Muharram and on most other days of mourning, heart-rending sounds of lamentation and the melodious chanting of dirges can be heard from every house in every lane in old Lucknow. In every alley one will hear beautiful voices and melodies which one will never forget. There is silence in the houses of Hindus and also in those of some Sunni families; otherwise desolate sounds of lamentation can be heard from every direction.

As mourning for the Prophet's family is the pretext for the chanting of dirges, this religious enthusiasm existed in the houses of both Sunnis and Shias But thousands of Hindus also chanted these dirges. From this it can be seen that the desire for chanting was the main reason for the development of the elaborate practices of mourning celebration in Lucknow.

In Lucknow there are many refined and educated women who are so good at chanting, that were they not hampered by the limitations of purdah, no male cantor could excel them.

Many years ago, on the occasion of Chehlum [the fortieth day of mourning], I went with some friends to the local Tal Katora shrine and we spent the night there in a tent. I awoke suddenly at about two in the morning and the most entrancing melody greeted my ear. This sound had also aroused my friends and made them restless. We left the tent and saw in the still and silent night in the light of the moon a procession of women approaching carrying *tazias* [paper models of the shrines of Husain]. All were bare-headed and their hair hung loose In the centre was a woman carrying a candle. By its light a beautiful, delicately formed girl was reading from some sheets of paper and chanting a dirge and several other women were singing with her. I cannot describe the emotions that were aroused by the stillness, the moonlight, these bare-headed beauties and the soul-rending notes of their sad melody As the graceful company passed through the gate of the shrine the beautiful girl started a lament in a dhun called *parach*:

> When the caravan of Medina, having lost all
> Arrived captive in the vicinity of Sham

Foremost came the head of Husain, borne aloft on a spear
And in its wake, a band of women, with heads bared.

This elegy, so suitable to the occasion, made one wonder whether through this verse the lady was describing the present mourning procession entering the Kerbala, or whether she was referring to the historic procession of Husain's family.

The truth is that nothing produced so great an effect on the women of Lucknow, and on their men, as the chanting of dirges. The first beneficial result of this was that many women have become good singers and have learnt to chant dirges according to true musical principles. The second is that all the people of the city, men as well as women, have become attuned to music. One can see humble boys and people of the bazaar going about the streets and alleys singing as they walk along They sing so well and are able to master the most difficult tunes with such ease as to astonish strangers to the city. The basic reason for this is the taste for chanting dirges and elegies One can take pride in the fact that although this chanting spread among the masses and illiterate people, it maintained its standards and did not deviate from the true principles of music. This is contrary to the usual process, when anything adopted by the masses becomes mutilated and deteriorates.

Although the ordinary Shia considers soz khwani the road to salvation, their religious leaders have not yet sanctioned it in view of the Muslim religious law. At majlises where mujtahids and maulvis are present there are only recitals of the hadis and *taht ul lafz khwani*, the spoken recital of elegies; dirges are never chanted in their presence But it cannot be denied that the chanting of dirges, because of its widespread popularity, has in practice achieved complete victory over the decrees of religious leaders.

In Sunni belief and for the Sufis there is room for broad views on the legality of singing. Probably Shia theology is less broad-minded, otherwise this art would by now have been given the seal of legality [478]

27

Bands, Processions and the Telling of Time

I have written a great deal about musicians, the art of music and the arts that developed from it. But an account of band music is still lacking I shall therefore describe now what effect Lucknow had upon these bands and with this I shall conclude my discussion of music.

The bands that accompany marriage and other processions are of six kinds. *dhol tasha*, large drums and semi-spherical drums, *raushan chauki*, the pipe and tabor; *naubat*, kettle drums, *narsi* and *qurna*, horns and trumpets; *danka*

and *bugal*, large kettle drums and bugles, and Scottish bagpipes, a British instrument of increasing popularity.

Dhol tasha is the ancient Indian national band which the British call the 'Indian tom-tom' and, in their utter ignorance, make a subject of ridicule In England at the Earls Court Exhibition of 1896 where there were many demonstrations of Indian ways of life, arts and occupations, I saw with my own eyes an example of what was described as a dhol tasha An extremely black-visaged individual wearing nothing but a filthy loin-cloth stood practically naked before the assemblage. A dhol was tied to his neck which he proceeded to beat violently in a wild manner without any regard to musical rhythm, shaking his head from side to side like a madman This they called the Indian 'tom-tom'. In fact, this merely displayed these people's ignorance, for the dhol is a most excellent instrument and to play it is an art that requires a highly developed sense of rhythm

In Lucknow bands there are usually three or four large dhols and at least one man, though occasionally two or three, beating tashas. There is also at least one man playing the *jhanjh*, cymbals. The jhanjh can be traced to Persia and neighbouring countries and the tasha is common in and around Egypt, but the dhol is purely Indian. This type of band was introduced into Lucknow from Delhi mainly by the military In Delhi there were only dhols and jhanjh; tashas were added in Lucknow and very soon were considered so important that a band without them seemed to lack life Although there are only dhols and jhanjh in most cities, in Lucknow bands dhols are never played without tashas, and the men who play the tasha require the highest degree of skill They give the rhythm and the dhol players follow them The method of playing the tasha is to beat it with such rapidity that one stroke cannot be distinguished from another and from these continuous and incessant strokes, high and low notes, bass and treble, rhythm and melody are produced. In Lucknow the musicians in this type of band were so expert that they made an ordinary band, which was not conducted on any particular lines, into a well-regulated and concerted whole.

After the fortieth day of mourning there is a tazia[129] procession in Lucknow known as the Bakhshu's Tazia. Nowadays, because of the quarrels between Shias and Sunnis, this procession has lost its original form. This procession was initiated by a devout Shia of the royal family who had subsequently become poor About ten years ago, all expert band musicians joined in out of sympathy for them. They were surrounded by admirers and stood in one place for hours on end, issuing challenges to all and sundry to rival them at playing music. Great singers used to praise them and this incited them to play even more expertly. Among these musicians, the tasha players were the most skilled and were always introducing innovations into their music

What greater proof can there be that the dhol and the tasha were played according to correct principles, than that Wajid Ali Shah, who was an incomparable musician, was an exponent of the art. I have seen him with my own eyes in Matiya Burj, coming out of Asmani kothi with the procession on the seventh day of Muharram playing a tasha which was tied round his neck. Expert singers carrying dhols accompanied him and he was surrounded by his court favourites. He played the tasha with such delicacy and skill that even

people who did not understand music applauded him I have also seen him playing the dhol.

Lucknow society has taken full advantage of this most ancient of Indian bands, which is popular and at the same time maintains traditional standards. If anyone should come here and see the skill of the tasha players he will fully realize the degree of instrumental improvisation and the extent to which it has raised the level of dhol and jhanjh playing.

The raushan chauki is also a very ancient form of band. Most if not all of its important elements were brought by the Muslims. The *shahnai* is its most essential accompanying instrument and is considered to be the invention of Avicenna No other instrument can come so close to the sound of the human voice as the shahnai. In raushan chauki bands there are at least two shahnai players and one percussion player who has two small drums tied around his waist. The drums establish the rhythm, one shahnai player is responsible for maintaining the basic melody and the other improvises on the musical themes of ghazals and thumris.

The raushan chauki in India was a special court band which used to play at the dinner parties of kings and the highest nobles. During the silence of the night its players marched around the royal palace and it was delightful to listen to its notes in the distance. At the time of the Mughal dynasty this band was considered very important and attractive. It had existed in Delhi for a very long time and there is no doubt that raushan chauki bandsmen came to Lucknow from there. However, there have been expert players of this sort in this vicinity for some time. In Benares, raushan chauki bands are played in most temples in the early morning. It is most pleasing to listen to them before dawn

In Lucknow weddings, raushan chauki bands usually march near the bridegroom. In Hindu marriage processions they are given money for their performance on the road The timing and the attractive melodies produced by the musicians here cannot be rivalled Their skill and art can be understood only if one listens to them attentively In the Bakshu's tazia procession, the raushan chauki bandsmen showed their skill and played with such fervour that after hearing them one could no longer derive pleasure from listening to any other shahnai players.

The third type of band, the naubat, is the best suited to our traditional joyful melodies. In it there are two or three shahnai players and a *naqaras* (kettle drum) player who carries two very large naqaras in front of him which he beats at the same time with sticks. The naqaras produce a very large volume of sound which echoes over a great distance. There is also a jhanjh player in the band.

The naubat is a traditional band and for many years has been employed on ceremonial occasions. In Islamic history traces of it are found at the courts of Damascus, Baghdad and Egypt. In the middle period of the Abbaside dynasty in Baghdad, naubat bands played at the residences of all the nobles and were considered a mark of honour and distinction. It appears that these bands came to India with the Muslims, although it is possible that they were in existence here before then However there were no shahnai at the time, only naqaras and jhanjh. The present form was established in Persia and Iraq and came here from those countries.

It was customary for a naubat band to accompany the processions of kings and exalted nobles. These bands, playing from the backs of elephants, would precede the processions of important crowned heads Victors in war used to proclaim their success by making them play lustily. When the Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir conquered Hyderabad he had a naubat band play from the top of a hillock in the vicinity This hillock is still called Naubat Hill. Only the highest officers and nobles of the Mughal court were given the right to keep naubat bands, which played outside their residences and in their processions An elevated position was selected for their performance and bandstands were often erected on the tops of the gates of royal residences Examples of these may be seen in any large city where there has been an important court.

It is the custom in Lucknow, at the time of marriages or on other joyous occasions, for wealthy people to erect at their gates high platforms on poles covered with red cloth or tinsel to act as temporary platforms for the naubat band. The band remains on the platform all day and plays from time to time. Similarly, in marriage or tazia processions, temporary bandstands are erected on planks and carried on the shoulders of palanquin-bearers in front of the procession while the band plays continually

In early days, especially at the Lucknow court, the naubat was used to announce the time. The day was not then divided into twenty-four hours as is now the Western practice Day and night were then divided into eight *pahars*, watches, four for the day and four for the night, and these sections were each divided into eight *gharis* In every bandstand there was a copper or earthenware vessel filled with water, on top of which floated an empty cup with a small hole in the bottom. The water seeped in slowly through the hole, which was so designed that the cup was full within the space of one ghari, and then sank. When the cup sank for the first time one ghari was struck, and for the second time two This went on until eight gharis had been struck With the eighth ghari there were chimes, and a gong was struck, first eight times sharply and then for some time with rapid strokes. This was a signal that a watch was over and the gharis started again from one

In houses that had bands at their gates, the naubats were played for about the period of a ghari (twenty minutes) at the end of each watch According to this system naubats should have been played eight times in all. However, the custom was that only seven were played and the last one was omitted so as not to disturb the people's sleep in the second half of the night. At that time only chimes were heard. The naubat for each watch had a name appertaining to the time of day or night—'early morning naubat', 'sunrise naubat', 'midday naubat', 'afternoon naubat', 'evening naubat', 'early night naubat', and 'midnight naubat'.

Time was reckoned in this way at the Mughal court and in Lucknow until the eclipse of the monarchy In Calcutta up to the time of Wajid Ali Shah's death naubats announced the watches and gharis. Since then this method of reckoning time has been abandoned and now there is scarcely anyone who understands it. However in spite of the new division of time the old system has become such an integral part of our language that we still say, 'I'll come in a ghari', 'I will sleep in the second pahar', and 'I will have my food when the

first pahar is over'. But we do not know what a pahar is or what a ghari is. We often hear· 'The pahra has come on duty', or 'the soldiers of the pahar', but we do not realize that the word *pahra* is derived from *pahar*, meaning watch, and that the watchmen were on duty for the period of one watch at a time. Today a pahar is simply considered to be a period of three hours. This old method of reckoning time belonged to the Hindus but it was also employed in Persia and naubats used to be struck there also.

The naubat players of Lucknow were of a very high order and they or their pupils could be found in every district and town. The bands, the number of players and the method of playing did not alter They simply played the popular tunes and melodies of Lucknow society. The picture that Amir Khusrau paints in his poetry of naubat-playing gives one a very good idea of the art at his time It was very much the same in more recent times

Turhai, the horn, and *qurna*, the trumpet, are very old Indian instruments which were for the most part played by the military From its shape it would appear that the turhai is of British origin and was adopted in India at the time of their arrival. But the qurna is essentially a Persian instrument. Its sound is so awe-inspiring that it is particularly suitable for intimidating an enemy in battle. Neither of these instruments, though used in Lucknow processions, belongs to established musical use A turhai or qurna player accompanies military detachments or regiments and plays his instrument at short intervals to announce their presence A similar instrument is the old Hindu *narsingha*, a sort of horn, which was blown in battles and is now played in Hindu religious processions. All these instruments came from Delhi and have remained unchanged through time Perhaps it has been impossible to improve upon them.

The bugles and the dankas, which are seen today in Lucknow wedding processions, are a poor combination of early and modern instruments The dankas are supposed to replace those naqaras which in ancient times were carried on horseback with the armies of great conquerors and inspired great awe The bugle is a British military instrument which conveys instructions to change position, to make some movement or perform some other duty. Therefore the bugle was combined with the danka to form the band that is now seen in marriage processions Its bandsmen are hired from people of menial occupations and their clothes, horses and general appearance are so mediocre that instead of conveying any idea of splendour, they display a pitiful and ignominious spectacle.[479]

The final and most modern instrument is the bagpipes, brought to India by the British and unknown before their arrival In Lucknow, the only people to play it are sweepers, who do this in addition to their usual duties. The probable reason for this is that initially both Hindus and Muslims felt such social revulsion towards Europeans that anything they had touched was considered defiled This instrument had to be learnt from the British and one had to put one's mouth to it. Therefore no one except a sweeper could be expected to learn it. In any event, it has now become to all intents and purposes a pursuit of sweepers. As these people never had any connection with music there was little hope that the art would progress The result however was most unexpected. The sweepers were eager to improve their playing and as they knew and liked popular local and Indian tunes they began to play them on their Western

instrument. The British had only taught them a few Western tunes but they soon started to play current Indian airs, and their success increased.

I have heard British bands in many places: everywhere British melodies are played and the band never attempts an Indian melody On the other hand, hundreds of Indian bands have now been established which make use of the amorous compositions set to music by the raushan chauki bands of shahnai. Some of them have twenty-five to thirty bandsmen. They wear coloured uniforms according to Indian taste which are cut like the uniforms of British soldiers. This special uniform has improved their appearance and greatly increased their popularity. But other bandsmen never think of making a uniform for themselves and wear the most filthy clothes.

28
Gastronomy

The most important activity in human life is eating As any community or nation progresses, its diet is the most salient guide to its refinement. For this reason I should like to discuss the attitude of the court of Lucknow towards its cuisine and the extent to which the people of Lucknow improved the art of gastronomy.

At the time of Shuja ud Daula, the supervisor of the court kitchens was Hasan Raza Khan, who went by the name of Mirza Hasanu and came of a respectable Delhi family. A Shaikhzada, Maulvi Fazal Azim, had come to Lucknow from Safipur (Unao District, U.P.) to study. By a stroke of fortune he had been received into Mirza Hasanu's house. The two had grown up together and Mirza Hasanu appointed him assistant supervisor of the kitchens. It was Fazal Azim's custom to prepare the trays for dinner, then put his seal on them and take them to the Navab's antechamber. He would personally hand them to Bahu Begam's special maidservants and thus ensure that nothing detrimental was done to the food. He also kept on good terms with the maidservants.

Navab Shuja ud Daula had his meals inside the Palace with his wife Bahu Begam. The maidservants brought the trays to the Begam, uncovered them in her presence and placed the food on the *dastar khwan*[480] [tablecloth] Each day food for the Navab and the Begam came from six separate kitchens. Firstly, there was the Navab's own main kitchen supervised by Mirza Hasanu. In this two thousand rupees a day were spent on food, so that, apart from the wages of cooks and other servants, 60,000 rupees a month were spent on food and delicacies. The second was the subsidiary royal kitchen, the supervisor of which was originally Mirza Hasan Ali, but later on was Anbar Ali Khan, a eunuch; here three hundred rupees a day were spent on food The third kitchen belonged to Bahu Begam's apartments, supervised by Bahar Ali Khan, also a

eunuch The fourth was the kitchen of Navab Begam, Shuja ud Daula's mother, the fifth, Mirza Ali Khan's, and the sixth that of Navab Salar Jang These last two were Bahu Begam's brothers

All these six kitchens were excellent and every day produced the most sumptuous and delicious food for the dinner of the ruler One day a fly emerged from the Navab's dish which had been prepared in the royal kitchen The Navab was very annoyed and asked, 'Where has this food come from?' The maidservant thought that if she mentioned the royal kitchen, her adopted brother the Maulvi would get into trouble, so she said, 'Sir, the meal has come from Navab Salar Jang's kitchen '

After Shuja ud Daula's time Asaf ud Daula gave Mirza Hasan Raza Khan the title of Sarfaraz ud Daula and honoured him with the khilat. Hasan Raza then thought that supervising the kitchens was beneath his dignity and appointed Maulvi Fazal Azim for the task, who now took the dinner trays to Asaf ud Daula's antechamber He then collected some of his relatives to help him, amongst whom were his brother Maulvi Faiq Ali and his two cousins Ghulam Azim and Ghulam Makhdum The four used to take turns to convey the meals to the antechamber. Following Asaf ud Daula's reign, during the short period of Wazir Ali Khan's rule, Tafazul Husain Khan became Vazir He sent these relatives back to Safipur and appointed Ghulam Muhammad, popularly known as Bare Mirza, to be supervisor of the kitchens.

Thus from the time of Shuja ud Daula a very high standard of cooking was maintained The very best cooks were enlisted, elaborate efforts were made in the preparation of foods and innovations were introduced. Expert cooks from Delhi and other places polished up their skills and invented new delicacies and special savours.

Sarfaraz ud Daula Hasan Raza Khan would prepare the most wonderful meals. He himself was extremely fond of good food and entertaining and as supervisor of the main royal kitchen he had every opportunity of displaying his talents Scores of nobles became connoisseurs of good food, though Navab Salar Jang's family was the most celebrated for its innovations and delicacies.

Reliable sources tell us that Navab Salar Jang's cook, who prepared food for him alone, received a monthly salary of 1,200 rupees, an amount greater than the salary of any cook in the highest courts in the history of India This cook used to prepare the most enormous *pulaus*,[481] which no one except Salar Jang could digest One day Navab Shuja ud Daula said, 'Why have you never offered me any of those pulaus which are cooked for you?' Salar Jang replied, 'Certainly, I will have one sent to you today.' Accordingly he asked his cook to prepare a pulau, but of twice the usual amount. His cook replied, 'I am responsible only for your meals and I cannot cook for anyone else.' Salar Jang said, 'The Navab has expressed the desire, can't you possibly make him a pulau?' The cook continued, 'I can't cook for anyone else, whoever he may be.' After much persuasion on the part of Salar Jang, the cook finally agreed on condition that he himself would take the pulau to the Navab, who would eat it in his presence, that he would not allow the Navab to eat more than a few mouthfuls, and that Salar Jang would provide the Navab with plenty of cold water. Salar Jang agreed. The cook prepared the pulau and Salar Jang himself placed it on the dastar khwan. As soon as he had tasted the pulau, Shuja ud Daula was full

of praise and began to eat heartily. He had taken only a few mouthfuls, however, when Salar Jang tried to stop him. Shuja ud Daula looked at him with annoyance and continued eating. But after a few more mouthfuls he became exceedingly thirsty and was happy to drink the cold water that Salar Jang had brought with him Finally his thirst was quenched and Salar Jang went home.

In those days the best food was considered to be that which appeared light and delicate but was in fact heavy and not easily digestible. People with old-fashioned taste still have a penchant for this sort of food but today it is not generally popular.

A special art was to produce one particular substance in several different guises When placed on the table it looked as if there were scores of different kinds of delicacies, but when one tasted them, one found they were all the same. For instance, I have heard that a Prince Mirza Asman Qadar, the son of Mirza Khurram Bakht of Delhi, who came to Lucknow and became a Shia, was invited to dine by Wajid Ali Shah *Murabba*,[482] a conserve, was put on the dastar khwan which looked very light, tasty and delicious. When Asman Qadar tasted it he became intrigued because it was not a conserve at all but a *qaurma*,[483] a meat curry, which the chef had made to look exactly like a conserve. He felt embarrassed and Wajid Ali Shah was extremely pleased at having been able to trick an honoured Delhi connoisseur.

A few days later, Mirza Asman Qadar invited Wajid Ali Shah to a meal Wajid Ali Shah anticipated that a trap would be laid for him, but this did not save him from being taken in Asman Qadar's cook, Shaikh Husain Ali, had covered the tablecloth with hundreds of delicacies and many varieties of comestibles There were *pulau*, *zarda*,[484] *qaurma*, *kababs*,[485] *biryani*,[486] *chapatis*,[487] chutneys,[488] *achars*,[489] *parathas*, *shir mals*—in fact every kind of food. However, when tasted they were all found to be made of sugar. The curry was sugar, the rice was sugar, the pickles were sugar and the bread was sugar. It is said that even the plates, the tablecloth, the finger bowls and cups were made of sugar Wajid Ali Shah tried everything and became more and more embarrassed.

I have said that trays of food for Navab Shuja ud Daula's dinners came from six different kitchens. This practice was not confined to him alone It continued after his time and the honour was also accorded to some chosen nobles and especially to the royal relations.

My friend Navab Muhammad Shafi Khan Nishapuri tells me that his grandfather, Navab Agha Ali Hasan Khan, an eminent noble, used to send *roghni roti*,[487] a rich bread, and *metha ghi* [ghee],[490] clarified butter, from his house to the King. This bread was so fine and cooked with such care that it was not thicker than paper The metha ghee was a very special product which had to be prepared with great care.

In Delhi the most popular food was biryani, but the taste in Lucknow was more for pulau. To the uninitiated palate both are much the same, but because of the amount of spices in biryani there is always a strong taste of curried rice, whereas pulau can be prepared with such care that this can never happen. It is true that a good biryani is better than an indifferent pulau, for the pulau may be tasteless and this is never so in the case of a biryani. But in the view of gourmets a biryani is a clumsy and ill-conceived meal in comparison with a

really good pulau and for that reason the latter was more popular in Lucknow There are seven well-known kinds of pulaus in Lucknow. I can remember the names of only *gulzar*, the garden, *nur*, the light, *koku*, the cuckoo, *moti*, the pearl and *chambeli*, jasmine; but in fact scores of different pulaus are served. Muhammad Ali Shah's son Mirza Azim ush Shan, on the occasion of a wedding, invited the parents of the bride and bridegroom to a dinner at which Wajid Ali Shah was also present For that occasion there were seventy varieties of savoury pulaus and sweet rice dishes.

At the time of Ghazi ud Din Haidar, Navab Husain Ali Khan of Salar Jang's family was a great gourmet who had scores of different varieties of pulaus prepared for him. These were so light and delicate that no other nobleman could compete with him. Even the King envied him and gourmets would call him 'the rice man'

During the reign of Nasir ud Din Haidar, a cook came to Lucknow who made *khichri*[491] using pistachio nuts and almonds instead of rice and lentils. He cut the almonds into rice-shapes and the pistachio nuts into the shape of lentils so perfectly that when cooked the dish looked exactly like khichri. Once savoured, the taste could never be forgotten.

At the time of Navab Sadat Ali Khan there was an expert cook who made nothing but *gulathis*,[492] rice puddings This was the splendour of the royal table, the favourite dish of the ruler and such a delicacy that the noblemen all longed for it.

There is a story about a new cook who came before Navab Asaf ud Daula. He was asked, 'What do you cook?' He answered, 'I only cook lentils' When he was then asked what wages he required he replied, 'Five hundred rupees' The Navab agreed to employ him but the cook said, 'I will only take on service under certain conditions' When asked what those were, he said, 'When your Excellency wishes to eat my preparation of lentils, you must order it the day before and when I tell you it is ready you must eat it right away' The Navab agreed to these conditions and some months later ordered the cook to prepare his lentils The cook did so and when it was ready informed the Navab who said, 'All right, put it on the dastar khwan, I am coming in a minute.' The dastar khwan was laid but the Navab became engaged in conversation The cook reminded him again but the Navab tarried After a third reminder, when the Navab still did not appear, the cook took the pot of lentils, emptied it on the roots of a withered tree and departed The Navab regretted this and instituted a search but no trace of the cook was found. Some days later it was seen that the tree under which the lentils had been thrown was now blossoming There is no doubt that this incident has been exaggerated Still, one can judge from it the esteem accorded to cooks at the court and realize with what liberality an expert chef was treated.

Seeing the interest that the wealthy took in matters of food, cooks tried various innovations. One invented a pulau which resembled an *anar dana* [pomegranate seed] in which half of each grain of rice was fiery red like a ruby and the other half was white and sparkled like a crystal When the pulau was put on the table it looked as if the dish had been filled with coloured jewels. Another cook produced a *nau ratan*[431] [nine-precious-gem] pulau, in which the rice was coloured to reproduce the nine well-known gems and the colours were

so pure and so polished that they were a delight to the eyes Many more delicacies of this nature were created which became known to different houses and kitchens.

Of the noblemen interested in food, one was Navab Mirza Khan Nishapuri, who was reputed to have a vasiqa of 14,000 rupees a month. He showed such talent in producing delicious food and enlisting the services of expert chefs that his dastar khwan became famed throughout the city. Another was Mirza Haidar, also of Nishapur. He was such an honoured and respected nobleman that the Nishapuri community in Lucknow acknowledged him as their leader. It was his practice whenever he accepted an invitation to take with him all the items necessary for the preparation of betel leaf and a hundred or more *huqqas* [hookahs], as well as the necessary equipment for cooling drinking-water. This was a great help to people of moderate means, who would make sure to invite him. In this way all arrangements for huqqas, betel leaf and drinking-water would be his responsibility and these arrangements were always perfect.

Three classes of people were employed in preparing food. First there were the scullions who cleaned enormous pots and dishes and worked under the cook. Second was *bavarchi*, the cook, who prepared the meals in large quantities. Third was *rakabdar*, the chef, who was the most expert and usually cooked in small pots for a few people only. He considered it beneath his dignity to produce food in large quantities. Cooks, too, like to prepare in small quantities, but chefs never do otherwise because in addition to cooking, they are occupied with the presentation and serving of the food. They adorn the dishes with dried fruits cut into the shape of flowers, edible silver foils and other embellishments. They prepare light, delicious conserves and pickles and exhibit their skill in the gastronomic art in subtle ways.

Ghazi ud Din Haidar was fond of parathas. His chef used to cook six parathas a day and put five seers [approximately ten pounds] of ghee into each, that is to say, he used thirty seers of ghee a day One day the Vazir Motamad ud Daula Agha Mir sent for him and asked, 'What do you do with thirty seers of ghee a day?' He said, 'Sir, I cook parathas ' The Vazir asked him to cook a paratha so that he could witness this The chef did so and put in all the ghee it would hold and threw the rest away. Motamad ud Daula said with astonishment, 'You have not used all the ghee ' The chef said, 'What is left over is not worth keeping for another meal.' The Vazir could not understand the answer and said, 'Only five seers of ghee a day will be given to you, one seer for each paratha.' The chef said, 'Very well, I will cook with that much ghee.' He was so angry at the Vazir's interference that he started to cook very indifferent parathas for the King's table. After a few days the King remarked, 'What is wrong with these parathas?' The chef said, 'Your Majesty, I cook the parathas as Navab Motamad ud Daula Bahadur has ordered.' The King asked for details and was given a full account He immediately sent for the Vazir who said, 'Your Majesty, these people rob you right and left.' On this the King became angry and slapped him, saying, 'Don't you rob? You who rob the whole monarchy and the whole country and think nothing of it? He only takes a little too much ghee for my meals and you don't like it.' The Vazir repented, showed his contrition and the King, exercising his clemency, gave him a khilat. The Vazir never interfered with the chef again and the latter continued to take thirty seers of ghee as before.

29

Delicacies and Confectionery

Navab Abdul Qasim Khan was a nobleman of taste. Very rich pulaus were cooked in his kitchen and the broth from thirty-four seers of meat was used to stew the rice It was so tasty that if you took a mouthful you felt as though the rice had melted as it went down your throat and there was no question of heaviness A pulau as rich and nutritious as this used to be cooked every day for Wajid Ali Shah's principal wife.

Munshi ul Sultan, the Vazir at Matiya Burj, was among the more stylish enthusiasts and was very fond of his food Although there were some excellent cooks available, he never enjoyed a meal unless he had cooked some of it himself. He became so famed for his good food that Wajid Ali Shah used to say, 'The Munshi ul Sultan eats well I wish I were as lucky ' I lived with him as a child for six or seven years in Matiya Burj and used to have my meals with him I saw thirty to forty different pulaus on his dastar khwan and scores of curries, the like of which I have never tasted since. He was very fond of *halva sohan*,[493] a round confectionery, which I shall describe later.

In recent times since the Mutiny the late Hakim Banday Mehndi, who lived in Lucknow, was extremely interested in his food and clothes. Only a few people were able to eat as well or dress as well as he did An honoured friend told me that his family were on very good terms with the hakim. He said:

'One day the hakim sent a message to my father and uncle to say that he had invited a wrestler to his house and that they should come to see the fun. My father went and took me with him When we got there we discovered that the wrestler drank twenty seers of milk every morning and that he ate five or six pounds of dried fruit, almonds and pistachio nuts. At midday and in the evening he ate five pounds of bread and an ordinary-sized goat. The size of his body was in proportion to this amount of food. We found him impatient for his breakfast and he went on demanding that the food should be sent for, but the hakim made him wait This continued until hunger made him so impatient that he became irritated and started to get up. Then the hakim promised to send for the food and went into the house. He kept him waiting a little longer and when he saw that the wrestler could not bear his hunger any longer he sent for a tray On seeing this the wrestler revived, but when he opened up the tray he found there was only a small dish containing an ounce or two of pulau This small amount of rice was scarcely a mouthful for him, and he became enraged and decided to leave. But he was persuaded to stay He turned the dish upside down into his mouth and swallowed all the contents with scarcely a gulp. A few minutes later he asked for water and after another five minutes

drank again and proceeded to belch. Trays of food now came out of the house and the dastar khwan was set out. The hakim himself appeared and the food was served A plate containing about half a pound of rice of the same pulau as before was put in front of the hakim who handed it to the wrestler and said, "Look, is this the same pulau or not?" The wrestler agreed that it was and the hakim said, "Eat it now. I am sorry it took so long to prepare and that you have been inconvenienced." The wrestler said, "Please excuse me. I have become so satiated by the first mouthful that I cannot swallow a single additional grain " However much he was entreated he stayed his hand and said, "How can I eat when there is no room in my stomach?" The hakim took the rice, ate it all and said to the wrestler, "To swallow twenty or thirty seers is not the human way of eating. that is how cows and buffaloes feed themselves. A human being should eat a few mouthfuls but those mouthfuls should give him more strength and nourishment than twenty or thirty seers of corn. You were satiated by this one mouthful Come again tomorrow and tell us whether you feel you have not gained as much nutrition from this as you do from twenty seers of milk and many seers of fruit, meat and corn " The hakim also invited the rest of us to come on the following day. The next day when he came the wrestler said, "Never before have I felt so vigorous as I do today "'

During the later period of the Navabi rule, Navab Mohsin ud Daula and Navab Mumtaz ud Daula, both of the royal family, were acknowledged to be unrivalled in their enthusiasm for gastronomical pleasures. It was their cook who used to prepare these pulaus for Hakim Banday Mehndi.

At that time one of the ladies of the royal family maintained a very large household Her kitchen was famous and food to the value of three hundred rupees was cooked there every day. Also at that time there was a cook in Prince Yahya Ali Khan's household named Alim Ali whose incomparable preparation of fish was well known to all the nobles. Cooks of other households made every effort to equal him but without success.

At the time of Nasir ud Din Haidar, a non-Lakhnavi who was generally known as Mahumdu, opened a food stall in the Firangi Mahal quarter. His *nahari*[494] [breakfast curry] was so celebrated that even the greatest nobles and princes used to show their appreciation of it This stirred him to further efforts and he started a new preparation called *shir mal*[487] which is the pride of Lucknow to this day Many kinds of bread were known and eaten in various towns. Muslims ate leavened bread in Persia and then started to bake it in underground ovens. In India their bread was plain and there was no ghee in it. Seeing the Hindus frying their puris, Muslims put some ghee into their griddle-baked bread and invented parathas. The first improvement on these parathas was the *baqar khani*, which was an extravagant form of bread for a rich man's table. In Lucknow, Mahumdu made great improvements on the baqar khani by producing the shir mal which in taste, scent, lightness and delicacy was very much better than the baqar khani and other luxurious breads. Even today the shir mal is not baked anywhere but in Lucknow: when efforts are made to bake it anywhere else, it is not the same. In a very short time the shir mal gained such popularity in Lucknow that any celebration at which it was not served could not be considered perfect.

Shir mal so increased the esteem in which Mahumdu was held that on the occasion of royal majlises and celebrations he sometimes received orders for a hundred thousand shir mals. His organization was able to cope with orders of any size Mahumdu's successor was Ali Husain, who died only a few months ago. Shir mals of the same excellent quality can still be obtained from his shop today.

Nan jalebis is an improved variety of shir mal which has to be cooked with great care It needs a cordon bleu chef to turn it out properly and the cooks of Lucknow claim that no one else can cook them as well as they As regards parathas, Lucknow is up to the same standard as other cities and there has been no evident improvement in this line. It is said that Delhi bakers produce really excellent parathas and mix a whole seer of ghee with one seer of flour But when I was living in Delhi I often had parathas cooked for me by well-known bakers They certainly contained a large quantity of ghee but as it had not been thoroughly mixed with the flour the parathas could only be eaten fresh. When they were cold they were like leather.

Pieces of bread mixed with ghee and sugar are an everyday sweet dish generally partaken of on occasion of the ceremonies of Fatiha[495] and Niyaz.[496] From this developed the preparation of *malida*, a sweet dish with semolina, which was so light that it turned to sherbet in one's mouth and there was no need to chew it Some rulers were very fond of it. Later, further innovations were made: only milk boiled several times was used, with its skin, in the preparation of bread and certain dishes, without the addition of flour. This led to the development of *panj giri*, a dish of semolina, dried fruits and milk, which was light, delicious and nourishing, and much appreciated in high circles

The main Muslim dishes were pulau and qaurma, and more care was taken in their preparation than with any other dishes. I have written a lot about pulaus, yet there are other points still to be mentioned. For rich epicures chickens used to be fattened with musk and saffron pills until their flesh was scented with these two substances Then a broth was made from them and rice was added to simmer with it.

Moti, the pearl pulau, was made to look as if the rice contained shining pearls. The method of making these pearls was to take about two hundred grains in weight of silver foil[497] and twenty grains of gold foil and beat them into the yolk of an egg, this mixture was then stuffed into the gullet of a chicken and tied around with fine thread. The chicken was heated slightly and the skin cut with a penknife Well-formed, shining pearls appeared, which were cooked with the meat of the pulau. Some chefs used to make these pearls with cheese and cover them with silver foil There were many more such variations which no one had thought of before. A number of chefs used to fashion small birds from the meat of the pulau and cook them with such care that their shape was not damaged. They were put on plates, the rice was made to look like grain and it appeared as if the birds were sitting on each guest's plate pecking at grain

Another amazing variation was a large pie which contained some small birds, when opened the birds were released and flew away. This dish used to be prepared in Hyderabad Deccan, probably by the chef Pir Ali who had come from Lucknow, and used to delight distinguished Englishmen and their wives

at Government dinners The dish was first seen on Nasir ud Din Haidar's dastar khwan But the bird pulau was a superior achievement

One chef used to fashion large eggs, boiled and fried, which weighed as much as two pounds each and in which the whites and yolks were exactly the normal shape and proportions. Some cooks made almond curries which looked like broad beans, but were much lighter and more delicious The Vazir Raushan ud Daula's cook used to cut continuous spirals out of whole tender cobs which were then mixed with yoghurt and spices to make a *saita* He then made a sauce from them which was highly regarded.

My calligraphist, Munshi Shakir Ali, showed incomparable skill in writing the whole passage of 'Qul Huwallah' from the Quran on a grain of rice. But a chef here at the time of the monarchy did still better with poppy seeds He cut each grain in such a way that it had spikes all around it.

Pir Ali, a famous chef of Lucknow, was employed in the kitchens of the Nizam He used to cook a very expensive and delicious pulse which was formerly cooked in the kitchens of the Lucknow rulers, called Sultan's Dal pulse.

Some chefs used to cook *karela,* a bitter vegetable, with such care and delicacy that to look at it one would not think that steam had touched it It remained just as green and as fresh as before. But if one cut into it and ate it, it was most delicious. An incident reminiscent of this happened to my good friend Saiyyid Ali Ausat recently. He related, 'Navab Ali Khan, a Lucknow aristocrat, said to me one day, "Wait for your evening meal, I will send you something " At dinner time his servant came round with a covered tray. With great eagerness I sent for the tray and had it opened up. There was only one plate on it with what seemed to be raw pumpkin I was so disappointed that I said to the maidservant, "Take it away and cook it tomorrow " The servant laughed and said, "Please eat it as it is, there is no necessity to cook it." When I ate it I found it to be as delicious and tasty as anything I had ever eaten.' The chefs have reached perfection at these arts. Pir Ali used to fashion sweets like pomegranates in which the outer skin, the seeds and the inner tissues all looked like the real fruit· the kernels of the seeds were made of almonds, the seeds themselves of pear juice and the tissues between the seeds as well as the outer skin were of sugar

Chefs also made marabbas, achars and various kinds of sweets, into which they skilfully introduced hundreds of innovations. Everyone knows mango marabba. But in Lucknow the chefs used to make marabba of whole unripe small mangoes in such a way that the green outer skin retained its original appearance. It looked as if small, unripe mangoes had just been plucked from the trees and made into syrup.

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More Delicacies and Confectionery

The collective name for foods selected for feasts at home or sent out was *tora*. It consisted of *pulau*; *muzafar*, a sweet, rich rice dish with saffron, *mutanjan*, meat, sugar and rice with spices; *shir mal*, *safaida*, a simple, sweet rice dish, fried aubergine; *shir baranj*, a rich, sweet rice dish boiled in milk; *qaurma*, *arvi*, a fried vegetable with meat; *shami kababs*, croquettes of meat and lentils, along with *murabba*, *achar*, pickles, and chutney.

In most places the tora contained most of these foods but in Lucknow all of these dishes were eaten at home or sent out to guests.[498] Other varieties of food were scarcely ever served These foods were put on the dastar khwan in front of each guest If the dishes had to be sent out they were carefully carried away on large octagonal wooden trays

It is a British custom to decorate a table with flowers and other embellishments Wealthy people, nobles and princes in Lucknow followed the practice in so far as they had paper flowers placed on the food trays, but ordinary and middle-class people thought the custom superfluous and did not follow it.

The varieties of food typical of distinguished households were related to their rank and class and the dishes of the tora were made up accordingly In the royal palace the king's tora consisted of one hundred and one trays, the cost of which was about five hundred rupees Of the rulers of Avadh, Wajid Ali Shah's father Amjad Ali Shah was extremely conscientious, pious, temperate and abstemious. He avoided all sinful acts and adhered strictly to Muslim religious law. In the fervour of his piety he believed that the spending of the country's money on himself was unethical. He therefore asked all his relatives to send him money instead of food when they wanted to entertain him. The result was that people would send him five hundred rupees and at the same time made a point of sending a tora as well, but a much less elaborate one.

The most popular *khwan*[480] [tray] was made of wood with a coloured, dome-shaped lid, which was tied with a brace of white cloth. It was the custom in the royal kitchen, and also in upper-class homes, for the brace to be sealed so that no one could tamper with the tray. On top of the brace there was an extremely ornate, coloured covering usually made of silk. In important households these coverings were made of satin, silk or brocade, sometimes embroidered and sometimes of gold or silver lace.

It is possible that this custom was prevalent at the Mughal court and came from there to Lucknow, but I have never seen ceremonial observances in Delhi to equal those in Lucknow Here, in the most minor matters of eating and drinking, etiquette was imperative and had become second nature. When

water was served even for the most ordinary person, a servant used to place the glass on a small tray, put a cover over it and hand it to the recipient with the utmost courtesy and respect.

In the course of a hundred years this refinement and display produced excellent chefs in Lucknow who became famous throughout India. Wherever I have been, at Muslim courts or in Muslim States in India, I have found Lucknow chefs who had made a great impression on the wealthy and the rulers and who were greatly valued It cannot be denied that today there are very expert cooks in Hyderabad Deccan, Bhopal and Rampur—but if you go into their background, find out about their families and personal history you will probably find that they came from Lucknow If not they belong to a family of professional cooks who originally came from Lucknow, or are their pupils.

There now remains confectionery to discuss The preparation of sweets familiar to the public is the work of the Hindu *halvai* [confectioner], but the standard of the Muslim chefs is much higher. These chefs cannot meet the needs of the masses and this is the business of the Hindu confectioner. The chefs prepare confectionery only for the few who are interested in refined delicacies. Their products are incomparable and most delicious. Confectionery in Lucknow is of two kinds, that of the Muslims and that of the Hindus. If you buy a sweet in an ordinary Muslim shop it will be no better than that made by the Hindus, but if you give an order in advance for any speciality, it is infinitely better. As a general rule *jalebis*, sweets formed in a spiral, glazed with syrup, *imertis*, thick sweets with syrup, and *balu shahis*, moist, round syrupy sweets, are all very well made in Lucknow.

It is difficult to determine which confections were Hindu in origin and which came to India with the Muslims Taking the names and taste into consideration, it would appear that *halva* is of Arab origin and came to India via Persia, retaining its original name But one cannot state this definitely and there are differences of opinion about it. *Tar halva*, a sweet made with clarified butter, which is usually obtainable from all the confectioners and eaten with puris, is purely Hindu. It is also called *mohan bhog*. But the four kinds of *halva sohan*, namely *papri*, hard and dry, *jauzi*, soft and crumbly, *habshi*, soft, crumbly and black, and *dudhia*, like a thick milk jelly, appear to be essentially Muslim

Most sweets made by contemporary Hindu confectioners appear to have been devised since the time the Muslims arrived in India. For instance the name of the sweet *barfi*, dry, white and soft, shows that it originated in Persia (*baraf* is Persian for 'snow') *Balu shahi*, *khurme*, hard folded pancakes; *nuktiyan*, tiny yellow beads of sweets; *gulab jaman*, soft, syrupy croquettes, and *dar behisht*, were all developed during the Muslim era.

Jalebis are called *zalabia* in Arabic, and it is clear that the word *zalabia* has become corrupted into *jalebi*; these sweets therefore should be included among those coming from Arabia and Persia. *Payras*, ball-shaped sweets, are definitely Hindu, as are *imertis*. I have been told that imertis were actually invented in Lucknow, but Lucknow has no particular distinction as regards imertis An extraordinary thing is that Agra and Panjab confectionery are the most famed in Lucknow. I have seen in other towns that the confectionery of Lucknow and its neighbourhood is the most popular.

Taking all things into consideration, Hindu confectioners are on the whole

much better and more popular than Muslim, and the people who really appreciate sweets are the Hindus Possibly because Muslims are meat-eaters, they prefer food containing salt Hindus on the other hand prefer a sweet taste. They will fill their stomachs with sweets, which is not the case with a Muslim. Because of this predilection of Hindus, Mathura, Benares and Ajodhya, their religious centres, are superior to other cities in the production of various kinds of tasty sweets.

Many people, in addition to Muslim chefs, are famous for the preparation of halva sohan Recently the celebrated calligraphist, Munshi Hadi Ali, became particularly noted for his preparation of *papri halva sohan* He used to add twenty-five or thirty seers of ghee to each seer of wheat germ and adorned each sweet with exquisite tughra writing, so that in addition to the production of halva sohan, examples of his penmanship and design were also displayed

In Matiya Burj I often saw the Vazir, who came from a noble Lucknow family, adding about two and a half seers of ghee to two ounces of the other ingredients His papri halva sohan, instead of being the usual yellow, was white and shining like a newly washed cloth

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Food Refinements and Water Cooling

In most Asian countries, in addition to delicacy of taste, great importance is placed on the presentation of food It is made to look attractive through colour, and appetizing through smell Special attention is paid to this in Lucknow. Interest in good food is usually confined to a few wealthy people and gourmets, but in Lucknow this interest is shared by nearly everyone. As a result not only have a large number of good cooks materialized, but ladies of noble families have also acquired the art There is not a distinguished family in which the honoured ladies do not display great skill in delicate and delicious cooking.

Milk and yoghurt are universal In Lucknow great attention has been given to preparations from them, like *balai*, clotted cream, which contains the most savoury constituents. In English it is called 'cream' and is much indulged in in Europe But there they let the milk stand for a little until the thick, white and succulent portion comes to the top: this they skim off and call cream In Lucknow the succulent portion is removed by warming the milk (in very shallow trays) over a slow fire The many layers are then removed and carefully put together, one on top of the other, until the thick *balai* is formed.

In early Urdu this dish was called *malai*. Asaf ud Daula was so fond of it that it used to be very carefully prepared for him Instead of *malai*, he called it

balai, because it came from the top of the milk (*bala* means 'above' in Persian). The people of Lucknow liked this idea and the word *balai*, except for villagers and some illiterate people, became standard usage and the word *malai* was dropped in refined circles

The late Maulvi Muhammad Husain Azad objected to this in his *Ab-e Hayat*,[247] saying that the word *malai* was more trenchant and eloquent. To my mind there is no point in saying that a word lacks eloquence merely because one does not like it Every community has a preference for words that it has adopted and that have become current and popular in its idiom To those people who use *malai* the word *balai* is doubtless tiresome, but where *balai* is used and has become part of the idiom, the word has greater eloquence. To them *malai* is used by the ignorant and villagers.

Eloquence and delicacy in a language cannot be determined by reason or logic but only by the preferences of the people who speak it. Today Delhi and Lucknow are considered the established schools of Urdu Therefore the language of both is accepted as standard, even if a word used in one place should be unfamiliar in the other Both *malai* and *balai* are correct—*malai* in the opinion of the people of Delhi and *balai* according to those who live in Lucknow.

To return to the subject of food, discrimination in the setting out and decorating of meals is as necessary as the actual cooking At present in Europe tables are pleasantly decorated with flowers In some countries on ceremonial occasions grains of coloured rice are put out on the table in the forms of letters or designs Immaculately clean vessels and utensils, generally of silver, are used, but British cooks and butlers do not pay much attention to the decoration of the food itself, except for wedding cakes which are beautifully made and placed with great ceremony on the tables

Unlike the practice in England, little attention is paid in Lucknow to the decoration of a dastar khwan, but the food itself is set out with much delicacy. Silver and gold foil is placed upon the food and designs and floral patterns are made with pistachio nuts, almonds and shredded coconut. Chefs take great pride in this art and their main task is in fact to make the food look as lovely as possible.

In Lucknow this ostentation originated with professional cooks and chefs and then passed on to upper-class families, where it became a special accomplishment of the ladies In Europe it is said that women are better suited to delicate work and decoration than men A proof of this can be seen in Lucknow where women show great natural skill in the embellishment of food

Indian wedding cakes, which are usually placed before the bride and bridegroom at marriages, are made with boiled rice The ladies of most households decorate them so daintily and with such finesse that one is quite happy merely to sit and look at them

It will not be without interest to mention the improvements made in *abdar khana*, the name given to the methods of preparing liquid refreshments. In former days ice was unobtainable and in the hot season it was extremely difficult to obtain cold water. Thus special arrangements had to be made. Water was poured into *surahi*[499] [earthenware pitchers], and for drinking purposes, elegant *abkhoras*[500] [earthenware drinking vessels] were used. Red cloth, which was kept damp, was tied round the pitcher or drinking vessel in

order to cool it by the wind The hotter the wind, the colder it made the cloth, which in turn reduced the temperature of the water inside the receptacles. Often cloth was tied on the mouths of goblets, pitchers and even jars, which were then hung upside down from the branches of trees As they were completely sealed the water did not spill out and they became beautifully cold In the rainy season, earthenware jars were hung inside a hall.

An elaborate practice was to immerse small metal pitchers in a large earthenware vessel filled with brackish water and then spin them round and round. In a short time the water in the pitchers became as cold as ice This practice was called *jhalna*, pitcher-cooling

In later days a plan was developed to produce ice. In the depths of winter, hot water was poured into earthenware receptacles and put out in fields and open spaces at night By morning the water had frozen The ice was immediately buried in deep pits which had been especially prepared for this purpose. As long as the ice remained in the pits, it did not melt In this way sufficient ice was stored in the pits to last the whole year But it was not clean enough to add to drinking water, so the earlier methods had to be maintained at the same time. In any case the art of ice-making was confined to the wealthy.

I do not know whether the arrangements for the cooling of water were exactly the same in Delhi It is probable that they were but I have not seen them practised in Delhi so well or so extensively. No doubt Lucknow is superior to most places in having evolved the efficient and better-shaped earthenware vessels Additionally, the quality of the clay in Lucknow gives the water a special fragrance The metal pitchers in Delhi may be good but not as delicate and practical as the earthenware pitchers of Lucknow. I shall describe these fully in a later chapter on pottery.

Traditionally, wherever kings went their kitchens and water-cooling equipment accompanied them, but in Lucknow water-cooling arrangements were so advanced that even wealthy people never went anywhere without them For instance Mirza Haidar took it upon himself to provide such arrangements for weddings and entertainments to which he had been invited His presence at these festivities was always a great blessing

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The Evolution of Men's Dress

The history of Indian clothing is shrouded in darkness. From the study of ancient sculpture and murals of Ellora[501] and Ajanta it is evident that in the pre-Muslim period it was not the custom in India to wear stitched clothes. Women and men covered their bodies with unsewn sheets, saris and dhotis Arab travellers who came to India before the Muslim conquerors found the people in the coastal regions from Sindh to Bengal dressed in this manner.

Although the first Arab Muslims who came here wore *kurtas*, loose collarless shirts, and *tahmat*, unsewn cotton cloth worn from the waist to the ankles, and *qabas*, capes, their dress and appearance were not greatly superior to those of the local inhabitants. Dress started to make advances when the Abbaside court of Baghdad adopted Sassanide culture and evolved trousers, tunics, cloaks and well-fashioned turbans for the élite Arabs. These were largely copied from those worn by the nobles and dignitaries of the Sassanide court. In a short time they were worn by Muslims everywhere, and they brought the style with them to India. Paintings of the early Muslim crowned heads in India show them wearing practically the same clothes as the Persian and Abbaside nobles and rulers. The only difference was that the Indian sultans, following the example of Hindu rajas, covered themselves with jewels.

The latest fashion at the Mughal court in Delhi, as far as can be ascertained, was a turban, a short coat, tight ankle-length trousers, high-heeled shoes and a girdle round the waist This was the outfit of the upper classes in Delhi and it remained unchanged until the time of Muhammad Shah Rangeley, or if there were any changes, they were scarcely appreciable.

This outfit included a short-sleeved undergarment with a sort of bodice up to the elbows and fixed to the chest with tapes Over this was a coat which was an improvement on the Persian cape. It had a collar but the lapels on both sides, which were known as *parda*,[208] curtains, folded over each other and covered the chest. The upper portion of the chest below the throat was bare, as with an English coat or sports-shirt The left-hand lapel was worn below and fixed to the right-hand lapel with bindings and this lapel in turn was attached to that of the left From the waist a sort of skirt, very wide in circumference, hung down to the ankles The trousers were tight at the bottom and those of wealthy men were made of silk. Over the coat a sash was tied round the waist.

This was the clothing of our ancestors two or three hundred years ago, and it was worn by all the nobles and wealthy men of India. It was the dress of the court, worn by Navab Burhan ul Mulk and Shuja ud Daula when they came from Delhi to Avadh. The cloth of the *jama*, a collarless shirt, was usually fine muslin, made in various towns in India, of a very delicate and light texture, and renowned throughout the world The muslin and embroidered cloth of Dacca was particular to nobles and royalty.

Later the *balabar*, a copy of the Persian cape, was invented, the rounded collar of which was completely open because the short coat worn beneath it sufficiently covered the chest This coat was in no way fastened, and to prevent it flying open a triangular piece of material was inserted on the right-hand side. This gusset was the first example of those used with *shervanis*, knee-length tunics, now fixed on the left-hand side.

As an improvement on the balabar the *angarkha* was invented in Delhi, which was a combination of the jama and balabar and created a new fashion. The bodice over the chest was copied from the qaba, but instead of leaving the throat uncovered a low-cut, semi-circular jabot was superimposed: over this and below the throat a crescent-shaped necklet was sewn and attached to a button-hole on the left side of the neck. The bodice was beneath this and the lapels fixed to each other across the chest. A little of the chest above the bodice

was exposed Although the bottom of the garment was like that of a qaba, it was pleated on both sides like that of a jama.

This was the old angarkha which was worn in Delhi and passed from there to the whole of India. When it came to Lucknow, it was made more close-fitting. The bodice was also tightened, the pleats at the sides disappeared entirely and the bottoms were edged with lace After this princes and men of fashion changed the bodice so that instead of one, three fronts were superimposed over each other with pleats and ruffles

After the angarkha had been evolved in Delhi, the bodice was discarded and the exposure of the left side of the chest was not considered incorrect but attractive In Lucknow a *shaluka*, a waistcoat up to the neck, was worn in place of the bodice, with buttons in front. Buttons had just been introduced to India from Europe. Special styles were displayed in these waistcoats. People of taste wore tight waistcoats of muslin with embroidered patterns. Some people wore coloured waistcoats and the embroidery brought out the fine delicacy of the cloth.

The second improvement on the balabar after it had come to Lucknow was the development of the *chapkan*, a fitted cape This had the same semi-circular jabot and lapels as the angarkha The lapels were bow-shaped and sewn with buttons and there was an attractive bow-shaped ring of buttons near the neck. Like the balabar, it had a broad gusset fixed to the left side by buttons This chapkan was made of wool or other thick cloth and was more suitable for winter wear, it was popular in the court. The British liked it very much and for some time dressed their servants in it

Finally, in recent times the *achkan* was evolved on the lines of the chapkan and angarkha. Like the angarkha and chapkan it had a coat collar which was open in the centre and kept in position by the border hem. The coat was open from top to bottom and was fastened with buttons The gusset which was inserted high up in the balabar was now fixed lower down to prevent the bottom of the garment from opening, thus overcoming the main fault of the balabar. The lower part of the achkan was exactly like that of the chapkan and angarkha and those who were fashion-minded had it edged with lace and embroidered.

The achkan was extremely popular and the style started to find its way from the towns to the villages In a very short time it was worn throughout India In Hyderabad, it developed with a few alterations into the *shervani* Its sleeves were made like those of an English coat, the adornments over the chest were discarded and for the lower part the shape of an English overcoat was adopted. It became so popular everywhere, including Lucknow, that it is now the national dress of all Hindus and Muslims in India.

The shaluka, worn under the angarkha, was at first changed for a loose and shorter tunic Because of Western influence this too was discarded after a short time and replaced by the English shirt with collar and cuffs. The adoption of the shirt with collar made the shervani even more attractive, as it became fashionable for the white collar to be shown over the collar of the coat. The length of the sleeves allowed a little of the cuffs to show. Although the present dress of the educated and middle-class in Lucknow is the shervani, this style is in no way particular to Lucknow [502] Lucknow's last and final creation was the achkan, which is by now quite obsolete.

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Forms of Headwear

I shall now turn my attention to headwear. Since the head in India is the most honoured and respected part of the body, its covering has an appropriately exalted status[503] From ancient times it has been the custom here to wear *pagris*, turbans The Arabs and Persians came to India wearing *ammamas*, large turbans, and because of their influence many changes were made. However, the turban was already an established form of headwear in India when they came.

The ammamas of the early Muslim rulers were very large Probably because of this the pagris of the nobles and élite were also large They wore beneath them the pointed conical cap of the old Turkish style, the fez, which is still worn in Afghanistan and has been made part of the uniform of the British Indian army

During the course of the Mughal dynasty, turbans grew smaller and smaller This was probably due to climate: in cold countries heavy and thick clothing is worn to keep warm, whereas in hot countries one dresses lightly Although one hears about the thick and heavy clothing of the early Muslim conquerors, one can see how the clothing of the British and their wives is becoming lighter and more scanty day by day.

Accordingly, turbans in India continued to grow smaller and lighter and this affected the court fashions By the end of the era of the Mughal court, the pagris of the nobles and other officials had become extremely light. This led to the making of hundreds of styles and most nobles and rich men created special types of tiny pagris for themselves

Because of the reduction in size of turbans, the Turkish caps had to be abandoned. Some wore no caps at all under their turbans and others wore extremely small ones of light material which could be blown away by a puff of wind I am not certain what these caps were like but they probably resembled those worn by present Muslim patriarchs and religious mendicants, a strip of cloth about seven inches wide going round the head and sewn at the top

The pagri was removed in the house or in informal gatherings and because being bare-headed was an impropriety, a *kamrukhi* cap, which looked like a crown, was created in Delhi It had a band round the head and was made with four sides, it is still worn by some nobles and princes in Delhi. The original name of this cap was *chau goshia*, four-cornered. This was improved upon and a dome-shaped cap was produced in Delhi This had four or five sections and looked like an elongated dome on the head. People wearing this head-dress came to Lucknow and it influenced the styles of the court. The first improvement made here was that long conical sections were joined together and attractive

crescent-shaped patterns were sewn on at the rim These crescents were made of cotton and were stitched on the inside of the fine muslin panels They showed through the panels and gave the head-dress an elegant but simple appearance This cap was so popular in Lucknow that it could be seen on the heads of all and most people gave up wearing pagris Further innovations were made as this cap became more and more popular It became less elongated and more rounded, and wooden and copper moulds were invented to keep the shape properly rounded.

At the time of Nasir ud Din Haidar the Shia religion was in the ascendancy in Lucknow and there were corresponding reforms in religion, politics, culture and social etiquette. Opposition to the idea of the four Caliphs and love for the Panjtan, the five members of the Prophet's family, caused the number four to be out of favour and the number five to be loved in Lucknow court circles The effect of this on headgear was that, at the instigation of the King himself, a panel was added to the four-cornered hat and it became five-cornered The old cap disappeared completely and no one ever remembered that it once had four panels. However the name 'four-cornered' has lingered on Though some people call it 'five-cornered', the majority call it 'four-cornered' to this day

Nasir ud Din Haidar had invented this cap especially for himself and during his lifetime it was not possible for anyone else to wear it. However, the style was so favoured that after his death high and low started to wear it and it became popular throughout Lucknow

A little later, a very attractive embroidered cap of the same type was created for the winter The five panels were covered in thin muslin upon which gold and silver crescents and designs were stitched in different colours In winter one saw no other covering on the heads of men of fashion Later, when *chikan*[504] [embroidery on muslin] became popular, it was used for this purpose A delicate chikan cap took up to a year to make and even the most ordinary ones cost anything from ten to twelve rupees

About this time a Delhi prince came to Lucknow who was received with great honour by the court and in society. He wore a *dopalri* cap, which was made of two pieces of cloth to fit the head with a seam across the top. This cap was pleasing to most people for it was relatively simple and easy to produce. Many people adopted it. The prince came to be known as 'the prince of the dopalri cap'. At the end of the monarchy a very small and narrow cap was developed from it which was pointed in front and behind This was called the *nukka dar* cap When embroidered in heavy gold and silver thread it was worn by princes, nobles, wealthy men, court favourites and sons of Navabs.

Up to the time of the Mutiny, the people of Lucknow used to wear two types of cap The first was the *chau goshia*, worn by religious leaders and traditionalists, and the second was the dopalri, worn, with minor exceptions, by everyone else from princes down to the humblest It is still by far the most popular form of headwear

Probably either at the time of Ghazi ud Din Haidar or Nasir ud Din Haidar, a round cap known as *mandel* became popular with some people Its shape was that of a tambourine and it was usually embroidered with gold or silver thread. Rich men and the sons of Navabs adopted it and it acquired the distinction that no one was allowed to appear in the presence of the King or of

princes without wearing either a turban or an embroidered mandel. In short, the mandel gained access to the court. From it evolved a cap known as the 'General's topi', which was slightly rounded at the forehead and back and usually made of black velvet and embroidered with gold and silver. This cap belonged to the British army and certainly had the allure of a uniform However the princes and men of noble family liked it so much that they adopted it for themselves This was probably the first instance of a British fashion becoming popular in India

The last King of Avadh, Wajid Ali Shah, invented a new and strange form of court hat for those honoured with titles It had a cardboard foundation covered with plain or embroidered satin which rose high over the forehead. A large pocket of muslin or veil was fixed to the top and hung down to the nape of the neck, covering the back of the head. The King called this court hat 'Alam Pasand', 'World-Pleasing', but most people called it 'the Swing'. The fashion was so unpopular that even during Wajid Ali Shah's lifetime it was not seen outside the court Later it disappeared so completely that few people of today have ever seen it.

After the Mutiny habits in headwear changed considerably. For some time the only head-dress worn was the chau goshia, the dopalri, the mandel or the pagri Then suddenly the four-cornered cap started to go out of fashion, so much so that it is now rarely seen. Most people who discarded it started wearing the dopalri, but some sought innovations by adopting first the embroidered mandel caps from Meerut (U P.) and then British hats. A large variety of thin, light, velvet and satin caps then came into being, which gradually became similar to the dopalri caps With the advent of the British era, their fashions became the vogue, and people started to follow them blindly. Some now wear British hats with their Indian costume

When the late Syed Ahmad Khan adopted the Turkish cap and wore it in combination with British coat and trousers it eventually became popular with Muslim gentlemen At first it was looked down upon and ridiculed: jokes were even made about it in the newspapers. But Sir Syed's persistence finally made it fashionable and in his lifetime thousands of people began to wear it and the style spread to Lucknow. Eventually educated and well-bred Muslims adopted it throughout India

Shias in Lucknow are mainly distinguished, well-educated and well-bred. They maintain a separateness in their habits and customs In addition, just as the Sunnis are culturally close to the Ottoman Empire, the Shias are faithful to the culture of Persia. Therefore when the Turkish head-dress started to become popular in Lucknow, stylish Shias felt it necessary to adopt for themselves the *kulah*, cap of the Persian court As a result, any Muslim, on discarding his old head-dress, turned to a Turkish cap if he were a Sunni and to a Persian cap if he were a Shia. There are some broad-minded people of both faiths who do not approve of these distinctions, but they are a minority.

Educated Hindus have started to wear round felt caps like mandels which are also worn by some Muslims. The British call these 'babu caps'. However most people today, whether Hindu or Muslim, Shia or Sunni, wear the dopalri caps

The period since the Mutiny has been one of great upheaval in Lucknow

traditions In addition to changes in social life, manners and customs, fashion and dress have also been affected. Among those who have had a modern education one no longer sees pyjamas, angarkhas, Indian shoes, Indian caps or turbans. They think they have crossed the seven seas and arrived in England and their clothing is now British coats, trousers, boots and hats. The majority would have liked to retain their traditional fashions, but change took place nevertheless. Instead of angarkhas, shervanis became the national dress. No general agreement, however, has been reached on headwear

There have been scores of fashions for caps in Lucknow, either of local design or from outside, which have had varying durations of life. As the natural preference of the people of Lucknow is for daintiness and delicacy, they could not take to the Turkish, Persian or British hats These did not conform to Lucknow tastes, however popular they might be elsewhere The problem of headwear, therefore, still remains to be solved.[506]

34

More Headwear

Although at present in India and particularly in Lucknow the fashionable head-dress is a *topi*, the desire for elegance did not make the pagri obsolete Pagris, the traditional head-dress of the court, especially the splendid *dastar*, a turban of fine muslin worn by the Delhi nobles, were replaced by topis in Lucknow. For court purposes, however, the pagri was essential until the end of the régime and even at present the pagri is maintained as part of the uniform of servants.

The old dastar remained the head-dress of the rulers up to the time of Navab Sadat Ali Khan Navab Burhan ul Mulk, Navab Shuja ud Daula and Navab Asaf ud Daula used to wear white dastars similar to those worn by the officials of the Delhi court On special occasions these dastars were adorned with clusters of jewels, aigrettes and bejewelled gold ornaments; but the dastars themselves remained plain white. However a new style of pagri was worn by Navab Sadat Ali Khan which the people of Lucknow called the *shimla* The shimla was made with a circlet of wide fine cloth which fitted the head and was open at the crown. Long twisted folds of fine silk or brocade were wound round and sewn on to the circlet at the top and bottom. A broad band of silk or brocade above the circlet maintained the folds in position and prevented them from slipping down. But it did not cover the whole crown of the head and therefore an ordinary four-cornered or dopalri cap was worn underneath This was Lucknow's shimla as worn by Navab Sadat Ali Khan It was probably copied from the pagris worn at the Hindu and Muslim courts of central India. These pagris were of fine material in different colours, many yards long and

twisted in various styles by special techniques. Navab Sadat Ali Khan wore this shimla himself and also conferred it on distinguished members of the court and ministers.

When Ghazi ud Din Haidar was crowned king by the British, his crown was not traditionally Indian or Oriental but European in style From that time onwards, the Lucknow rulers discarded the shimla and dastar, and with them all the princes, nobles and dignitaries bade farewell to their pagris. The princes wore crowns on special occasions, but in everyday life they wore *nukka dar* caps which were heavily embroidered in gold, and distinguished men of the city followed their example. However, it remained customary from the time of Ghazi ud Din Haidar until that of Amjad Ali Shah for officials, ministers and others to wear shimlas at court

After Wajid Ali Shah designed his Alam Pasand topi, it was conferred upon those honoured with the title 'Daula', and they, as well as those others closely connected with the court, had to wear it in his presence. Courtiers of lesser standing, in charge of sections or departments and having the title of Darugha,[889] Superintendent, were granted the shimla The rest were required to appear in court wearing some form of pagri Those who did not were obliged[503] to remove their topis The shimla was probably also worn at the Murshidabad court and because of its influence lawyers of the Calcutta High Court wore a similar head-dress fifty years ago When I saw them they were scantier than those worn at the court of Avadh

Thus, except for officials, all other distinguished people of the city completely gave up the pagri Even so it remained a symbol of honour at the court and with the people Even today all bridegrooms invariably wear a pagri, and among Lucknow nobility they wear a brocaded shimla.

The court also allotted different forms of pagris to the various grades of employees, which could be worn with the same ease as a cap and did not have to be wound each time they put them on A white muslin pagri similar in appearance to the shimla was for clerks. Court messengers wore red pagris. Attendants had white pagris on to which a tassel in gold and silver thread was attached in front on the right-hand side. The pagris of the palanquin-bearers were like those of the messengers but had three silver fish stitched to the right-hand side, and were worn with their loose red coats of broadcloth. In addition, the servants of distinguished individuals and army officers wore distinctive pagris by which they could be recognized.

The ammamas of the religious leaders were most elegant and dignified. The style of dress of the Sunnis differs from that of the Shias. The dress of the Sunnis has evolved from Arab style, while that of the Shias follows the fashions of the Persian priesthood.

In the days of the Prophet, the headwear of the Arabs consisted of a small piece of cloth, without any shape or cut, which was wrapped around their heads. At the time of the Abbaside Caliphs, when the Caliphate was established in Iraq, the Arab leaders adopted Persian and Sassanid fashions. Their large elegant ammamas and cloaks date from this time, but one could scarcely call them Arab dress. The Sunni religious leaders in India in the early days adapted this clothing to the fashions of the Delhi court. They still wear this form of dress even though all other Muslims of India have given it up

The religious leaders of the Firangi Mahal wear a simple ammama which they tie without any effort to form an arch over the forehead They cover their bodies with an old-fashioned jama, which is now obsolete everywhere else, and their legs with wide trousers reaching slightly above the ankles. They also wear a thin muslin scarf round the neck. In this dress they come to lead Friday prayers But at home they wear ordinary, simple dopalri or chau goshia caps, long kurtas which fasten in the centre, angarkhas, and wide-legged trousers However, they are now beginning to adopt the styles of the prelates of Syria and Egypt This style has also been favoured by Maulana Shibli Numani[506] for formal dress These distinguished men used to wear traditional shoes, but now they wear the popular curled-toe shoe of Lucknow or Delhi.

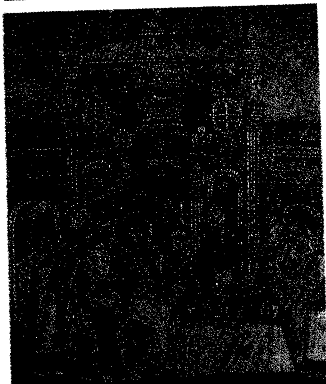
The styles of the Shia religious leaders are entirely different They wear a dopalri cap on their heads which differs from what is worn by the general public in that it is stitched from one side to the other instead of from back to front Over this they wear a large ammama tied in the Persian fashion and long kurtas, which fasten near the left shoulder instead of the centre In the old days the fastening was on both shoulders, but this style has now been discarded Prelates who have been to Persia and Kerbala put a cape over their kurta which is called *aba* in Lucknow They wear wide-legged trousers and usually the *kafsh* type of shoe, which I shall describe in a later chapter

35

Forms of Trousers (Pyjamas)

On the lower part of the body the Arabs wore nothing but the *tahmat*. The Arab tahmat and the Hindu dhoti are both unstitched, thin pieces of material like sheets. They differ only in the way they are fastened. The tahmat is wound round and tied at the waist The dhoti is worn in different ways by various groups of people in India, one end is always tucked in at the back, but some people wind the other end round the stomach and others tuck it in near the navel and let it hang down in front in folds Later on an improvement was made in the Arab tahmat and the two ends were sewn together and fastened at the waist, enabling the legs to be passed through.

At the dawn of Islam and for some time before that, this had been the lower garment of all Arabs The upper-class Arabs showed their pride and arrogance by wearing their tahmats very long and covering their feet so that the ends trailed on the ground as they walked This practice was forbidden by Islam because those who followed this fashion considered others to be beneath them Religious leaders decreed that no form of legwear should come below the ankles. Pyjamas did not exist in those days, but they were later included under

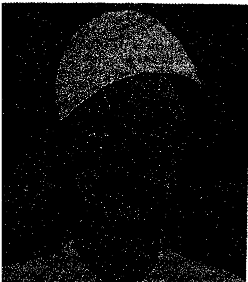


19 Ghazi ud Din Haidar entertaining Lord and Lady Moira to a banquet Gouache by a Lucknow artist, 1814

20 Nasir ud Din Haidar at table with a British officer and lady Gouache by a Lucknow artist, 1831

21 Wajid Ali Shah in exile at Matiya Burj, Calcutta. Oil painting by a Bengali artist

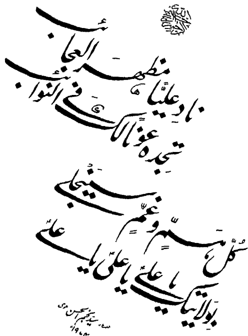
22 Maulana Abdul Halim Sharar
Oil painting



23 Mir Anis A recent family
portrait by L Calaora, based on
earlier portraits

24 Centre: a name of Allah in Tughra style Border verses from the Quran in Naskh script by the Lucknow calligrapher S Najmul Hasan, 1974

25 *Bismillah* written in Tughra in the shape of a falcon Calligrapher and place of origin unknown



26 Part of a prayer relating to Ali in Qata style, Nastaliq script by the above Lucknow calligrapher, 1974

this ruling In any case long leg-coverings were never related in India to such upper-class arrogance

Pyjamas were introduced from other countries at the time of the Prophet. Later they became the dress of the Baghdad court. Arabs who left Arabia and settled in other countries took the style with them In India, before the Muslims, the dhoti was the only form of leg-covering Muslim conquerors introduced pyjamas, although there were also some devout religious leaders who came to India wearing tahmats The tahmat appealed to orthodox taste, and became the special garb of devout Muslims and students of religion Pyjamas, however, became the standard dress of Muslims and Hindus

The original Muslim pyjamas were probably short and narrow at the bottom like the present *sharai* pyjamas worn by pious Sunni Muslims. They were worn in Baghdad, then became known in Persia and Turkey, and constituted the leg covering of the Muslims when they came to India Later in India these pyjamas became tighter at the calves but the width at the hip remained much the same Still later on, though they became longer, they did not reach beyond the ankles This fashion prevailed in Delhi and the rest of India at the time of the Mughals Although ordinary Muslims used to wear dhotis because of Hindu influence, upper-class Hindus wore pyjamas in society even if they dressed in dhotis at home

In those days there were two completely different styles of pyjamas in Kabul and Qandhar The people of Kabul wore them tight around the legs and so loose round the hips that the lower part of the body seemed to be enclosed in a large balloon It took one or even two rolls of material to make up a pair of these pyjamas This style still exists in Afghanistan In contrast, the hips of the Qandhar pyjamas were not very loose but the bottom hems on each leg were so wide that if the wearer did not tuck them up or hold them with his hands he found it difficult to walk

Many Qandharis came to the Delhi court and enlisted in the army Because these people were considered very brave, Indian soldiers started to adopt their dress and manners and the dandies of Delhi began to wear pyjamas with very wide legs This style also became popular with youths of upper-class families. Among those who came to Lucknow were many who adhered to their conventional style, but there were also many who preferred this fashionable dress

In Lucknow these pyjamas became even wider. One cannot trace them at the time of Shuja ud Daula, Asaf ud Daula and Sadat Ali Khan, but it appears that in the days of Ghazi ud Din Haidar and his son Nasir ud Din Haidar, with other changes in dress and social customs, a new pyjama form was evolved from this dandy style which was neither very wide at the hips nor so tight at the bottom This new fashion was light and practical and eminently suitable for the Indian climate. As a result, except for the few dandies, it became widely popular.

At that time in Lucknow there were only these two types of pyjamas. Nasir ud Din Haidar adopted the dandy's type, but he was also fond of British clothes, which he wore as well He saw in the wide Indian pyjamas, which are called *gharara*[507] pyjamas in the Panjab, a resemblance to a British lady's evening gown, and liked them so much that he made the Begams of the palace wear them. The fashion spread throughout the city.

Under Navabi rule the army of Avadh fought along with the British against the Sikhs during their conquest of the Panjab The Sikhs wore tight pyjamas which were cut slant-wise and called *ghutannas* Many people who went to the Panjab liked this style and had ghutannas made for themselves when they came home. The legs were very tight and straight and ended with many folds at the ankles Later they came to be known as *churidar* pyjamas.

These three types of pyjamas were current in Lucknow at the beginning of the British era. But among men, with the decline of the dandies and others who carried arms, the very loose, baggy style disappeared Thanks to Nasir ud Din Haidar women adopted this style and still wear them The remaining two types were the wide kind and the ghutanna, though a few devout Sunnis continued to wear the sharai pyjamas During the British era, though the shape and style of pyjamas remained the same, people totally discarded satin and the ornately embroidered or coloured cotton material. Later a fashion became current in the Aligarh College for pyjamas modelled on English trousers They are neither too tight nor too loose and are particularly popular with those who have had a British education. However, those who have become completely Anglicized have given up this kind of dress altogether in favour of British coats and trousers.

36

Footwear and Female Fashion

In the cold weather it was the fashion to wear over angarkha and chapkan the *doshala*, a shawl, such as used to be presented by the royal court as the khilat Woollen scarves were also frequently worn. Both these garments came to Lucknow from Delhi, but the scarves were more often seen in Lucknow In the hot weather embroidered muslin scarves were worn, and these were part of the dress of all elegant people. They covered their heads with chau goshia topis of chikan work, their bodies with angarkhas, their legs with wide pyjamas, and over their shoulders they draped scarves of light muslin or tulle This was the accepted fashion of the upper classes and elegant people in Lucknow.

Before the Muslims, shoes were never worn in India because leather was repugnant to Hindus for religious reasons.[508] Wooden sandals were worn by all, including rajas. They are still worn by religious mendicants, devout rishis and some others. Along with all their other apparel, Muslims brought leather shoes to India.

Among the Arabs, the first Muslim shoe was merely a leather sole fastened by straps or laces. Then came the leather socks of the Persians and styles that dated back to the Romans. Later, when the Arab court was established in Syria and Iraq, the wearing of leather shoes commenced. These shoes were

just simple footwear with soles, and it was this which the Muslims wore when they first came to India.

It can be seen from paintings that the nobles and kings of Delhi in ancient times used to wear shoes similar to *kafsh*, the Persian-type high-heeled shoes. Later in Delhi the *charhvan* shoe was designed. In this model the foot was covered from toe to heel, leaving the top exposed There was a curling tongue fixed at the toe This became known as the Delhi shoe and was much worn until about fifty years ago After this the *salim shahi* shoe was designed, probably at the time of Jahangir (also known as Salim) It had a toe-cap which curled up at the end and was later decorated with genuine gold and silver thread. This decorative work was common to both the Delhi shoe and the salim shahi, but the latter became more popular and eventually replaced the Delhi shoe. This shoe is still popular at a time when British fashions have turned people from our traditional taste in dress.

During the rule of the Navabs in Lucknow, a new type of shoe known as *khurd nau* with a short toe-cap was designed which became a favourite of the people. The curled-up ends of the Delhi shoe and the salim shahi were sewn on to it so that only a small prominence remained These shoes were made of very fine red kid and because of the general taste for daintiness some shoe-makers would produce them exceptionally light in weight. However, the same shoe when made for the masses and villagers weighed up to two or three pounds and became even heavier with the application of mustard oil [509]

Attention was then paid to the appearance of khurd nau shoes. For the dry season they were made of brocaded velvet and for the rainy season of shagreen. There is no doubt that brocaded shoes are extremely dainty and pleasing. Shagreen is bluish green in colour and is made from the hide of a horse or a donkey. Little nodules are made to project from it. It has the quality of never changing its colour or appearance however wet it may get in the rain. The art of making shagreen did not originate in Lucknow, but here many workshops were set up and skills and techniques were greatly improved

Still more efforts were made to beautify shoes They were adorned with patterns in gold and silver thread and decorated with brocade tassels Later, when these shoes became popular, embroidery made with expensive materials was used and shoes were produced at a low price and still had a very colourful appearance

Along with this the *ghatela* shoe, on the lines of the Persian-style kafsh, was common in Lucknow and was worn by prominent noblemen and the élite. It was in fact the old Indian shoe and the Hyderabad *chappals* and other local shoes are copied from it It is the shoe that was seen on the feet of courtiers and leading men of the country in bygone days. In Lucknow, the toe of the ghatela shoe, instead of being short, became long and was shaped like an elephant's trunk, curving over the feet in a large spiral But after the *chaharvan*, or Delhi shoe, became fashionable, the ghatela shoe was worn only by women The kafsh still exists in its original form and is worn by the devout Shia religious leaders.

The ghatelas and kafshs, with their embroidery, led to two specialized trades which many Lucknow Muslims depended on for their livelihood The fraternity of Muslim shoemakers would make only ghatelas and considered the production

of any other form of shoe beneath their dignity They were a large, prosperous community of good Muslims who wore white clothes and were in a better position than others of their class However, when fashions changed, women, following the example of men, completely discarded the ghatela and now this shoe can rarely be found In the bazaars one will be lucky to find one or two pairs of poor quality, dusty and neglected As a result most of these shoemakers have gone out of business. Those who survive, though frustrated and reduced to poverty, will not agree to produce modern slippers and shoes to improve their situation.

The second group of artisans connected with shoe-making were those who made *aughi*, embroidery in gold, silver and sometimes coloured threads The aughi work of Lucknow was so delicate and beautifully done that it could not be equalled elsewhere There was much demand for it and a large section of the community earned their living from it.

When ghatela shoes were abandoned, both of these groups suffered Elite women had previously adopted *tat bani* (brocaded) shoes in place of ghatelas Then they wore leather shoes without laces which could be pulled on and off. Now 'pump' shoes are the fashion and in households which have become completely Westernized women have started to wear all kinds of European shoes

It appears appropriate that at this point I should describe the clothes worn by women and then conclude my dissertation on dress.

In India the ancient apparel of women was simply a long unstitched sheet which was tied at the waist and worn over the shoulders or the head With it a garment was worn from early Hindu days which in north India was called *ungia* and in the south was known as *choli* This garment is said to have existed in the days of Sri Krishna. Later the ungia and the choli became differentiated. In the choli of the south a wide band of cloth was passed from the back to the front and knotted between the breasts so that whilst covered, they were scarcely prominent. The ungia of the north had two receptacles fitting the breasts, which were sewn together with a hem of two or three inches and fastened at the back. It was attached to two half-length sleeves and the garment was put on by passing the arms through the sleeves Unlike the choli, the ungia gave prominence to the breasts.

This was the old Hindu dress and I do not know what changes and improvements were made in it with the passage of time At first sight the ungia appears to be the more recent development

Beyond this there seem to have been no changes in women's dress in the Hindu era Muslims introduced stitched clothing, kurtas and pyjamas When they came to India, Muslim women wore wide, loose Persian pyjamas which were gathered and fastened round the ankles Later the hems became narrow and the legs tight at the extremities but the body remained loose. Gradually it became the fashion to have them so tight that the extremities had to be sewn round the legs after the pyjamas had been put on and unstitched before they could be taken off.

The early dress of Muslim ladies in Lucknow was pyjamas which were very tight at the hems, tight-fitting ungia over the breasts with half sleeves and a kurta covering the lower front and the back. This had no sleeves, did not cover the

breasts and was cut low in front below the ungia The front and back were kept in place by two long straps hanging from the shoulders. Over this was a *duppata*, a light mantle three yards long, which was at first draped over the head but later only hung across the shoulders

The Indian climate and the desire for elegance led to all these clothes becoming gradually lighter and shorter Ungias of fine silk and mantles of crêpe became the fashion for élite women At the time of Nasir ud Din Haidar ghutannas went out of fashion and in their stead women wore loose, wide pyjamas tied at the waist and attractively draped in front below the navel in such a manner that the pyjama hems should not be soiled by touching the ground. Towards the end of the Navabi rule a *shaluka*, a short-sleeved, tight blouse, was worn This was first worn over the ungia in place of the kurta and eventually did away with the necessity for the ungia. But this dress proved inadequate as it was made of a very fine material and especially as the arms were left bare. it was eventually replaced by a loose kurta However, all these garments have one by one been superseded by British-style jackets and blouses.

At present, because of the influence of other regions in India, some Muslim women have begun to think saris the most attractive form of dress, and a large number have discarded their old fashions and taken to saris It is generally said that this is the most simple form of garment Although I am not against women trying out various forms of new clothing to make themselves attractive to their husbands, I am extremely averse to their completely abandoning their traditional fashions and thus giving up their social identity The sari is an untailored garment and a relic of primitive times. No doubt simplicity is attractive, but it must adhere to certain patterns and embellishments in order to serve any purpose, otherwise the simplest thing would be to remain nude. Human nature evolves fashion for its diversion and I fail to understand the special beauty of a sari [510]

Just as a man may become bored by a most beautiful wife and be attracted by other young women, so young men seem to become tired of the fashions of their own women and develop a strong fancy for the fashions of others But they should realize that just as they have developed this fancy, young men of other races find grace and attraction in the dress of their women It is because of sexual impulse that they find the clothing of other women more attractive, and this is at the root of the controversy as to what is suitable apparel for Indian Muslim women.

This would concern me if it were connected with improvements in social conditions for women. Actually it has arisen from the same mentality as that which led our young men to adopt Western coats and trousers and decorate their heads with hats and in general to copy Western ways blindly. Similarly they would like their women to adopt British clothing. It seems quite useless to say anything about it Until British skirts and bonnets are worn our social reformers and so-called leaders of fashion will have no peace.

37

Winter Clothing, New Fashions and Jewelry

Continuous improvements were made in Lucknow in the design and fashioning of different types of clothing As India is a hot country, poor people wear only sufficient clothing to cover what is essential and leave the rest of their bodies uncovered. This is not only because of their poverty and lack of interest, but because of the climate For the same reason in the Delhi court light and airy garments were preferred to thick, heavy clothing In Lucknow especially, because there was little military activity or even thought of war, men entered upon lives of luxury and spent so much time in the society of women that they became affected by women's fashions They introduced into their style and clothing a type of finery and frippery that was essentially feminine

This was particularly so from the time when the local rulers gave up the title of Navab and assumed that of King Members of the Nishapur families, as well as that of Salar Jang, who received considerable vasiqa, became completely stay-at-home and had no other society than that of women The inevitable result was that not only did their style and clothing acquire a female element, but they even adopted feminine mannerisms As they were considered leaders of fashion in the city, most other people followed their example Unlike the élite in other regions, it became the fashion for them to part their hair in the centre, wear topis embroided with gold and silver, dress their hair in waves over their foreheads, have betel leaf in their mouths and lac dye on their lips They wore tight angarkhas with three jabots and below these tight silken pyjamas They covered their hands with henna[511] and wore embroidered shoes. In the cold-weather, in place of angarkhas they wore colourful coats of brocade or velvet padded with cotton.

In the winter some of the élite usually wore qabas made of shawl cloth.[512] shawls and embroidered, woollen square scarves were universally popular The kind of *doshala*[513] [brocaded shawl] that can still be seen in Lucknow cannot be found even in Kashmir nowadays, let alone in any other region. The enthusiasm for shawls reached such a pitch that many shawl-makers and thousands of darners and shawl-washers left their homes in Kashmir and became domiciled in Lucknow, although there is little trace of them now after fifty years

The Muharram is a very important occasion in Lucknow. Special clothing and jewelry appropriate to express grief and mourning were created for it Black and blue are the colours of affliction—also green, because in the days of the Abbaside court the Fatimide colour was green rather than black Even today in Persia and India, some Fatimides display the old Saiyyid style with their green ammamas Therefore women's dress for Muharram was made up

in green, blue and black, as well as yellow, which for some reason was also included. red was prohibited. Jewelry was not worn Even bangles were discarded and in their place black or green silk bracelets adorned the wrists. Black or green pendant earrings of silk were designed, which were made with more delicacy than gold and silver jewelry.

Apart from Muharram, innovations were continually being made in women's clothing in Lucknow at every season and period Fifty years ago it was generally agreed that Lucknow was the Paris of the East. Today many people who love simplicity and reject the world of fashion object to this show and display, but they do not realize that at any court or in any city where culture is on the advance, practices of this kind always evolve and though nonsensical and superfluous from a philosophical point of view, they are considered of the utmost importance in cultured circles.

If the influence of women's styles on men's clothing had been confined to grace and colour it would have been all right, but in Lucknow the only difference between the padded coats, wraps and pyjamas of husband and wife was the woman's gold embroidered edging, lace and jewelry. Men wore gay, coloured silk clothing without any edging or lace. After the Mutiny, owing to the influence of the British, the taste for dress of this sort decreased and is rarely seen nowadays.

Just as there were special styles of dress for the various classes of male servants, each class of female servants had their special dress. The butlers, coachmen and grooms of the British are dressed in different uniforms, but these uniforms cannot be said to be their normal clothing which they wear at home However, the special clothing assigned to male and female servants in Lucknow society and to indoor and outdoor employees became their everyday apparel The watchmen at the gates, the caretakers, the messengers, all had special and distinctive clothing and so had superintendents, seamstresses and water-drawers in the women's quarters This was so specific that one could see at a distance that a woman was a superintendent, a seamstress or a palanquin-bearer, and the strange thing was that their dress had nothing of the appearance of a uniform The personal servants, valets and ladies' maids wore the same kind of clothing as their masters and mistresses because they would wear their employers' cast-off clothes

After dress, the most important thing for a woman is jewelry, which she considers to be her wealth and inheritance In most provinces in India, clumsy, heavy jewelry is more commonly worn as being more valuable, and this desire for heavy jewelry is increasing in the rural parts of Avadh as well as in most towns in India. When noble ladies came from Delhi to Lucknow they wore the jewelry that was common throughout India. However, in accordance with the new tastes that developed in Lucknow in all walks of life, the fashion for jewelry was for delicacy and finesse. Jewelry started to become lighter, elegant and exquisite In recent times it became the fashion for élite ladies to wear simple dresses without decoration and to content themselves with one or two pieces of jewelry which were light and delicate but valuable. If they wore several pieces on their necks, noses and ears, they were very small. This jewelry made in Lucknow was more exquisite and delicate than could be found in any other place.

The *nath* [gold ring habitually worn in Lucknow on the left nostril], set with precious stones, has since Hindu times been considered an important adornment and a symbol of marriage. The idea was adopted by Muslims and village women today wear heavy rings weighing up to four or five tolas. In consequence the nostrils often split but the women have them re-pierced so that the nose should not lack a ring. Lucknow women discarded naths and replaced them by *kils*, jewel-studded gold pins worn on the side of the nostril, a very delicate and attractive piece of jewelry. Because of the desire for daintiness the goldsmiths of Lucknow fashioned these pins in such a manner that no other jewellers could imitate them.

For the last twenty-five or thirty years the fashion for wearing the *bulaq*, a tiny gold pendant set with precious stones, also worn between the nostrils, has greatly increased. Although this is not a particularly pleasing piece of jewelry, its small size has made it very popular.

At present, because of easy contact between cities, the craft of making jewelry has improved everywhere and different places have become noted for making particular types of ornaments. Before the advent of the railway (about 1843) had effected this facility of communication, one could not find better goldsmiths or jewellers than existed in Lucknow. Now however many cities are superior. Delhi in particular excels all cities in India in making beautiful ornaments of beaten silver work. Even so, refined people from many regions prefer the jewelry and silver utensils produced in Lucknow.

38

The Building of Houses

I shall now take stock of matters relating to Indian society and social etiquette, and consider how certain styles and habits were adapted and given special colour by Lucknow society.

In every society social intercourse generates a distinctive culture—associated with appearances, style of living, ethics, customs, etiquette, conversation, humour, houses, furniture and other elements that follow from these—that makes that society what it is. Every group and class of people and every town and city develops in its own way, and if one looks around the world one will see that every society has its own specialities and peculiarities. But in places where an esteemed court has been established and learning and literature are progressing, that culture holds sway over a larger part of the country and its towns and cities, and becomes a source and model for social mannerisms and etiquette.

In India the real centre of culture, refinement and polite society was certainly Delhi and the whole of India was subservient to it. For centuries the city had

been India's seat of government and learning and the governors of Provinces were chosen from the ranks of the élite In comparison to it, Lucknow has no special claim to distinction, but if Lucknow can be mentioned in this respect it is because in the last century, owing to the course of events, the mass of Delhi society transferred itself here Nobles, scholars, poets, devout and pious men, all came to Lucknow. A strange thing is that the Delhi social community that became established in Avadh was confined to people of Delhi alone. There were no outsiders and there was no place in it even for the most honoured of old Lucknow residents

Therefore Lucknow society of the last century is in reality Delhi society and constitutes its final phase. There developed two forms of Delhi culture at this time, one consisting of those who remained in Delhi, and the other of those who came to Lucknow. However, in the century prior to the end of Delhi's sultanate, those who remained in Delhi, owing to the decay of the Mughal court and the lack of patronage, had little chance of achieving any progress. The culture of Lucknow was on the advance whereas that of Delhi remained stationary

In Delhi cultured life gradually disappeared owing to the ascendancy of uneducated and commercially-minded people and the departure of noble families to other parts of the country. Those who stayed on lived quietly at home in a state of isolation. The situation was just as it has been in recent times in Lucknow, when because of the influx of people from outside the area and the ruin of established élite families, the culture that developed here has been rapidly disappearing But I am not concerned with the vulgarities adopted by the community, nor with the deterioration of cultural life that has taken place in Lucknow since the end of Navabi rule and that is on the increase. The things I should like to discuss are houses, furniture, social behaviour, etiquette, social gatherings and forms of greeting, everyday speech, wit, festive celebrations and mourning, and forms of religious assembly I shall thereafter describe some objects essential for social intercourse.

Houses

In Delhi and Lucknow it was traditional to restrict outward pomp and ostentation to royal palaces and government buildings. The residences of wealthy men and merchants, however grand and spacious inside, had the outward appearance of ordinary houses. This was sound policy, for a house that was outwardly magnificent sometimes found favour with the King and its builder rarely got the chance to live in it. In addition, for a subject to build such a house was to show regal aspirations which were ascribed to insolence and rebellion and made it difficult for him to live in safety

For this reason, except for tombs, you will see no elegant buildings of ancient times in Delhi that were built by nobles or rich merchants. It was the same in Lucknow, although in the days of Asaf ud Daula and Sadat Ali Khan a wealthy French merchant, Monsieur Martin, constructed some magnificent edifices. However, the reason for their construction was that they should find favour with the ruler and be sold to him Of these buildings, one is La Martinière

College, which because of Sadat Ali Khan's sagacity, the State did not acquire. After Monsieur Martin, one of the local ministers, Raushan ud Daula, had a fine house built as his personal residence. It was confiscated by order of the monarchy Because of this it fell into the hands of the British and was not handed over to Raushan ud Daula's heirs. But today it is still known as Raushan ud Daula's *kothi*[139] [residence].

The style of house in India is quite different from that of European houses There is no necessity for courtyards in Europe because women are not confined to their homes and go out as men do In contrast it is necessary for houses in India to have courtyards so that women may be able to enjoy fresh air within the perimeter of their own homes. A house is therefore normally constructed with a courtyard in the centre and the buildings around it. The main portion of the house takes up one side of this square and is approached through at least three and sometimes more arches constructed on pillars of brick and mortar. These are generally on the model of the architecture of Shahjahan, that is to say, large archways formed of small curves, beautifully joined together. These arches usually surround two or three contiguous halls, with one at the rear forming a large room with a door. The floor of this room is raised waist-high and called *shahnashin*, the royal seat, and serves as the principal reception room. On both sides of these large halls are rooms, the ceilings of which are so lofty that two rooms, one on top of the other, could be constructed within them.

On each side of the courtyard are corridors and large and small rooms, which include kitchens, toilets, storerooms, stairs, wells and maids' quarters. Opposite to the main hall, if it is considered necessary and if funds permit, other wide, covered passages are erected like those of the main building Doors are usually on the sides connecting with kitchens and with servants' quarters. These doors are concealed by walls a little higher than a man's height so that the inside of the house remains unexposed.

In the houses of poor and middle-class people, instead of an approach by brick or concrete archways, there are wooden doors which enclose the main section of the house, opposite which there are sometimes other halls or double halls. In the better class of these houses there are rooms and halls on all four sides, each of which has a doorway leading to storerooms One door leads to the outside.

This was the usual plan for houses Some houses and their basements[514] were so skilfully planned that one is surprised at how much could be accommodated in such a small space

If one looks into the history of architecture one will find that buildings and homes were at first built low It was much later that lofty and strong houses were built, but the design remained simple Then the idea arose of adding beauty by carving patterns and designs on walls and archways Later, mosaic was introduced with its wonderful colouring. But the outer walls containing the large halls and reception rooms always remained thick

The real accomplishment of Indian architecture was to create the maximum amount of accommodation in a limited space, like a tailor who makes the most of his material when cutting out clothes This skill was first developed in Delhi, from where it spread to other regions In Lucknow it reached a higher degree of perfection than anywhere else.

Nowadays there are some expert architects who have produced many fine buildings. They will create the most beautiful and elegant edifices which are magnificent to look at, but they cannot rival the old experts in their skill in building on a very small plot a fine house which contained so many halls, rooms, inside rooms and storerooms, and had inner walls so thin and light and at the same time so strong that they appeared to be wooden screens rather than brick and mortar

This speciality of Lucknow architecture originated at the time of the former courts. But now in the British era, as this skill is not appreciated, it is dying out. The old experts have disappeared and even if one or two still remain they are not highly esteemed

From early times there has always been a distinct difference between Hindu and Muslim houses and this exists to this day In Hindu houses the courtyards are small and the building is constructed without regard to whether or not air and light will get in. In contrast to this, Muslims like bright, open houses and their buildings are so designed that there is no impediment to the passage of light and air.

Expert builders of earlier days also used to make delicate and colourful designs in relief on doors and arches and on the walls of rooms and halls. At present the art of painting is making advances but the craft of making designs in relief is disappearing because of the contemporary taste for simplicity. The few remaining craftsmen-builders, along with their own trade in general, have taken to painting murals, for which they show praiseworthy aptitude.

Skill in craftsmanship was by no means confined to builders Take carpenters, for instance Although they may not have been able to make particularly good tables, chairs, cupboards or railway carriages, they could carve dainty and intricate designs on pillars, arches and door frames, which would be difficult to reproduce in these days

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Domestic Furnishings

Our next concern is furniture, which comprises all the articles in a home, either for use or for decoration. In early times there were no tables and chairs in India There were *takhats*,[515] low wooden platforms, and *palangris*,[516] low beds, which were placed on the takhats. The beds of the poor and middle-class were made of *ban*, rope of woven rush-grass, and those of the rich of woven *nivar*, broad bands of canvas tape.

Orderly homes were well-swept, their walls whitewashed, and their ceilings covered with white ceiling-cloth with tucked fringes on all four sides. In a room or hall or in the courtyard a few takhats, usually four, were put together, with

daris,[517] cotton mats, over them They were covered with a snow-white sheet, so carefully spread and stretched that there was never the sign of a crease. At all four corners of the takhat, dome-shaped marble weights were placed to prevent the sheets from being blown about in the wind or creasing In later days there was a *farshi pankha*,[518] a large fan, but before this became popular there were hand fans of many types and designs according to the status of the household.

On the takhat one section was designed as the seat of honour An elegant, beautiful bed was placed near it The bed was made in this way nivar was stretched across the frame, which was covered with a dari in the hot weather and a quilt in the cold weather, and this was in turn covered by a bright-coloured sheet. In royal or élite households a tucked fringe was stitched to the edges of the sheet, which hung nearly to the ground on all sides, giving the bed a very impressive appearance The bedding was tied to the four legs of the bed with an elegantly tied strip of coloured silk to prevent the bed-clothes being disturbed while the occupant slept

Covering the whole width of the head of the bed were four slender and very soft oblong pillows These pillows were generally made of red tulle and had very fine muslin pillow-cases through which the bright red colour of the pillows could be seen. The pillows were placed one on top of the other in layers. Then on top of them were two tiny 'flower pillows' made of the same material which supported the cheeks on either side these 'flower' pillows were no larger than the palm of one's hand Lower down on each side of the bed were two small round cushions which supported the thighs Depending on the season, there was a *dulai*, thin, embroidered cotton sheet, a *razai*, light quilt, or a *lihaf*, heavy quilt, over the bed, and in the day-time when no one was sleeping on it a bedspread was placed over it

On the takhat in front of the bed a carpet was spread to mark the seat of honour On this carpet and touching the bed was a *gau*, large barrel-shaped cushion, which for everyday use had a white cover but on important occasions was encased in costly silken and sometimes gold- and silver-embroidered covers. If there was no bed on the takhat a seat of honour was marked by a carpet with a gau upon it.

Although there were some paintings or prints on the walls, they were much less in evidence than they are today In their place beautifully decorated qatat were framed and hung. In those days noblemen were so eager to obtain these qatat that calligraphists would earn their livings by making them

In addition to takhats, stools of rush-grass and cane were used in the courtyards, the antechambers and outdoors. One can see these even today, but at that time no upper-class household was without them They were made of thin bamboo sticks and rush-grass rope and in some houses the seats were covered with dried goatskins with the hair still on.

Except for the rich who had separate houses for women and men, most middle-class people and all the others had only one house Nowadays efforts are made for each house to have an outer room by the door for the entertainment of male guests, but in those days stools were placed on the porch for this purpose. If there was no room on the porch, they were placed outside the door and no one saw any harm in it.

Paper posies were usually placed in niches in the walls of rooms and halls for decorative purposes. Curtains of cloth were generally thought necessary for the arches in corridors. Now bamboo, rush-grass or jute curtains are preferred, but at one time they were looked down upon The tulle or linen curtains lined with cotton which were used were drawn only when necessary. Similar curtains were hung over the outer doors of the women's apartments and a maidservant or palanquin-bearer could usually be seen standing close by.

I have already discussed dress, but I should like to add here that the better class of people did not consider complete dress essential at all times. Inside or in the precincts of their houses they saw no harm in being practically naked and wearing only a *gharqi*, a long loin-cloth. This gharqi, like a pair of shorts, left the legs bare. At present people think it necessary to wear a vest, shirt and trousers in their houses, but in the past it was apparently unfashionable to wear so many clothes They put on only angarkhas and pyjamas when they left their houses and for this reason one wash lasted for months and the clothes always looked as if they had recently been laundered. It was the custom that when angarkhas were delivered by the washermen, their edgings, tailpieces and sleeves were specially crimped and the marks of this crimping remained for a long time.

The amount of clothes worn by women was the same whether in their own houses or when they went to visit friends The only difference was that they wore their finest clothes when going out and simple garments at home. Both men and women wore their most elegant clothes only at social gatherings, so that these were always bright and sparkling

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Hair Fashions, Etiquette and Courtesans

From ancient times it has been the practice of Muslim men not to cut their hair short, to clip their moustaches, and to keep their beards trim and rounded Pious men and religious leaders, in accordance with the Prophet's ordinance, used to let their beards grow and exaggerated the clipping of their moustaches to the extent that hardly anything remained of them. But the style for noblemen and upper-class people was to provide a frame for the beard by shaving the lower throat and the cheek-bones and to keep the beard rounded and trimmed Emperor Akbar was the first to relinquish his beard, and Jahangir followed his example Even though some of Akbar's and Jahangir's courtiers may have been influenced by them, Muslim nobles as a rule adhered to the traditional style.

After the court was established in Lucknow, beards began to get shorter and shorter and eventually they disappeared from most men's cheeks This was

probably brought about by the influence of Persians at the court In Persia from the time of the Safavi dynasty, kings and nobles attached less importance to beards than had been known since the advent of Islam Although in Muslim tradition it was a punishment or an act of humiliation for someone's beard and moustache to be cut off, in Persia not to wear a beard was considered a sign of authority and power The first member of the Nishapur family in Lucknow, Navab Burhan ul Mulk, wore a short, trimmed beard. Shuja ud Daula had no beard at all and following him all the nobles and kings of Lucknow had their beards shaved off The inevitable result was that most Shias abandoned the custom of wearing beards Later on, many Sunnis also had their beards clipped or shaved off After the shaving of beards had become popular many new styles came into being Some wore long thick sideburns below the ears and some grew thick hair on the cheeks Inhabitants of towns in the neighbourhood of Lucknow and some Sunnis in the city itself adopted the fashion of wearing beards like Rajputs and Hindu warriors, that is, they were parted at the chin with hair carried up on either side of the ears. To keep their beards in position they would tie them up with a cloth for hours on end. They would also comb up their moustaches to match the beard and these in their turn had to be tied in place. This was considered throughout India to be a military style and a sign of bravery

At the time of the Prophet, the hair was usually worn long and shaved or cut off at times of Haj [381] Shortly after the birth of Islam, the usual fashion among Arabs was to have their hair shaved off and this custom seems to have prevailed with the Persians as well. When Muslims first came to India, they followed this practice and wore ammamas on their heads However, Hindus would grow their hair and this appealed to the Muslims Consequently, except for religious leaders, devout men, patriarchs and Sufis, the practice for upper-class and fashionable people in Delhi was to let their hair grow down over their ears Of course there were also dandies who were always trying out new hair styles

Nobles from Delhi came to Lucknow with this hair style, but here they developed more elaborate taste. They started to comb their hair with great care and like women wore it in waves over their foreheads. Such styles were evolved that adolescent youths looked as attractive as women Then shortly afterwards when women copied the British fashion of combing their hair back and leaving the forehead bare, some men followed this example. Now that British fashions and styles have begun to be adopted, people in Lucknow, as in the whole of India, have their hair cut like the British and beards are no longer worn.

Women's styles in dressing their hair were probably the same in Lucknow as in Delhi But here at the time of the monarchy, brides and women who took pride in their appearance used to plait their hair at the back from the top to the waist round thick swathes of coloured fabric, generally red. On ceremonial occasions they used silver brocade, which gave the impression that the whole plait was made of silver. The hair was waved on both sides of the forehead, and below the parting the forehead was decorated with various patterns made with gold and silver powder.

Henna was used on the hands and feet of women and some dissolute men

started to use it as well Seeing this, people from other places began to consider the men of Lucknow effeminate.

I shall now turn to another constituent of social life, etiquette In this connection the citizens of Lucknow achieved particular distinction and this deserves special attention. Oriental culture reached its zenith in Lucknow, and nowhere else were the rules of polite society so strictly adhered to.

To be cultured is to follow certain formalities considered by human beings as evidence of refinement Nowadays we often hear it said that the formalities of society are pointless affectation But this is wrong. If it were the case, dress and all patterns of everyday life would also be useless affectation and all matters concerned with living in a community could be regarded as hypocrisy It is all a matter of training, and those who know nothing of culture fail to appreciate it They say that they do not understand all the display shown by city dwellers and persons of refinement, but when one gives the matter thought, humanity is all display To dress well, to have nice things, to eat well and to accomplish anything with competence, is all display

The primary consideration in etiquette is to give preference to others over one's own gains and satisfactions and put oneself in the second place To stand up in order to show respect for someone, to give him the seat of honour, to sit with him respectfully, listen to him attentively and answer him with humility are all actions by which one tends to treat another as a superior In the days of the monarchy in Lucknow, the extent to which these actions were practised by refined, well-bred people was unequalled anywhere else

When social etiquette of this sort becomes second nature it engenders self-denial in a human being, so that in addition to being very gracious with his friends he is always ready to help them in any way he can At the time of the monarchy in Lucknow there was such perfection in this that people quietly took responsibility for the maintenance of friends who had no means of support. Because of the unostentatious way the help was given, the latter were able to wear white clothes and move with the élite as equals, without any feeling of inferiority There were scores of people in this situation in Lucknow who had suddenly lost their means of support at the collapse of the monarchy

This altruism of the rich, in the way they showed regard for others and lavished generosity on them without a thought that they were conferring a favour, displayed their nobility and became the model for social etiquette. Wealthy merchants and other rich people all over the world give much money to deserving people, but their actions indicate that their charity is not selfless. In contrast to this, the manner in which help was given to friends and support to distressed gentlemen and their families in Lucknow was such that no one saw any difference between those who gave and those who received.

With the collapse of the monarchy very rich men became penniless and the class which had been secretly maintained by them faced starvation. But the formerly wealthy retained their unselfish character, which had become part of their nature, and many continued to hold out hopes of hospitality However, on becoming their guests, distressed people found that these hopes could not be met. Many people called this hypocrisy. The sad thing was that it was not hypocrisy but an attempt somehow to maintain former values

However, it cannot be denied that in the days of prosperity when most

citizens were either of the nobility or supported by them, ideas of effort, toil and the value of time had no meaning in Lucknow society The frivolous occupations they pursued led them further and further from the path of progress. Free from the worries of earning a livelihood, they did nothing except amuse themselves and turned to pigeon-flying, quail-fighting, dice-throwing, card games and chess, on which they spent most of their time and money There were few noblemen who were not addicted to these idle pursuits and none who was not interested in them No one thought of the future

No town in the world is free from libertinism, but may God not allow the promiscuous and indiscriminate licentiousness of Europe to reach our towns In Lucknow, association with courtesans started during the reign of Shuja ud Daula It became fashionable for noblemen to associate with some bazaar beauty, either for pleasure or for social distinction A cultivated man like Hakim Mahdi, who later became Vazir, owed his initial success to a courtesan named Piyaro, who had advanced her own money to enable him to make an offering to the ruler on his first appointment as Governor of a Province of Avadh These absurdities went so far that it was said that until a person had association with courtesans he was not a polished man This led the way to a deterioration of morals in Lucknow At the present time there are still some courtesans with whom it is not considered reprehensible to associate, and whose houses one can enter openly and unabashed Although these practices may have had a deteriorating effect on morals, at the same time manners and social finesse improved [519]

Now we come to morality among women I maintain, as a general rule, that the women of men who are addicted to adultery cannot themselves remain chaste Even so, the morals of Lucknow women did not deteriorate as much as those of their men

At one time the *charkha*[520] [spinning wheel] was the noble pursuit of élite women With the advent of machinery, this pursuit became valueless However, Lucknow women had given it up long before this, because they had considered it beneath their dignity Instead they took to sewing, embroidery, the running and decorating of the house and supervising the maidservants Ladies, because of household duties, did not have enough leisure to indulge in the pastimes and frivolities that occupied the time of their men In fact, in those days men spent their time in amusements and merry-making The running of the house and matters connected with it fell on the shoulders of the women In wealthy households there were various types of maidservants to do all the work and the ladies were amused by domnis. In households where these were not regularly employed, a troupe would come with instruments and give a performance Hundreds of such troupes materialized in the city As far as I know their taste was coarse and association with them could not have had a good effect on genteel women, and like courtesans in the case of men, they were a bad influence. However, the most refined families did not associate with them and their ladies escaped this mischief and remained fine examples of good manners and morality.

The tradition of Lucknow women is to sacrifice everything for their husband. They consider their existence to be incorporated in his and do not hesitate for a moment to spend their own money on him if necessary They may not be so

27 Lady seated against a cushion Drawing by Miskin Muhammad, Lucknow, 1770–80

28 Woman spinning cotton on a *charkha* Water-colour by a Lucknow artist, about 1830

29 Courtesan Bi Haidar Jan. Photograph

30 Lucknow miniature, 1760 ladies listening to the raga Madhu Madhvi, which excites the listeners and produces a storm

accomplished as some women elsewhere and may not be able to compare with them at housekeeping They may be extravagant, wasteful and even self-indulgent, but they are unequalled in helping their husband and giving up their lives for him.[521]

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More on Etiquette

In every civilized community there are special rules and principles of social behaviour which serve to indicate the refinement of that culture Whether in centres of Christian culture like Paris, London and Berlin, or in refined Muslim centres such as Constantinople, Teheran and Shiraz, one can see how strict the upper classes are in their respective forms of social etiquette In towns in India like Hyderabad, Bhopal or Rampur, where a court exists, or in other such places where it once existed, social etiquette is observed by all, both high and low On the other hand in large industrial towns the rich and respected people show no trace of social graces and one will find no respect for conventions or consideration for people

In the old days in Delhi, these social graces were certainly more pronounced than anywhere else because the court there was the largest and had been established for centuries. The patterns of social behaviour are laid down by those in authority, who prescribe how the lesser should behave towards the greater and the greater towards the lesser and how one should meet with an equal. But industrialization is an enemy to expressions of authority and observances of such etiquette Preoccupation with business and the promotion of self-interest leave no place for self-denial, that is, giving one's time, money or skill to someone else for no particular gain, which is considered stupidity Thus the culture of the gentry and élite cannot survive in a business society. The elegance of the former glorious Delhi courts was lost in this way, so that nothing remains of their old grandeur. The nobles of Delhi took refuge in Lucknow, and living here in congenial surroundings they continued their habitual rules of etiquette so that in a short time Lucknow became the main centre of culture and good manners in the whole of India All refined men from other regions now follow the ways of the citizens of Lucknow. To give an example. when receiving people of different stations in life, whether one should go to the door to welcome them, whether one should stand up when they come in or half rise, or simply say, while remaining seated, 'Please come in', are all matters for personal decision, but the subtleties involved were better understood in Lucknow than anywhere else

With an equal, you will show respect by standing up You will vacate the seat of honour for him and until he seats himself you will remain standing.

You will then sit discreetly and respectfully next to him. You will look cheerful so that he doesn't feel ill at ease. If he gives you anything, you will accept it politely and pay your *taslim*[522] [respects]. You will take great care that you do not offend him in any way If you should have to attend to some important matter, you will ask to be excused before doing so If you have to get up and go somewhere, you will first ask his permission If you go anywhere with him, you will keep behind and let him go before you In accordance with correct etiquette, he will also insist that you should go first, and it may be said over and over again, 'Sir, you first' If your companion refuses to agree and you precede him, thank him with taslim before going ahead, but be careful not to turn your back on him

Many people laugh at these ceremonious manners and there is a proverbial joke in which two Lucknow citizens kept saying, 'After you'—'No, after you', and the train departed, leaving them standing on the platform One cannot deny that to carry matters to such extremes can be harmful. But at the same time it shows that the good manners of Lucknow citizens were such that it never entered their heads that they were doing themselves any harm A refined and well-bred individual will regard these practices as gems of deportment rather than as faults.

Nowadays in Lucknow as in all other towns tables, chairs and British furniture are used, but in former times people sat on the *farsh*[523] [carpet], which was costly and ornate according to the status of the householder If an equal with whom you are not well acquainted, or an elderly or venerable person, came to the house, he was given the seat of honour with the *gau* behind him. Everyone else joined a large or small circle round him, according to the numbers present, and sat with him respectfully. Anyone to whom he spoke would join his hands together and answer with complete humility It was considered a social misdemeanour to talk too much or to raise one's voice to a higher level than his.

If all present were equals and friends with similar tastes, there was a lack of ceremony, but even so they treated each other with respect. They would never think of turning their backs or doing anything to demean each other and would never forget to uphold the other's dignity. Servants could not sit on the carpet or in close proximity to it In order to carry out orders they stood respectfully at some distance or waited away from view in some place within earshot. It was considered bad manners for them to stand too near or to talk unnecessarily

When the servants brought in the *khas dan*[524] [betel box] or the *huqqa* [hookah], the host placed them in front of his friends with his own hands and they stood up and thanked him with taslim before accepting them It was considered unsuitable for the young to be brought to informal gatherings of their elders. If for any reason they came, they bowed deferentially to those present and paid their respects with taslim. When the young came in, the conversation ceased to be free and easy and became more formal. As the young showed respect for their elders, so the elders gave consideration to the young and abandoned their informality.

It was not the custom in Lucknow with people who met frequently to go in for *musafiha*[525] [touching of hands]. One kissed the hand of a religious leader,

and *muaneqa*[526] [embracing] was confined to those friends who had returned from a journey or those whom one had not seen for a long time

When men entered women's apartments they always treated the women with respect. They were never in any way familiar with them or prolonged their visits to excess. Man and wife could be at ease with each other, but in the presence of older women of the household they had to drop this ease and behave formally Well-bred brides in villages remained veiled in the presence of their husbands when in the company of other women until they had several children It was not possible for a couple to approach each other in the presence of others This was not the case in towns Husband and wife would eat at the same dastar khwan but it was wrong for them not to behave formally even in the presence of maidservants.

Female gatherings, except in very wealthy households, had comparatively little ceremony. A certain amount of formality was observed with guests, but this was always accompanied by friendliness and warmth

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Social Gatherings and Forms of Greeting

It has not been the custom in India, as in Europe, Arabia and Persia, to form clubs and societies In Europe there are clubs and societies, and Arabs, Persians and Turks have tea shops and coffee houses where people meet and exchange ideas Wherever there are British people they will form a club to which they can go in their leisure time, read the papers and meet their friends. In the same way in any town where there is a sufficient number of Persians and Arabs, they will open up a tea shop or a coffee house where there will always be a group of them drinking tea, smoking huqqas, eating their food, chatting and joking.

It was not customary to have clubs or tea shops in India and it is not so today.[527] The British Government tried to arouse an interest in this and opened up tea shops in various towns at great expense but they had no success About thirty-five years ago the late Mir Muhammad Husain, former Director of Agriculture and Commerce, before going to Hyderabad, opened a tea shop in the Chauk quarter of Lucknow with Government assistance It was well furnished and provided every sort of liquid refreshment except liquors which are prohibited by religion. However, no one took any interest in it and eventually the Mir Sahib, having suffered financial loss, had to close it down.

The established custom here is that in every quarter or community some prosperous man makes arrangements for people to visit his house. At his personal expense he provides huqqas, betel leaf and other social facilities. His friends and those with similar tastes visit regularly and stay on for hours. Witticisms and pleasantries are exchanged and the guests are entertained with

huqqas and betel leaf. The nature of these gatherings varies with the taste of its members If they are interested in literature and language, the conversation is devoted to such things If the members are scholars and men of erudition, they engage in learned discussions on abstruse subjects If the company is composed of nobles the conversation turns to fashions, clothes, appurtenances of luxury, food and drink, and how they should be enjoyed with social grace and discretion If the concourse consists of libertines, bazaar beauties will be in the company and one will witness dalliance and coquetry One should remember that well-bred and chaste women are not able to take part in men's gatherings as they do in Europe,[528] so if you see any woman among a group of males you may be certain that she is a courtesan. Because well-bred and virtuous women associate with men in Europe, the standing and rank of prostitutes there has fallen so low in society that the door of no respectable household is open to them, neither can they set foot in clubs or societies of repute In contrast, throughout India including Lucknow, some courtesans have achieved such status that they participate more or less as equals in the gatherings of refined and polished people This state of affairs has progressed to the extent that some respected courtesans hold social gatherings, as described earlier, in their own houses, which well-bred people are not ashamed to attend The houses of Chaudhrayan[427] Haidar Jan and some other courtesans of high status were the 'clubs' of genteel people British influence has changed matters so that, although various new forms of social misdemeanour have come into being, people have begun to think it wrong to visit the houses of courtesans openly and enjoy their society

Anyway, such houses and those of wealthy men were the Lucknow 'clubs' It was and still is considered quite wrong to share expenses, or for the members of a circle to make contributions towards the cost of betel leaf, food or liquid refreshment Dinners for which everyone contributed their share were considered by all to be a disgrace and contrary to decorum All invitations whether for festive occasions or just for a friendly gathering emanated from one person. If anyone else was sufficiently well-off he could issue similar invitations, but he could not ask others to contribute a few rupees in order to join in

People in Delhi who are connected with commerce collect subscriptions in order to arrange a party or an entertainment with dancing and singing I am certain that this practice has evolved since the collapse of the sultanate, as a result of the commercial outlook.

The next important matter appertaining to social courtesy is salutation and greeting The ancient, religious and simple form of Islamic salutation is *As Salam Alaik*, 'Peace be upon thee', or *As Salam Alaikum*, 'Peace be upon you', to several people After making this salutation, in the morning, the Arabs say, *Subhakum Allah Bilkhair*, 'May God make the morning favourable to you.' If the meeting takes place in the evening, they say *Masakum Allah Bilkhair*, 'May God make the evening favourable to you' These forms of greeting spread with the Arabs as far west as Andalusia and as far east as India The Europeans learnt these salutations from them, as did the Iranians, Turks and Indians in the East In Europe the essential Islamic salutation has been lost, and there remains only the benediction that followed it, like 'Good morning' and 'Good evening' in English and 'Bon matin', 'Bonjour' and 'Bonsoir' in

French. There is no doubt that these salutations were learnt from the Arab conquerors of Andalusia In India and Persia, where it was the custom to show great respect for one's seniors and superiors, the simple words *As Salam Alaikum*, which signify equality, appeared improper and lacking in respect to the arrogant rich Especially in the Mughal court, the crowned heads did away with many Islamic practices that interfered with the deference and subservience shown to them They gave orders to their courtiers to stand before them with hands clasped and to bow in humility, just as a worshipper of God will stand before his maker Following the example of the royal court, most nobles and wealthy men replaced *As Salam Alaikum* in their own ways and words like *taslim*, obeisance, *kornish*, adoration, *bandagi*, servitude, and *adab*, respect, came into use Thanks to these self-glorious and God-forgetting Muslim nobles all these words are at present currently employed. In Arab countries no gesture except a smile accompanied the words 'As Salam Alaikum' After the salutation there was a musafiha and as the hand was offered the words *Subhakum Allah Bilkhair* or *Masakum Allah Bilkhair* were uttered. When this Arab form of salutation was adopted in Europe, the head came to be slightly inclined while the words 'Good morning' were spoken and hands were shaken. On the other hand in India when uttering one of these greetings one places a hand on the forehead and bows almost as low as one would do in prayer This bowing and putting the hand to the forehead are entirely due to Hindu influence. Both actions are tantamount to saying 'I bow to you and kiss the ground you stand on '

As well as this, the court ordered the number of salutations that were to be made. Sometimes there were seven and sometimes three. When meeting older people or friends in the ordinary way one was sufficient In Lucknow, the salutation of young people to their elders, or of persons of lesser rank to their superiors, was to use one of the above phrases and at the same time to raise the hand to the chest or bring it up to the face and slightly move it up and down several times In this popular form of salutation the moving of the hand several times signifies many salutations, just as people sometimes use the plurals *taslimat* and *kornishat*, implying several salutations.

In Arabic the meaning of *taslim* is 'to offer a salam', and this was considered in Lucknow society to be more deferential than *As Salam Alaikum* *Kornish* is a Turkish word introduced here by the Turkish conquerors Its meaning is 'to bow whilst greeting', and therefore it carries the idea of bowing and kissing the ground or the feet *Adab* is the plural of the word meaning 'respect'. Used as a greeting it conveys the sense of 'I am showing complete respect and deference ' *Bandagi* is the most debased and pagan of the words of greeting The meaning of *bandagi* is worship When used as a salutation, it can have no other sense than 'I offer you my worship', and this according to the Muslim faith can be said only to God.

In contrast to these Indian greetings, the simple translation of the words *As Salam Alaikum* used by the Arabs is 'May peace be with you', or in plain Urdu, 'May you be tranquil and safe', so that when you greet a person you are praying for his safety. In the Islamic faith the word *salam*, peace, is part of God's message to the Prophet, which he passed on to all Muslims and which they in their turn must pass on to all other Muslims till the Day of Judgment.

The word preceding *Salam* in *As Salam Alaikum* is the Arabic definite article and indicates that *Salam* refers to that message given by the Prophet.

The original Islamic *Salam* gives the idea of equality and is intended to engender love and brotherhood among all Muslims wherever they may be. But alas, they have discarded it and now our vain conceit makes us think that if an ordinary Muslim says *Salam Alaikum*, he is insulting us. Shia-Sunni differences have brought about a state of affairs where instead of uniting into one fraternity they prefer to remain separate. This applies not only to ordinary people. in recent times even the religious leaders of both factions encourage it As a result, whereas in Arabia and Persia the greeting of both Shias and Sunnis was *As Salam Alaikum*, in India and especially in Lucknow the Shias have left *As Salam Alaikum* to the Sunnis and have appropriated for themselves the words *Salamun Alaikum*, although in prayers they still use the phrase *As Salam Alaik.*

Nevertheless the Arabic *Salam* is still used by devout people whether Sunni or Shia as having religious significance. In élite society *Adab*[529] and *Taslim* are the customary greetings. *Bandagi* is often heard also, but it is more commonly used by women.

In Lucknow society younger people will greet their seniors and the poor greet the rich by bowing respectfully and saying either *Taslim* or *Adab*. In answer the older person will say to the younger, 'Long be your life', 'May you grow strong', or 'May you be fortunate.' The rich just raise their hands to the poor without bowing and as they raise their hands will repeat the word *Taslim* or *Adab* or say *Bandagi* Equals will both bow to each other and when in a gathering, stand up After the salutation one usually says to the other *Mijaz sharif*, 'How is your health', or words to that effect. The other will clasp his hands and reply, 'I pray for the best.' This is the usual form of salutation for cultured people throughout India, but in Lucknow and in other places of former courts these matters are taken very seriously.

In recent times in Lucknow, since the collapse of the court and the disappearance of its social etiquette, ordinary people are coming back to the greeting *As Salam Alaikum* [529] Would that the upper classes followed this example and such overt distinctions between high and low ceased to exist!

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Everyday Speech in Urdu

Important aspects of social courtesy are conversation and style of speech A person's manner of speech is the first sign of his good breeding and manners, and every developed civilization all over the world improves and reforms its language.

Culture and good manners demand that conversation should be free of obscene words Words and opinions that might be displeasing to others should be left unsaid and unexpressed If sometimes it becomes necessary to bring up an unpleasant subject it should be couched in such terms that the feelings of the person addressed are not hurt, and worded as gently and pleasantly as possible .The educated people of Lucknow attained perfection in this art. Although British cultural influence and the diffusion of present-day education have raised the general level of conversation everywhere, a polite and polished manner of speech is the distinction of the citizens of Lucknow.

People from other places are so awed by this skill that they become inhibited when talking to the people of Lucknow Among themselves they may say, 'We like simple and straightforward speech: this Lucknow palaver is beyond us', but this is merely an excuse I have seen Persian-speaking Indians remaining dumb before Persians. In England I have seen people who knew French who were too shy to say a word of French in front of Frenchmen. Because of Arab eloquence, foreigners sometimes became tongue-tied in their presence, and the Arabs thought, 'We are the only ones to whom God has given speech, and the rest of the world is dumb ' For that reason Arabs called the people from the outside world *ajam*, which simply means dumb. In the same way the inhabitants of Lucknow thought that they so excelled all others in eloquence and witty speech in Urdu that no one could open his mouth in their presence.

In polite conversation the choice of pronoun with which one addresses another person is of primary importance. There are two pronouns in most languages for the person addressed, one singular and the other plural. For an esteemed person, respect is shown by employing the plural. In Persian the singular pronoun is *tu* and the plural *shuma* In Arabic the singular is *ak* or *enta* and the plural *kum* or *entum* However, in Urdu there is one singular pronoun *tu*, but two plural pronouns *tum* and *ap*. One will say *tu* to a humble person and *tum* to one of slightly higher status, or familiarly to a relative and a junior. *Ap* is used for an equal and all respected persons Sometimes upper-class people address one another familiarly as *tum* but with people with whom one is not well acquainted the use of *tum* is very improper, especially in Lucknow.

There are a large number of words in the Urdu language to express the standing of honoured and noble persons, which are employed particularly in Lucknow: *Janab*, 'Sir', *Janab-e-Vala*, 'Honourable Sir', *Janab-e-Ali*, 'Exalted Sir', *Hazrat*, 'Dignified Sir', *Hazrat-e-Vala*, 'Honourable and Dignified Sir', *Huzur*, 'Your Highness', *Huzur-e-Vala*, 'High Sir', *Huzur-e-Ali*, 'Exalted Highness', *Sarkar*, 'Master', *Qibla*, 'Exalted Sir', and *Qibla-o-Kaba*, 'Your Holiness'.[132] These, as well as some other terms, are employed to address a distinguished person, according to his rank. The exact nuances of these terms are better understood by the citizens of Lucknow than anywhere else.

I claim that no other language in the world has so many honorific words of address Urdu is no longer looked upon as the model of a refined language in India and other literatures, free from Urdu influence, have started to assume predominance Bengali, Panjabi, Gujrati, Sindhi, Marathi, Cantari, Telgu, all claim their own literary merit and eloquence, but I challenge not only these languages but celebrated languages, like Persian, Arabic, English and French, to produce as many forms of address as exist in Urdu. In spite of its short

existence and the small area in which it is spoken, Urdu has achieved greater perfection as a language of courtesy, delicacy and social elegance than any other language in the world Urdu is not the language of any particular province, group of people or religion. It developed at the royal court and became throughout India the language of refined people as well as nobility, scholars and literary men It is rooted in culture, courtesy and refinement and grew up to meet the needs of polished society in India. Unfortunately in the British era Western culture and literature began to take predecence At the same time old prejudices among Indians led Muslims to take pride in the fact that Urdu was their language while Hindus, thinking that they would not be able to compete with them in this field, left it to them and gave it up almost completely This was harmful to the development of Urdu. Still, it cannot be denied that the eloquence and literary merit it possesses cannot be equalled by the newly developing language of Hindi,[530] or by any other Indian language

Englishmen, Arabs, Afghans or Persians, when speaking Urdu, always address the other person as *tum*, because their own languages do not contain any pronoun that is more polite than *tum*

In English there are special words of address, like 'Your Honour', 'Your Excellency', 'Your Highness' and 'Your Majesty', but these are used only for kings and aristocrats and are never used for anyone else Similar words exist in Urdu as well, like *Jahan Panah*, 'Protector of the World', *Sahib-e-Alam*, 'Ruler of the World', *Murshid Zada*,[158] 'Son of a Religious Leader', *Navab Sahib*, 'My Lord', *Navab Zada*, 'Son of a Navab', *Sahib Zada*, 'Son of a Dignitary', and words like *Janab* and *Huzur* are added to them Such forms of address probably exist in every language, but the variety of honorific words that are used for many different illustrious personages in Urdu is not to be found in any other language.

In other languages everyday words are used when inquiring after a person's welfare, but in Urdu special phrases are employed to show deference and respect, as for example, *Mizaj-e-Ali*, 'How is your Exalted Health?', *Mizaj-e-Mubarak*, 'How is your Blessed Health?', *Mizaj-e-Aqdas*, 'How is your Sacred Health?', *Mizaj-e-Mualla*, 'How is your Eminent Health?' In Lucknow educated people are particular about the correct pronunciation of *sh* and *a*, and, as far as possible, the proper articulation of Arabic words. In Persian constructions, attention is paid to the relative and the genitive Among scholars, Persian and Arabic words are freely used and correctly pronounced and hakims employ Arabic medical terms. However, Arabic words are avoided when speaking to uneducated people. In the company of women, idioms and proverbs according to feminine taste are used.

A younger person speaking to a senior, a humble person to a superior, an ordinary man to a scholar, must all show respect and deference in every word and sentence, and keep their voices suitably low. At the same time when an older person talks to a younger one, a superior to someone below him, a scholar to an uneducated person, they should show kindness and affection in manner and words.

By paying attention to these matters, the people of Lucknow have developed a very polished and refined language. The masses and uneducated people speak better Urdu than many poets and men of letters of other places, and they show

great delicacy and discretion in their choice of words. But alas, Lucknow courtesy is fading The newly-arrived outsiders from different regions are displaying lamentably bad manners, while the local elite are living in seclusion and are out of currency Along with this, the attainment of Civil Rights has made the ignorant and the common people so brazen and overbearing that all these forms of courtesy are rapidly disappearing and may cease to exist in a short time

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Wit and Female Celebrations

There is an old Arab saying, originating from a hadis of the Prophet, that 'Humour is to speech what salt is to food ' It is true that without wit and humour speech is insipid and the company dull But if wit is expressed thoughtlessly it may cause grief and misunderstanding. It has often led to the drawing of swords and lifelong friends have in a moment become enemies If one considers the matter, it is not wit itself that is to be blamed but the manner in which it is employed and the lack of moderation in its use.

The more advanced a language, the greater its ability to express wit and humour, though it is difficult to pin down this development There are a variety of means which an eloquent man can adopt to this end, and to describe all these in detail could be the subject of a book. I will only say here that humour is as a rule based upon words with more than one meaning, any one of which can be utilized to make insinuations. Another variety is when such words are not employed, but comparisons are simply made between those persons or objects which, though unrelated, have something in common This similarity is expressed in such a manner that it ceases to be a comparison and becomes a metaphor. One exalts or demeans oneself or someone else to such a degree as to be very far from the actual truth All this requires great discretion

A skilful person will make the most unpalatable insinuations and unpleasant comparisons without hurting anyone's feelings and without giving cause for disapproval, but a tactless person will annoy others and they will turn against him Even the ordinary people of Lucknow possess a high degree of this kind of tact

Dr Aghor Nath, a learned Bengali, a PhD in literature and an expert in Urdu, once said to me, 'What merit is there in a language like Urdu when I once said, "We all drink milk nowadays" and everyone burst out laughing?' My reply was, 'This is precisely the beauty of Urdu. Why do you blame the language instead of yourself?' In every language there are some words with more than one meaning. Those who are well versed in the language use these words in such a manner that there is no ambiguity. The meaning of 'conceive' in

English is 'to think' and also 'to become pregnant' A well-known peer said in Parliament 'I conceive' three times and then fell silent in profound thought. Someone called out, 'My Lord has conceived three times and nothing has happened', and everyone roared with laughter Similarly thousands of words in Urdu have more than one meaning, and when used incorrectly the speaker will always invite ridicule

As regards Dr Nath's remark, the drinking of milk is the action of infants and to say in Urdu that an adult drinks milk is to imply that he is still a child The people of Lucknow will use other expressions such as 'I make use of milk', 'my food is milk' and 'I eat rice and milk' From such phrases an erudite linguist and poet from Agra got the impression that in Lucknow people 'eat' milk rather than drink it. He had a discussion on this subject with someone in Lucknow and I was more or less ordered to give my opinion. I said, 'Milk is a liquid, how can anyone eat it? However, in order to avoid comparison with an infant, Lucknow adults will never say "I drink milk" in regard to themselves'

The people of Lucknow introduce witticisms and humour into their conversation in many ways The greater a person's wit, the more he will be appreciated in literary and social circles. With the spread of the Urdu language in different parts of India, excellent humorists are now found everywhere and so promote the better understanding of the language. But the discretion with which the citizens of Lucknow couch their wit and humour in refined language is truly a pleasure

In Lucknow the former wealth of the Muslims and their status as rulers has given their womenfolk the opportunity to gratify their wishes to a much greater extent than in most places. From birth till wedlock every joyous occasion in a child's life is celebrated To begin with there is Chhati, on the sixth day after birth, then Chilla, on the culmination of the forty-day period after childbirth, the many Nashans, on the bathing of mothers, Aqiqa, on shaving the baby's head soon after birth, on weaning, on the first taste of sweetness, Bismillah,[531] the first lesson, the circumcision and most important of all Aqd, the marriage contract. All are occasions for celebration. In some families, children's birthdays are also celebrated In addition, there are festivities on occasions such as bathing after return to health or the fulfilment of some special wish.

Female relatives and acquaintances and women of the neighbourhood all take part in these celebrations. They are organized in the following manner: the company is seated on takhats, or if there are too many guests a farsh is prepared on the floor In rich households rugs, sometimes three of them, are placed in the centre of the farsh as the seat of honour. *Kanvals*, candles encased in coloured glass, and other decorative lamps are lit A troupe of domnis sit in the centre and perform The domni who dances wears bells on her ankles and gesticulates In the course of the performance the domnis from time to time perform mimicry and there is a tumult of gaiety. Although the free nature of the domnis' performance creates a general atmosphere of laxity, good etiquette on the part of the assembly is preserved throughout A large number of specific customs have to be followed for a given celebration, whose guardians and enforcers are elderly ladies of standing. The domnis are also well-versed in these customs and receive handsome recompense for their services

At most of these celebrations the participants stay awake all night. Indian Muslim women believe that this all-night vigil is a form of worship to thank the Almighty, and the domnis' hymns help to keep everyone awake In practice, however, the time is spent in singing, fun and frolic instead of worship. But at dawn they go to the mosque to make offerings of special sweets prepared for the occasion. In villages these celebrations are conducted on similar lines, but they lack dignity.

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Festive Celebrations

I shall now give detailed descriptions of these festive occasions. Chhati[169] is the name of that ceremony when mother and child are bathed for the first time after birth To bathe the mother in very hot water is beneficial to health, but it has been given the importance of a festive occasion It is called Chhati, sixth, as it takes place on the sixth day after childbirth. After the mother and the child, all the women guests one after the other take a bath. New clothes are presented to the mother and child, according to the status of the household, while the women guests put on fresh clothes The numerous details in the customs connected with this ceremony are probably similar everywhere with slight variations in different cities, and in fact in every family

A complete set of new clothes for the mother and child, a tiny *tauq*, the semi-circular, flat necklace, *hansli*, a heavy, round necklace, rattles and other toys, are sent from the mother's family or from other relatives in procession, with much display and the beating of drums, together with food and other things. Arrangements are made for singing and dancing in the women's apartments, and if funds will not permit of professional entertainers, the women of the house themselves take the dhol in their hands and play and sing.

On the twentieth and fortieth days when bathing takes place there are similar celebrations. If within means, sumptuous festivities are held on both occasions, otherwise some importance is given to the fortieth-day celebration.

Aqiqa, the shaving of the child's head, is a Muslim religious ceremony taken from the Israelites and dating from the time of Abraham. Jews used to take a child on the eighth day after birth to a temple, have its head shaved and perform sacrifices while the priest blessed it. Muslims continue this practice to this day. At the present time, the rule of the eighth-day limit for Aqiqa is not strictly adhered to, but the ceremony must be performed within a year. The child is bathed, dressed in new clothes and a barber shaves its head in the presence of relatives and friends As he places the razor on the child's head, two goats are sacrificed in the case of a boy and one in the case of a girl. After the shaving, sandalwood ointment is rubbed on the head and presents are

given to the child. The meat of the sacrificed goat is distributed among the poor, as well as friends and relatives

Khir Chatai, the taste of sweetness, is the ceremony when the child is given some food in addition to its mother's milk This usually takes place when the child is about five months old Usually this first food is an elaborately prepared rice pudding, which is simply put to the child's lips in the presence of female relations The child is dressed in new clothes and the ladies, blessing it, put some money into its hand The usual festivities then commence.

Dudh Barhai, weaning, takes place when the child ceases to be given its mother's milk Sweets are prepared and if the child insists on milk, they are put into its hands Usually sufficient sweets are prepared for distribution among friends and relations. The method of weaning is to dissolve aloes in water and dampen the mother's or wet nurse's breasts with this or some other bitter solution, so that the child will be put off by the bitterness and refuse the milk If the child is still set upon it, this practice is repeated until it becomes disgusted with the bitter taste The Dudh Barhai ceremony usually takes place when the child reaches the age of two With the Hanafites, an orthodox sect of Sunnis, the period of nursing can go on up to two and a half years, but cannot be prolonged any further However, the usual custom among all Muslims is to stop earlier. Those women who go on nursing their children till they are three or four years of age are regarded with disfavour as acting against religious law This celebration is also accompanied by singing, dancing and much merry-making

Bismillah takes place when a boy is given his first reading lesson This is arranged according to custom on the day when he attains the age of four years, four months and four days The number four has such significance in the ceremony, that along with four years, months and days, four hours and four minutes are also taken into account The child is bathed and dressed in new clothes like a bridegroom for this ceremony, and, at the appointed hour, a maulvi or an elder member of the family starts him on his lesson A book with the alphabet is placed before him and after reciting the phrase *Bismillah*, 'In the name of Allah',[531] another Arabic sentence is read out which means, 'O God, make this easy. Do not make it difficult and let it finish well ' Then a few letters of the alphabet are read out and sweets are distributed The boy is given presents, and this day marks the commencement of his education.

Khutna, circumcision, was also an ordinance of Abraham and an ancient rite In India the practice is confined to Muslims and it is thought that a boy becomes a Muslim only after its performance· the popular name for the ceremony therefore is Musalmani During this rite the skin at the end of the boy's penis is severed The operation is performed by our *jarrahs*, expert barber-surgeons, and is beneficial from a medical point of view. On this occasion relatives and friends are invited to the men's section of the house where it takes place, while the ladies congregate in their own quarters. Sweets are handed round after the circumcision and people who can afford it give dinners later on When the wound heals and the boy has been bathed, many families who love and cherish their son dress him up like a bridegroom, seat him on a horse and take him in a procession to some shrine, where he lays a wreath of flowers and makes an offering of sweets. On arrival home, there are celebrations. Some people

have a boy circumcised on the sixth or fortieth day after birth, but the general practice is to wait until he is six or seven years old

Another ceremony is Roza Koshai,[60] breaking the fast. This takes place when boys and girls reach the age of nine or ten and are obliged to fast for the first time The custom is to invite people who have observed the fast to break it with the boy by partaking of a large feast. a girl breaks her fast with women. As this is a religious occasion, singing and music are not permitted, but some irresponsible people make this occasion an excuse for such pleasures.

The most important of all celebrations, however, is on the occasion of *aqd-e-nikah*, the marriage contract It is a momentous celebration, the extravagance of which causes hundreds of families to become financially ruined. Because of the exuberance of their joy and their desire to do the best they can, people pay no heed to the limits of their circumstances and give no thought to the future. They borrow money from friends, relations and money lenders, or raise it by selling property or other valuables. By the time the wedding is over, many families are almost reduced to a state of destitution.

Betrothals are usually arranged by *mashatas,* match-makers. In all large towns in India, especially those with an ancient culture, match-making has become a profession for certain women. The literal meaning of the word *mashata* is a woman who combs the hair of some great lady, dresses her and adorns her with jewellery However, in popular use the word has come to apply to those women who suggest possible eligible marriage partners to the families and initiate arrangements leading to betrothals and weddings. Probably this profession started with those women who acted as ladies' maids, as the word seems to indicate. These women are very artful. When they describe a boy, they extol his wealth, education, prosperity, good manners and looks to such an extent that he appears like the Prince Charming Benazir in Mir Hasan's masnavi.[280] In the same way, when they describe a girl to the boy's family, they make so much of her beauty, charm, allure and fascination, that she becomes a fairy of the Caucasus mountains, or the Princess Badr-e-Munir of the Urdu masnavis.

After the mashata has interested the parents the men of the households look into the matter and make their own inquiries However, it is the women of both families who become most involved. If they are satisfied, they get their husbands' approval and the betrothal is arranged. Sometimes, when children are born in two families of friends or relatives, solicitous mothers arrange for their betrothal at birth. In this case there is no need for a match-maker and the future bridegroom gets his bride without any trouble.

After preliminary approval, the boy is usually invited to the girl's home so that he may be displayed to view. He goes accompanied by his best friends and is seated in a place where the women of the household can also have a good look at him by peeping through the curtains The men meet and talk with him. The boy's mother and sisters likewise go on an appointed day to the house of the intended bride and, by offering her sweets or by some similar excuse, manage to get a glimpse of her face, which is hidden from view by a veil. In some upper-class families it is not the custom to invite the boy to the house: the men of the family manage to get a look at him without his knowledge and to find out about him discreetly. In the same way particulars about the girl are quietly ascertained.

By these methods, if there is mutual approval after due consideration is given to appearance, manners, economic and social status and family lineage, which is of great importance, the betrothal is finally arranged The boy's family sends delicacies, various ornaments made of flowers and a gold ring, which is often put on the girl's hand by the boy's close female relations

From that time on, until the wedding, both families, on festive and ceremonial occasions, exchange offerings of food and sweets. The portions intended for the boy or the girl are particularly elaborate and well garnished. If the Muharram happens to occur during this period, each family ceremoniously sends the other some dry preparations of cardamoms, dali, betel nuts and similar things, along with a finely embroidered silken *batva*, pouch, to hold them.[532]

A few days before the Barat, the procession to the bride's house for the marriage ceremony, the bride, dressed in her festive yellow dress, is obliged to sit in *manjha*, seclusion, in a special room. *Butna*[533] cosmetics are applied to her body and, except for special purposes, she never comes out of her room. On the first day of her seclusion the butna and henna that she has discarded, together with jars of crystallized sugar and a large number of *pindi*,[534] are sent in a procession with a band to the bridegroom's house The pindis which are specially intended for the bridegroom are decorated and placed on separate trays. Also in the procession is the bridegroom's fine yellow costume for his own manjha, a low carved or silver-decorated stool, a *lota*,[535] jug, and *katora*, bowl for drinking water. The lota and katora are tied tightly to the stool with string and are at the head of the procession after the band They are followed first by trays intended for the bridegroom containing his things, usually placed on earthenware dishes, and then by the long line of trays of pindis. The bride's younger sisters and the domnis go with the procession in palanquins On arrival at the bridegroom's house they divide up a pindi and crystallized sugar into seven portions, all of which the bridegroom is obliged to eat This particular custom is probably of Hindu origin and is not connected with Arabian or other Muslim traditions, because the ceremony of manjha and the cotton wristlet worn on this occasion cannot be traced anywhere except in ancient India.

About twelve days after the manjha, the Sanchaq procession goes with the same pomp and ceremony from the bridegroom's house to that of the bride. *Sanchaq* is a Turkish word and a Turkish custom, and was probably brought to India by the Turks and Mughals On this occasion, the bridegroom's parents send the bride an elaborate and very heavily embroidered dress. With it there is, for the bride, a chaplet with long, hanging gold and silver threads and another one of flowers, a plain silver ring, a gold-bejewelled ring and different floral ornaments Also in the procession are different kinds of sweets and dried fruits Earthenware pitchers are specially decorated for the occasion, four of which are joined together with bamboo and coloured paper to form a unit. The richer the family, the more units there are, sometimes up to one or two hundred of them. The pitchers contain a few sweet cakes and some sugar. Their tops are covered with red cloth tied around the rim. Preceding these in the procession is a small silver pitcher filled with yoghurt, also covered with red cloth and with one or two fish tied to it for good luck. When the procession arrives at the bride's house the sweets and dried fruits are offered to friends and relations

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The Wedding Ceremony

The evening after the Sanchaq procession the brightly illuminated Mehndi, henna, procession leaves the bride's house This is probably an Arab custom, and its main purpose is to send the bridegroom the suit of clothes which he will wear at the wedding. This costume resembles the khilat of the Mughal courtiers, and is sent along with a *sehra*,[536] golden chaplet, *shimla*, a gold and brocade-ornamented turban, a plain turban and a bejewelled aigrette If within means, a pearl necklace is also sent In addition there are silken pyjamas, a gold ring and clothes for everyday use Along with this there are several trays, which are beautifully illuminated with green and red candles, and contain henna for the bridegroom Towards the end of the procession there are a large number of trays of *malida*, sweet semolina with dried fruits.

The day after the Mehndi procession, the Barat procession sets out from the bridegroom's house In former times the hour for this was fixed at about three a m , but this time is no longer observed and instead the procession starts at about nine a m. or ten a m. This new timing was established in the reign of Wajid Ali Shah when by chance his own marriage procession was delayed until after daybreak. Since then people have adopted the later time as it is more convenient and saves in illumination. Now the marriage procession usually starts early in the day and the Aqd, the marriage contract, is concluded at midday

The wedding procession is as elaborate as possible. The usual three procession bands, that is, the dhol tasha with cymbals, the raushan chauki and the Scottish bagpipes are always included In addition there are sometimes bands with kettle drums mounted on horseback, people carrying flags, spearmen, elephants, camels and horses The wealthier the family, the greater the variety of bands The bridegroom, wearing the costume sent to him with the Mehndi procession, is mounted on a horse, or, if he is of high status, on an elephant, and rides slowly with great pomp and dignity at the rear of the procession. The bridegroom is called *nau shah*, 'new king', and for one day he is really considered a king One may wonder why, if he is considered a king, he should wear a shimla and not a crown The answer is that Muslim rulers in India did not wear crowns but plumed shimlas with a bejewelled aigrette. Ghazi ud Din Haidar and his descendants had a crown bestowed upon them by the British, but the crown was not accepted by the people, who continued to dress their nau shahs in the style of the rulers of former times Behind the bridegroom are the palanquins of his mother, sisters, female relations and the domnis. There are many customs and minor ceremonies before the departure of the procession from the house.

The procession arrives at the bride's house after she has finished being bathed. Her bath water, which has been kept, is brought out and poured on the ground at the feet of the bridegroom's horse or elephant. The water for the bride's bath is kept for seven days before being used. This stale and cold water is called *kilas*, jar-water. For the poor bride to bathe in this in the cold weather must be a terrible ordeal. Betel leaves are spread out on the small wooden stool on which she is bathed, and some of these leaves are included in the twenty-one prepared betel leaves which are the first things offered to the bridegroom on his arrival.

On arrival the bridegroom goes into the women's apartment. To cross the threshold he has to jump over a slightly elevated rope, after which scores of customs follow which are slightly different in every circle and family.

Meanwhile the bride, although her bath is finished, has not yet been dressed. She is wrapped in a sheet and some crystallized sugar is put into her hand. The bridegroom is brought in and made to taste this sweetness. At this point the bride's sisters, merry-minded women and domnis interrupt and make things as difficult as possible for him.

When he has surmounted this first marriage hurdle, the bridegroom goes into the men's quarters to join the merry-making. Here relations and friends dressed in ceremonial clothes are sitting on a farsh while being entertained by a troupe of male and female singers and dancers. The seat of honour, made of velvet with gold- and silver-brocaded embroidery, is in the centre, and the bridegroom is placed upon it. A small gau is arranged at his back and his friends are seated close to him so that he can converse with them. Everyone else sits a little further off on either side.

The bridegroom is obliged to evince bashfulness in his every gesture and action. He must not behave freely and must speak so quietly that his voice is only just audible. The sehra, which is tied to his forehead and covered by a second one made of flowers, makes it very difficult for anyone to see his face. His features become visible only after the marriage contract is signed, when the sehra is removed from his face and placed over the shimla. Even then he has to hold a handkerchief to his face as a sign of modesty.

Shortly after the bridegroom appears, steps are taken to expedite the completion of the Aqd. All the complicated preliminaries are simply a prelude to this. Among Shia families two mujtahids arrive at this time, one of whom is the attorney for the boy and the other for the girl. The girl's attorney either goes to the women's quarters to obtain his power of attorney from the bride personally, or obtains it from her through a reliable witness of his choice, in order to meet the religious ruling that this is not against her will. Then both attorneys sit before the bridegroom and read, on behalf of their respective parties, passages in Arabic stating the traditional conditions of the marriage contract and receive the couple's acceptance. If it is a marriage between Sunnis the passages are read by a maulvi. In villages a *qazi*[93] [Muslim magistrate], selected by the families, performs the ceremony in the following manner. One of the girl's relatives acts as her legal agent. He produces two witnesses to the effect that the girl has appointed him her attorney for this purpose. If the qazi is satisfied, he asks the attorney the amount of *maher*, promise of money to the bride. Then the bridegroom recites in Arabic the Kalimah, the Muslim

confession of faith, and affirms his faith in the basic tenets of the religion. After this the qazi says to him three times, 'I have contracted your marriage with this girl in exchange for this amount of maher.' When the bridegroom has confirmed his agreement, the qazi recites a benediction and gives his felicitations. Congratulations are showered from all directions and dry sweet cakes and dates are lavishly offered to the guests

On the arrival of the mujtahids or the maulvis, the singing and dancing cease, but as soon as they are gone festivities start again. The bridegroom is taken again to the women's apartment where the ladies fully exercise their privilege in the performance of innumerable customs They make the bridegroom the target of all kinds of jokes and ridicule, and tease him in every way they can. His tormentors are the bride's sisters and domnis All the things they do to him are completely unknown to a young bachelor until the moment arrives.

The bride, who has not yet been dressed in her going-away clothes, is wrapped up in a sheet like an inert bundle. She is brought in and those who carry her make her touch the bridegroom with her feet as if she were kicking him, and marriage songs commence The bridegroom is made to promise total subordination to his wife and to undertake to perform every conceivable kind of service for her Then the *arsi mushaf*, the mirror-look rite, is performed. For this the Quran is placed on a stand between the bridegroom and bride and a mirror is held above it in such a manner that the bridegroom gets his first glimpse of the bride in the mirror But before seeing her face he must recite 'Surah-e-Akhlas', a passage from the Quran The bride has kept her eyes closed all this time The women who are present then cause the bridegroom to beg the bride to open her eyes, and make him promise her every sort of obedience and servitude After much cajolery the bride opens her eyes, gives one glance into the mirror and shuts them again. With this the ceremony ends: the bridegroom is led out and he joins the men.

The bride is now dressed and adorned with jewelry in preparation for her departure to the house of her parents-in-law. At this moment the domnis commence the *babul*,[537] the heart-rending song of departure, and the joyous household becomes a place of mourning. Relations, friends and all present come to say good-bye with tears in their eyes and give the bride presents of money and jewelry.

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The Wedding Procession

During the preparation for departure the articles of the dowry are brought out and an inventory is given to the members of the bridegroom's family. The dowry consists of jewelry, clothing, utensils, furniture and many other articles. Now the bride is quite ready to depart She wears a simple crimson

kurta, collarless shirt, and muslin or plain silken *gharara* [507] The simplicity goes so far that there is no hemming and her gharara is tied with tape As she leaves, her relations and friends say good-bye with impassioned words of sorrow and she herself weeps copiously. Her decorated palanquin is brought to the door and the bridegroom is sent for. He lifts her in his arms and seats her in the palanquin

When the bridegroom says farewell he too is given presents, usually of money In the men's quarters, jugs and glasses are brought to offer sherbet to the guests before leaving. In the general excitement, however, the sherbet is rarely drunk, but everyone puts some money on the tray for the bridegroom.

The marriage procession now returns to the bridegroom's house with the same pomp, but now there is the bride's palanquin in front of the bridegroom's horse. An elaborately embroidered shawl covers the top of the palanquin and the four corners are held by female bearers. All round the palanquin there is a crowd of the bridegroom's servants and special friends, followed by the bridegroom himself on horseback and then by the palanquins of the women

In the procession the articles of the dowry are displayed behind the bands and in front of the bride's palanquin Big utensils are placed on a basket while china and glass utensils, carried separately, are set out on trays. After them come boxes containing the bride's clothes, followed by the bed, complete with silken quilts, pillows and sheets The bedding is tied to the four legs by silken cords, from each end of which hang tiny decorative silver cushions The girl is provided with necessary things for her personal use a mirror, comb, oil, perfume and other cosmetics, and, among the well-to-do a *pan dan*, betel box, *khas dan*, small betel case, *lota*, jug, *katora*, bowl, and similar things all made in silver At the rear of the procession there are large containers with food, offered by the bride's family

The procession is greeted at the bridegroom's house by festive music. The domnis, who arrive beforehand, sing wedding songs In some families the bride is lifted out of the palanquin in the bridegroom's arms, in others his mother and sisters lift her out She is seated inside the house and the bridegroom says a prayer of thanksgiving, using a corner of her veil as a prayer mat The bride's feet are washed and the water is poured in every corner of the house. The veil is removed from her face so that all may see her and women and close male relatives present her with money and jewelry.

The bride spends the first night in her new home in utmost modesty and complete formality She must not talk or look at anyone. The only people to whom she can say anything are the women who have accompanied her from her parental home To relieve her of this misery, as soon as day breaks her brother or some other relation comes to take her back for the Chauthi ceremony. On this occasion, although she leaves with ceremony, there is no procession and no band. The bridegroom accompanies her and seven varieties of vegetable and seven kinds of sweet are sent with them.

In the evening the Chauthi ceremony takes place at the bride's home. She is now made up and clothed in her presentation dress, which is the most elaborate, heavily embroidered and ceremonious of all her dresses. All her jewelry is also put on The bridegroom's sisters and female relations now arrive for the festivity and the groom and bride pretend to throw sweets at

each other. The womenfolk of the groom and the bride actually pelt each other with vegetables and go through the motions of fighting with flower-covered sticks They tear sweets, vegetables and flowers from each other's hands and throw them back at each other Sometimes the frolic gets out of hand and some of the women get slightly hurt

A day or two later the bride goes to the bridegroom's house, after which the ceremony known as the Four Chaleys takes place. The word *chaley* is derived from the word *chalna*, to walk or to move The ceremony is so called because the bride is called away from her father-in-law's house to the homes of her fond relatives, but not to her parental home Paternal and maternal aunts take it in turns to invite her, together with the bridegroom, to come and stay with them The couple stay for only one day and night, during which time much hospitality is lavished upon them When they leave, the bride is presented with jewelry and the bridegroom with a set of new clothes, in accordance with the means of their hosts

In villages the ceremonies are different in many respects, but the procedure for the marriage contract itself is the same The manjha is observed, but the bridegroom's yellow costume is provided by his sisters and female relations, so the procession from the bride's house is eliminated Neither does the sanchaq come from the bridegroom's house, nor the mehndi from the bride's house. These functions are served in a slightly different manner on the day of the Barat itself When the wedding procession approaches the bride's house, it stops a short distance away and, in place of the sanchaq, a presentation dress for the bride along with many other dresses and various things to bring good fortune, like sugar and parched rice-grains, are carried on trays to her home in a procession Friends and relations of the bridegroom offer them to the bride's family and after being refreshed with sherbet, they take their leave.

A little later a procession from the bride's home brings the bridegroom's costume, and this take the place of the Mehndi procession in the towns His costume consists of a short collarless shirt, a long garment to go over it, a turban and a pair of shoes There is also a *sehra*, chaplet of flowers. When the bridegroom has been dressed in these clothes, the Barat procession starts again towards the bride's house or some other place which has been chosen for the wedding ceremony Festivities with dancing and singing go on all night, except for the time when the qazi performs the marriage ceremony The ceremony itself is much the same as it is in the towns After the marriage contract has been concluded, the entire wedding procession is treated to an elaborate dinner by the bride's family In towns except for the food sent by the bride's family to the bridegroom's house after the marriage ceremony, it is not necessary to invite the members of the procession for dinner Usually the bridegroom's family makes such arrangements before they leave. However, in the villages it is most important for the bride's family to offer a sumptuous meal to all the members of the procession The slightest shortcoming in their hospitality is considered a disgrace in the eyes of the whole village

The meal consists of the complete dishes of a tora, which is offered to all, high and low, without distinction The most important items of the meal are pulau, zarda, qaurma, shir mal and unleavened breads. When helping themselves to food, members of the bridegroom's procession help themselves to their

heart's content. They also demand ample grain and fodder for their horses and bullocks. The girl's family must comply with these wishes graciously, or be forever dishonoured.

The ceremonies connected with the bride's departure from her home and her return to it are much the same as in the towns, but with one difference. Women do not accompany the bridal procession and the bride is not on the whole subjected to so many restrictions. But like the bride in towns she must remain in one place in her father-in-law's house until she returns to her home for the Chauthi. Similarly she must not eat, drink, go to the toilet, speak to anyone, move her hand from her face or open her eyes. All of these actions are considered immodest. To save her from the embarrassment of being obliged to go to the toilet, no food or drink is given to her for two days before her going away. Her hardship is further increased if she is a village bride marrying someone in another village, as is often the case, for she is then often obliged to travel a considerable distance in this state.

The reason the Sanchaq and Mehndi processions were discontinued in the villages, with the consequent importance placed upon the dinner for the bridegroom's procession, is probably as follows. The Barat often has to travel long distances from one village to another and it is difficult for the processions to be exchanged within the three days of the marriage ceremony. This also explains why, although the bridegroom's family arranges a dinner for members of the procession at the start, by the time the procession reaches the bride's house they are all famished and consider it proper to behave as if they have not eaten for days.

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Funeral Services

Throughout India funeral services are the same among Muslims and I cannot think of anything in particular in this respect which is confined to Lucknow. When a death occurs, relatives and friends are informed immediately and all endeavour to come to the bereaved house. When women come, they themselves pay the palanquin-bearers.[538] On joyous occasions and other visits it is customary for the hostess to pay for the conveyance of a female guest, but this is not the case in a house of sorrow.

The first stage in funeral proceedings is for the corpse to be washed. Among Shias this is done at a special place reserved for the purpose by stony-hearted persons whose profession is to wash the corpse and swathe it in a shroud. With Sunnis the corpse is washed at home by relatives or friends. Men and women who have had experience in this are called in and usually a maulvi or some elder gives instructions as to the correct procedure.

The corpse is then dressed in burial clothes consisting of simple pyjamas and shirt, and wrapped in two sheets Strips of cloth torn from the sheets are tied round near the head, waist and feet to prevent the sheets from opening

Shias then place the corpse in a coffin, which is covered with a *doshala*, a brocaded shawl Accompanied by someone reciting in a deep voice 'Surah-e-Rahman', from the Quran, the coffin is carried to the grave under the shade of a canopy The people who carry the coffin and the canopy are of low class who over a long period have made this their profession. But because of their undignified behaviour Shias have begun to realize that it is better to carry the coffins on their own shoulders Several committees have now been set up in the city whose energetic and devout members ensure that all arrangements are made under their supervision according to correct religious procedures

Sunnis lay a corpse on a light bamboo bed and cover it with a sheet If the corpse is that of a woman they fix several arches of bamboo to the bed and spread a sheet over it The idea is that a woman should always be veiled, even in death Relatives and friends carry the corpse slowly on their shoulders while reciting the Kalima, the confession of faith, in a low voice On arriving at the graveyard they offer Namaz, special burial prayers

The grave is generally rectangular in shape and about five feet deep At the bottom another narrow cavity about three feet deep is dug, leaving a ledge on either side. When the grave has been carefully cleared of stones, the corpse is gently lowered into it The head of the grave points north and the face is turned in the direction of Mecca and held in that position by clods of earth The strips of cloth over the head are then untied so that the relatives can get a last glimpse of the face of the deceased Among Shias, 'Talqin', a passage of instruction, is then read in Arabic by some devout person, who climbs down into the grave and touches the shoulder of the corpse while he addresses it He states the answers it should give to the angels of death when they come to interrogate and repeats the confessions of the faith. After this the lower cavity is covered with planks and if there are any cracks between them they are filled with clods of earth so that nothing can fall through The shroud inside the grave smells of camphor and scent and some people also sprinkle rose-water. The upper cavity is then filled in with earth thrown by those present and the raised grave is formed

When the earth is being shovelled into the top part of the grave, everyone present takes a handful of earth three times and throws it into the grave while reciting three verses from the Quran, 'We created thee from this [earth]', 'We have brought thee back to this' and 'At a future time [the Day of Judgment], we shall take thee out and make thee stand again.' This throwing of earth into the grave is considered extremely important.

After the burial the grave is covered with the sheet in which the corpse was wrapped, or with a covering made of flowers for the whole grave. Fatiha, the opening surah of the Quran, is recited, and the people return to their homes.

On the day of death, the stove is not lit in the house. After the funeral procession has left, some relatives send in a cooked meal which the mourners, together with those who happen to be present, eat when they return. Food is provided in this way for three days. This practice started in the early days of Islam when the Prophet himself, on hearing of the death of his uncle, had

food sent to the bereaved family. But in Lucknow nonsensical superstitions have grown around this noble custom. As soon as anyone dies all the food in the house is thrown away and all the jars and pitchers are emptied of water. Women tell children that the reason is that the angel of death washes and wipes the knife with which he takes life in food and drink.

On the third day after death, or occasionally on the fourth day, the Suyum ceremony is observed. On this day people come to offer their condolences to the family of the bereaved These visitors read passages from the holy Quran and the religious merit obtained is dedicated to the soul of the deceased. In this ceremony mourning has gradually become secondary and all that now seems to matter is the size of the assembly and how many times the complete Quran is read and dedicated to the soul of the deceased Towards the end people read some special passages from the Quran followed by Fatiha, the prayer for the dead. To this an absurd procedure has been added in which some oil in a sandalwood bowl and some flowers are passed round on a tray. Each person picks up a flower and puts it into the oil, which is then taken out and placed on the grave of the departed.

On the evening of the third day, when Fatiha prayers are offered, food is cooked in the house for the first time. Although under present circumstances the number of such sympathizers who can afford to send food to the house of the deceased for three days is much reduced, and poor households are forced to cook food within this period, even so the custom is still prevalent

The Fatiha ceremonies on the third and fortieth days after death are especially important. Their original function was to distribute food among the impoverished and destitute in order to acquire religious merit for the deceased However, in India, influenced by the Hindu ceremonies of the thirteenth day after death and the 'death anniversary', Muslims began to observe 'the third', 'the tenth', 'the twentieth', 'the fortieth', and 'the anniversary' rites. On all these occasions Fatiha prayers are offered, but food is distributed so lavishly and with such ostentation, that it would seem to be the occasion of a celebration. In addition, common people have come to believe that whatever food is given away to the poor on these occasions, by God's command, reaches the deceased. This belief makes the deceased a guest and great care is taken to provide his favourite dishes. In fact it should be the other way round According to the principles of charity, the poor should be the guests and consideration should be given to their likes and dislikes.

Not only this, but nowadays at the time of Fatiha, four or five complete meals along with some water are laid out in a pleasantly prepared spot New clothes, as expensive as the family can afford, bedding, a prayer-mat, newly-polished copper plates, a jug, drinking-bowls and cooking pots, are placed near the food for the deceased A mulla then comes to offer the Fatiha prayer, after which all these items are sent to destitute individuals or devout Muslims for distribution to the poor.

The idea that the deceased is able to enjoy these things is so deeply rooted in the minds of some people that certain very simple women of the lower classes adorn themselves and sit near these articles, thinking that if a departed husband can get pleasure out of food and clothing, why should he be deprived of their grace and beauty?

An enormous amount of food is prepared for the Fatihas and besides its distribution to the poor, much is given to relatives and friends Family servants, washermen, barbers, sweepers and others who attend this ceremony also get a share

Besides these Fatiha ceremonies that I have described, there is also a Fatiha prayer every Thursday for the family's ancestors In Shia households, every Fatiha is followed by a Majlis.

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Forms of Religious Assembly

I shall now discuss two important religious gatherings: Majlis, the mourning assembly, and Maulud Sharif, the commemoration of the birth of the Prophet. Although Majlises are more common to the Shias and Maulud Sharifs to the Sunnis, they are observed by both sects However, in Lucknow Majlises are more important and have had a great effect on local society, whereas the Maulud Sharif celebrations are not different from those anywhere else in India, although the élite sometimes invest them with the distinction and refinement of the Majlises

So many Majlises take place in Lucknow that should anyone so desire, he could, simply by attending them, get enough food to live on the generosity of devout Shias These assemblies have given rise to many types of orators who describe in their own styles the calamities suffered by Imam Husain and his family and reduce their audience to tears To begin with, there are mujtahids and then *hadis khwans*, reciters of the hadis, who recount the virtues of the Prophet's family and the tribulations of some of its members in Kerbala in such a moving manner that their audience cannot restrain their tears. Then there are *vaqia khwans*, narrators of anecdotes, who recount these misfortunes in such eloquent language that people want to go on listening and weeping The eloquence of these narrators has in fact made ordinary story-telling appear insipid *Marsia khwans*, reciters of elegies, recite in simple but poetic manner and by gesticulation and facial expressions draw such a vivid picture of events in Kerbala that the audience is filled with appreciation and deeply moved Mir Anis and Mirza Dabir attained the greatest heights in this form of poetry It used to be said that 'a fallen poet becomes a chanter of elegies', but this art attained such perfection in Lucknow that the whole country came to recognize its excellence A large number of marsiya khwans have emerged here, who are sought after all over India to recite marsiya

Soz khwans,[448] who are accomplished musicians, sing dirges and elegies according to classical principles They sing in a group of three: two of them, known as the accompanists, are responsible for maintaining the melody, while

the third, sitting between them, sings the dirge. In Lucknow there are many soz khwans who are better than professional singers. They have attained the same status in the field of music as the marsiya khwans in poetry

These arts all came into being in Lucknow and developed as a result of the Majlises They greatly enriched Urdu literature and invested it with the power to arouse human emotions through appropriate words and expressions. This art was originally developed by the Greeks to make their oratory effective by choosing the right words and gestures for the occasion They discovered which sounds and which intonations aroused joy, sorrow, pity or anger. Since then, no attention seems to have been paid to this art anywhere and only recently have attempts been made by orators in Europe to revive it. However in Lucknow, great strides were made as a result of the reciting of elegies.

At the end of these assemblies, it is customary to offer sherbet, sweets or food to everyone present. The élite have now adopted the practice of sending a portion of these sweets or food along with the invitations, since to emerge from an assembly with one's hands full of edibles does not seem very elegant, although ordinary people see no harm in this After a Majlis the upper-class people hand over their portions to the servants to carry home, and if there are none around they give them to someone else.

Majlises are addressed from a wooden pulpit with seven or eight steps that is placed on one side of a hall or room, with the audience sitting all around on an immaculate farsh. If there is a large attendance, all the space is filled When sufficient people have arrived, the orator mounts the pulpit, raises his hand and says, 'Fatiha', upon which everyone raises his hand and quietly repeats a part of the opening verse of the Quran. After that the orator, if he is a hadis khwan or a vaqia khwan, opens his book and begins to speak If he is a reciter of marsiyas he begins with the pages of his compositions. People listen to the prelates and narrators of the hadis in respectful silence and weep copiously at the mournful passages But on listening to the recital of marsiyas, all present loudly express their appreciation of the poetry, except when the sorrowful verses cause them to shed tears. The soz khwans do not mount the pulpit but sit with other members of the assembly and chant their dirges and elegies. They too receive loud appreciation from the audience

As a general rule one orator follows another of a differing type. The narrating of the hadis is followed by the recital of marsiya and by soz khwani Because the latter is music it is very popular, not only in Lucknow, but throughout India. Still, soz khwani is avoided in the assemblies of Shia prelates or of very religious elders, since music is prohibited by religion.

In Lucknow, the Majlis held on the ninth day of Muharram in the Ghuframab Imam Bara is very impressive and people come from great distances to attend it. On this occasion, after the orations, camels are brought before the audience to represent the ruined caravan of Husain's family Their saddles and panniers are draped with the black cloth of mourning. This sorrowful spectacle affects some people so much that they faint.

Many innovations resulted from the dramatic aspect of the Majlis Some people carried these to such extremes that they made the assemblies look like dramas [539] For instance, the late Maulvi Mahdi Husain had curtains, painted with scenes of the Kerbala, lowered from time to time to induce lamentations

during Majlis Assemblies held by the ladies of the late Maulvi's household went even further instead of orators narrating the calamity, the scenes were acted by people

As far as I know. mujtahids and Shia prelates do not approve of such innovations, but popular interest in them is increasing day by day

The Majlises have had a very marked influence on Lucknow society and because of them culture and etiquette became a part of life for a large number of people The taste for marsiyas and soz gave new life to poetry and music and the love for these two arts spread not only among men but reached as far as noble ladies in purdah[208] as well In Europe dancing and singing are part of a well-bred girl's education, but in my view, a taste for musical accomplishment could not have been developed anywhere in Asia as it has in Lucknow

Another gathering held by Shias is known as Suhbat, which starts on the period beginning on the ninth day of the third month of the Muslim calendar and goes on for a few days The Majlises are mourning assemblies, whereas the purpose of Suhbats is to scoff at and humiliate the enemies of the Prophet's family Since Shias consider both Ayesha, a wife of Muhammad, and Omar Faruq, his second successor, to be enemies of Fatima, Ali and their children, they are the main targets of derision and paper effigies made of their persons are burnt Naturally these gatherings are never attended by Sunnis One hears of such bad behaviour on these occasions that no refined Shia could help feeling disgusted [540] It is largely because of these gatherings that quarrels between Shias and Sunnis break out from time to time

The Maulud Sharif assemblies of the Sunnis, which commemorate the nativity of the Prophet, are conducted in much the same way as the Shia assemblies One difference is that Sunnis have no pulpit and instead the maulvi or reciter sits on a small takhat covered with a farsh in some prominent place Traditionally a maulvi recounts the circumstances of the nativity and when he reaches the moment of the Prophet's birth all those present stand up in respect The narrator also recites a poem to express joy at the event and rose-water is sprinkled all around the audience. If no maulvi is available, a well-respected man reads out from the pages of *Maulud-e-Sharif*, 'The Exalted Birth', by Maulvi Ghulam Imam Shaheed. But the public seems to be no longer satisfied with this form of recital and has replaced it by a new type which imitates soz khwani As in soz khwani, the reciter is accompanied by two persons who maintain the melody. He sits between them chanting the circumstances of the nativity and at intervals, when he comes to verses and qasidas in honour of the Prophet, they join in But whereas the soz khwans have given vitality to music, these people who sing about the nativity remain amateurs

Lucknow can claim no special distinction for these gatherings as they are the same in Sunni circles throughout India. This applies also to the Sufis' Hal-o-Qal[425] meetings in which a state of ecstasy is reached. they are the same throughout India Although Sufi meetings started in India at the time the Muslims first came here, except for producing a group of qavvals,[417] they did not improve the character of these gatherings in any way. Even the qavvals failed to attain a high status as musicians. But soz khwani has within one century acquired fully-fledged status as a musical form

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Betel Leaf, its Appurtenances and Tobacco

I shall now describe some articles that are used in everyday life whenever people meet. Such articles are numerous, but at the moment I shall deal only with the most important, which are the *huqqa* [hookah], *khas dan*, *lota*, and the spittoon. These articles are so widely used that the servants of the élite carry them wherever they go Until recently, these servants carried a huqqa as well, but this is no longer the case The huqqa is actually a Delhi invention, and various types were designed for the royal smoking rooms In Lucknow improvements were first made in the size and shape of these huqqas, and then *pichvans*, huqqas with long spiral stems, were designed as well as *chilams*, tobacco bowls to hold the fire, and *chambars*, covers for the chilams. The Delhi huqqas were clumsy and ugly but in Lucknow they were well-shaped and pleasing to the eye In addition to those made of copper, brass and pewter, very attractive earthenware huqqas were produced which proved extremely popular because of the delicacy of the design The cool and sweet-smelling smoke of the earthenware huqqas made them preferable to the grand and costly ones

After improvements had been made in huqqas, the tobacco was refined and enriched. The process of pounding up tobacco with crude sugar or syrup, which probably originated in Delhi, made the tobacco smoked in India superior to that of any other country. Tobacco is smoked everywhere, but though efforts were made in Europe to improve and refine the tobacco used for cigars, cigarettes and pipes, it never occurred to anyone that the addition of sugar or syrup would remove the bitterness and the acridity In Lucknow further improvements were made by the addition of a syrup specially prepared with spices and perfumes. This not only removed a bad odour or unpleasant taste but made the tobacco so pleasant that if a huqqa bowl was filled with it, it gave out such a sweet smell that even a non-smoker would be tempted to try a few puffs. Excellent tobacco is grown in some parts of India and is known by the name of the town of its origin, but this is a gift of nature not connected with human achievement. However, the excellent Khamira tobacco blended in Lucknow is the result of skill and many experiments and is unequalled. Many people in other towns do not like this mixture and suspect that the syrup might induce catarrh However, this is merely because they are not used to it, just as the British do not like *qaurma*, spiced curry, and are unable to digest it.

Appurtenances of the huqqa were also improved. The chilams have been made more delicate and beautiful. The chambars are decorated in various ways and have triple silver chains on them. Various kinds of dainty and

attractive mouthpieces have been designed, and lately the huqqa has been decorated with flowers In fact, Lucknow society has embellished and beautified the huqqa to look like a bride

Of even greater importance in Lucknow society is the *khas dan*, betel box, which is so frequently used that the servants carry it with them when their masters go out In it are placed *gilauris*,[541] folded betel leaves, carefully prepared for chewing. Chewing betel leaf is an ancient Indian custom which dates from early Hindu times If a raja or a king had to entrust an important task to someone, he would place before his courtiers a prepared betel leaf and say, 'Who will take it up?' meaning, 'Who will conduct this affair or who will take on this responsibility?' Whoever among those present picked up the betel leaf gave, as it were, his promise to accomplish the work This custom no longer exists but we still say, 'A certain person has picked up the betel leaf for this affair', meaning that he has assumed responsibility for it.

In ancient times when favours and rewards were bestowed at court, it was the custom to give betel leaf with them. Ibn-e-Batuta[542] mentions this in his book of travels As the betel leaf played such an important part in the social life of India it would seem natural that its appurtenances should have been improved upon in the course of time. But this was not the case For the entire period of its use in Delhi no improvement was made and the ingredients remained unchanged since ancient times The ingredients used in the preparation of betel leaf in the past were *kathha*, a vegetable extract, lime, *dali*, the betel nut, and cardamoms: later on, before it came to Lucknow, tobacco was also added. But it is impossible to ascertain whether any special changes were made during the hundreds of years in which it was in use in the numerous royal courts. In Lucknow, prepared betel leaf became much more popular than in Delhi. Special appurtenances were designed for its use and everything connected with it was improved, including the natural leaf Excellent betel leaf grows naturally in towns like Mahuba, but although quite a lot of betel leaf grows in the vicinity of Lucknow, it is not of good quality. However, because of the interest taken by the élite here, the dealers started to make improvements in the plant itself with the use of chemicals and soon it came to excel the betel leaf grown elsewhere The leaves are buried in the ground for months until all traces of rawness and unpleasant smell disappear The fibres become delicate and soft, the colour becomes yellow and the leaf, so to speak, matures This delicious leaf has no comparison for taste and savouriness. It is called *begami*, and is sent to many distant places where it is received with much appreciation.

After betel leaf, the next important ingredient is lime. In all other towns, ordinary lime is used, often not properly slaked. Lime is a sharp and corrosive substance and when new and fresh a slight excess of it would cut one's lips. To avoid this unpleasantness, the lime here is well filtered and slaked, and a little cream and fresh whey are added

Another ingredient is *kathha*, which is extremely astringent, bitter and unpleasant in taste It is added to counteract some of the unfavourable qualities of the lime and to give a good colour to the betel leaf. One may in time get used to its unpleasantness, but it cannot be denied that it has a nasty taste. Its preparation, which is the same everywhere, is as follows. The herb is cut into small pieces and boiled in water until it becomes red like sherbet. It is then

strained through a cloth and placed in a bowl in water to coagulate In Lucknow, a tray is filled with ashes, covered with a cloth, and the coagulated kathha put on top of it and sprinkled with water from time to time. The moisture, together with the red colour which contains the astringency, is absorbed by the ashes. What remains looks fresh and white and is free from astringency. Then rose-water is added, or the flowers themselves This practice is now followed in some other places as well, but it originated in Lucknow and the same standard is not attained elsewhere. This kind of kathha is very popular and is now sold in Lucknow shops, some of which are especially renowned for it But the preparation made in the houses of some meticulous rich men is of such high quality that the very best, bazaar-made kathha cannot compete with it In Poona and the towns of Hyderabad, a new kind of kathha is sold which is put into betel leaf in a dry state without being made into paste People there like it, but I fail to appreciate its quality.

The next ingredient is *dali*, the betel nut, which is cut up into small fragments with special scissors and put into the leaf To cut them up was a very ordinary operation, but in Lucknow it was made into an art by the ladies, who cut the pieces as small as a millet seed with each one exactly alike Care is taken also to use the whole nut and not to lose the kernel.

Cardamoms are used in their natural state and no improvements have been considered necessary However, etiquette demands that on festive and special occasions they should be wrapped in special edible silver foil. When they are put into a betel box or on a dish they shine like pieces of silver

Tobacco is smoked throughout the world and its popularity for chewing is also on the increase. I have seen many Englishmen in England who rub up dried tobacco leaves and put them into their mouths In India it has been the custom for a long time to chew dry tobacco leaves. In Delhi because of the golden colour of the leaf they call it *zarda*, yellow. In earlier times raw tobacco leaves used to be chewed with betel leaf But even then, in many households the stalks would be boiled with the leaves and some moderating sweet-smelling spices added to the juice in order to control the bitterness of the tobacco according to personal taste This produced a refined tobacco with a pleasant flavour and an agreeable smell. However, this practice was confined to particular families and households The common man used raw tobacco leaves and women kept them in their betel boxes

About twenty years ago, Munshi Saiyyid Ahmed Husain[543] made a special preparation of tobacco which looks like coarse powder. It became so popular that within a few years it almost completely replaced raw tobacco leaves.

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Preparing and Serving Betel Leaf

The preparation I have just described for making chewing tobacco was preceded by another one known as *qivan* In this the tobacco leaves and stalks were boiled thoroughly until the juice became thick like paste, and then musk, rose-water and other perfumes were added for fragrance The tiniest morsel added to the betel leaf would impart the taste of this sweet tobacco and the fragrance would remain in one's mouth all day After that, minute pills were made of this paste, each one sufficient for a portion When wrapped in silver or gold edible foil they looked like pearls A certain lady of Mufti Ganj quarter used to prepare such excellent qivan paste and pills that connoisseurs of Lucknow would buy them only from her and nowhere else About the same time, the firm of Asghar Ali and Muhammad Ali[544] started to manufacture both of these articles on a commercial basis and sold them throughout India After the death of this lady, Asghar Ali's firm became the sole manufacturer of the qivan paste and goli pills Since then many people and firms have begun to manufacture them, but the quality of their products could not match that of the late Asghar Ali's firm There was however in these preparations one defect, namely that the pungent taste of the tobacco was lost as soon as the juice was spat out, although the fragrance remained for some time To remedy this, Munshi Saiyyid Ahmed Husain started to manufacture *pati*, scented tobacco leaf, in which the taste of both bitterness and fragrance remains in the mouth as long as the betel leaf lasts. Everyone adopted it and it has become so popular that the paste and pills seem to be disappearing.

Several new ideas also developed in Lucknow. Cardamoms were processed in such a way that one's lips became redder from eating one than from chewing betel leaf itself But although in preparation some of the ingredients of betel leaf are filled into the cardamoms and they produce a better colour, they cannot be regarded as a substitute for betel leaf Another method is to fill cardamoms with *missi*,[545] a cosmetic tooth powder, so that when the cardamom is placed in the betel leaf and chewed, the powder adheres to the teeth and a firm dark tinge appears in the interstices But the red cardamoms cannot properly replace betel leaf and the black ones do not have the pleasant smell of properly scented missi For these reasons cardamoms are mainly used for decorative purposes and have never become widely popular.

I shall now say something about *chikni dali*, betel nuts boiled in milk. Although this is not an indispensable ingredient of betel leaf, it certainly adds to its refinement. Some people use it in the preparation of betel leaf in place of ordinary betel nuts and many chew it along with cardamoms, as its taste is

very pleasant. Hindu friends cannot chew betel leaf prepared by Muslims, and so they are offered only chikni dali and cardamoms, and these two things have thus become necessary adjuncts to social intercourse [546]

Chikni dali is the same betel nut used in betel leaf, but after special processing This is not done in Lucknow, Delhi or Hyderabad, but comes already prepared from the places where it is grown. It is said that the nuts are boiled in milk Whatever the method of preparation, the result is that they become juicy and lose all dryness. Sometimes if one eats too much natural betel nut, one's throat becomes dry, but this never happens with chikni dali When further processed it also becomes very delicate and tasty.

As far as I know chikni dali is used to a much greater extent in Hyderabad, Delhi and some other towns than in Lucknow One might have thought that enthusiasts in those places would have improved upon it, but strangely enough it was left to the people of Lucknow to do this The kernel of dali is delicate and fine in taste, but the portion near the rind is a little astringent and the bottom is insipid in flavour In order to avoid the bad taste of these parts, special ways were devised in Lucknow of cutting the nuts One way of doing this is called *do rukhi* In this a good deal of the top and bottom and a little of the sides of the nut are cut, leaving a bowl-shaped residue which contains the soft and delicate kernel Another way which is called *ek rukhi*, rounding, is to scrape the nut all round but leaving the bits of the defective portions either at the top or bottom A third variety takes the form of octagonal lumps cut entirely from the kernel The scrapings left after the kernel is cut are sold separately and constitute another quality All the scrapings are divided into various categories according to quality, the scrapings from the kernel being at the top, followed by those resulting from *do rukhi* and *ek rukhi* They all differ very much in delicacy and taste and there is a corresponding difference in cost

Now I shall turn my attention to the appurtenances used with betel leaf. The most important among them is *pan dan*, the betel box, which transforms the raw leaf into a thing of glory In former days in Delhi, these were little boxes of all shapes—round, square or octagonal Probably when these boxes arrived in Hyderabad from Delhi, copies were made in metal To this day, on the occasions of weddings in Hyderabad, they are liberally filled with the usual ingredients and placed before the ladies The same were brought to Lucknow from Delhi about two centuries ago by the honoured ladies, and modifications were made here shortly after.

In the first place, the shape became round and they were made only of silver-plated copper. Then their lids were raised and rounded until they looked like a white dome, as they do at present An elongated ring was fixed at the top to hold them, which lies on its side when not in use In the boxes are two metal cups to contain kathha and lime, and three smaller, equal-sized receptacles for cut nuts of various kinds All of these are arranged in a circle, in the middle of which is another small container to hold cardamoms or cloves. The lids of the small receptacles are firmly fixed, in fact they are difficult to open, but the cups are simply covered There are tiny spoons for the kathha and lime, sometimes with a peacock crest and sometimes plain Placed over all these containers is a large tray the same size as the betel box in which raw betel

leaves are placed, wrapped in a damp cloth In former times raw betel leaves were placed in a separate covered receptacle, called *nagardan*, but since this was kept shut the air could not reach the leaves and they went bad For this reason the nagardan, although still seen in some old-fashioned houses, has gone out of fashion and will soon be quite forgotten

In the course of time the handy betel box also came to serve as treasure-house and cash box for women The size began to increase until it came to weigh as much as twenty to forty pounds At the same time it became necessary for ladies to take it with them wherever they went Just as 'the larger the turban, the greater the learning', so the larger the betel box, the greater was the status and grandeur of the lady Eventually the betel box took up all the space in the palanquin and there was no room for the lady.

Then suddenly the taste for daintiness showed itself in this direction and a new, small, narrow-domed betel box with a decorative protrusion in the top centre was designed. At first this was called *aram dan*, but it is now known as *husn dan* It was attractive in appearance and convenient to handle, but the internal arrangements remained the same In Lucknow they were first adopted by those not given to show and display, but they soon became generally popular here and in other regions as well. Although old-fashioned betel boxes have not disappeared, the husn dan is at present more generally in use

In addition to husn dan there is *khas dan*, the betel case, in which the prepared betel leaf is served in formal gatherings as well as everyday life. In Delhi betel leaves were served on trays, on which chopped up betel nuts and betel leaves with lime and kathha in them were placed. They are still served in this manner to this day. Probably it was the same in Lucknow, but here they started to use two betel leaves and fold them into triangular shapes to make a *gilauri* The present shape of a gilauri is conical, and the leaves are kept in place by a tiny peg. At first cloves were used for pegs, but later small chains were attached to a tiny silver weight and the betel leaves were fixed to the pegs attached to the chains, and then placed in the khas dan This was however an elaborate system and in everyday life it became the custom to hold the prepared betel leaf in shape with a small nail. A better method which is becoming popular is to make a conical container out of raw betel leaf and place the prepared betel leaf inside it.

It was not considered proper to serve gilauris in an open tray and so a dome-shaped lid was designed to cover them. This made the khas dan look like a small husn dan

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Utensils for Everyday Use

In spite of all improvements, the silver-plated copper khas dans became overheated in the hot weather and the carefully prepared betel leaf became so hot and dry that there was no pleasure in chewing it and the mouth became even more parched Therefore in the hot weather the leaves were kept in bowls made of unbaked earthenware which kept them fresh and cool, and increased their fragrance. These delicate bowls were wafer-thin and beautifully designed When sprinkled with water to cool them they looked so refreshing that one felt that one could leave the betel leaf till later. Simply looking at them was cooling.

To keep these bowls continuously wet was a problem, and so the practice began of wrapping cloth soaked in water around them This kept the moisture for a longer time White cloth gets dirty quickly and stains easily from the betel leaf. Red tulle was therefore used for this purpose This red cover was decorated with silver threads and made to look very beautiful

Similarly khas dans, pan dans and husn dans were covered with elaborately decorated material. In the same way *surahi*, pitchers, were also wrapped around with decorated tulle to keep the water inside them fresh and cool

When one chews betel leaf one usually wants to spit out the liquid This can be annoying as one has to keep getting up, and in rooms with fine farsh it is difficult to find a place to spit without going some distance. To solve this problem an implement was devised. This is known as an *ugal dan*, spittoon They were probably first made in Delhi, and in the original design the base was circular with an elongated rim opening up at the top This type of spittoon, made in copper, brass and pewter, was common throughout India. In Bidar,[547] it was decorated with silver work In Lucknow, designs were engraved on the copper, and later they were made on a larger scale in Muradabad, with their own local delicate engraving. In Lucknow the same type of spittoon was also made in earthenware.

The bottom of this spittoon was too light, however, and the upper portion wide and long, with the result that it was top-heavy and spilled easily For this reason another form of spittoon was made in Jaipur, Hyderabad and later in Muradabad, which was probably also designed in Delhi It looks rather like one side of a small inverted tambourine In Lucknow it was readily adopted, although the old-fashioned spittoon has not quite disappeared and is in fact still being made. Although spittoons are more in use in Lucknow than anywhere else, no improvements have been made here

Nowadays a new style of flat, broad spittoon made of china or enamel is

31 Lucknow miniature, late eighteenth century: Krishna with gopis

32 Lucknow miniature, 1770: prince and princess watching a dancer with candles

imported from England, but these would seem to be designed to spit out bits of tobacco leaves when smoking cheroots and are not at all suitable for use after chewing betel leaf

In addition to khas dan, *lota,* a water jug, accompanies well-to-do people when they go out It is carried by a servant and is usually of medium size and made of copper decorated with engravings Those men of means whom wealth has apparently freed from the restrictions of religious law use lotas made of silver.[548]

The lota dates from Hindu times when it was a rounded vessel without a spout, with a narrow neck and a broad body. As water used to be drawn from wells, every traveller always carried a lota and cord with him on his journeys Hindu and some Muslim villagers still use this kind of early vessel, but Muslims generally speaking use one with a spout to facilitate the pouring of water. I do not know what kind of lota was used in Delhi, but Lucknow was influential in fashioning its present style and making it attractive

In the hot weather servants also carried *farshi pankha,* a cloth fan with fringes, and lately umbrellas have become popular. They are held over their master's head by servants to protect him from the sun

Inside the house *salafchi,* a basin and *aftaba,* ewer, have been in use for a long time in wealthy Indian households for purposes of washing They were brought to Lucknow from Delhi and have remained very much the same Here another kind of basin, *tasla,* slightly bigger and deeper, became more popular, but it was not nearly as good The salafchi has a wide round base and its rim is slightly narrower than the body. A net cover is inserted over the top, through which the water falls into the basin. In this way the unpleasant and dirty water is out of the sight of fastidious people This net can be taken out and cleaned Some grass is placed over the net to prevent the water from splashing In Lucknow, a lota has come into use in place of an aftaba, and was developed from it. The aftaba was a cylindrical brass utensil in which the circumference of the body and the mouth was much the same, except that it gradually narrowed toward the neck and the rim was curved, with a spout added They are still seen in Hyderabad today Their shape is reminiscent of the earthenware ewers of ancient Egypt and Asia Minor or the present china jugs on the wash-stands in England This leads one to believe that they were probably brought by the Muslims from Arabia and Persia. With the influence of Hindu culture, the body of the vessel became more rounded, and a distinct neck was formed. But it remained elongated, and the body was oval rather than spherical This is the shape of the aftaba which is mentioned in old Urdu masnavis and tales Gradually in Lucknow its body changed from oval to spherical Its height and width were made in proportion to each other and it is perfectly symmetrical. The necks were widened, fine rims were attached to them and the spout curved downwards and narrowed attractively at the end This is the present-day Lucknow lota, which is sought after by those of good taste throughout the country

The receptacle for containing *besan*[549] is a tiny copper vessel without a spout shaped like a lota Besan is rubbed on the hands to remove grease before rinsing them with water. A few people put *butna* or *khali,* cakes of mustard seed, into this receptacle instead of besan, as they think that besan, being

edible, is wasted when used for washing, as well as not being in accordance with the principles of religion. But butna is prepared mainly for marriage and other ceremonies and the strong smell of khali makes it unpleasant, so that they are rarely used in everyday life.

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Conveyances and Dress for Outings

My next topic is outings and excursions. As in all other Indian towns, everything in Lucknow has now become so Anglicized that traditional ways have almost completely disappeared. I shall therefore describe some things which have vanished or are about to vanish. The picture I shall draw for my readers takes us back sixty to seventy years and cannot be seen today.

In those days there were no motor cars, large phaetons or landaus and there was no need for broad and open streets There were narrow alley-ways in which elephants, horses, camels, *hava dars, bochas, finases, miyanas, dolis,*[560] *sukhpals, raths* and *bahails,* all used to push through the human throng with shouts of 'Out of the way' Whether it happened to be a bazaar or a popular place for outings, it was the same everywhere.

Apart from camels which were used by the army and for carrying despatches and loads, the rest of the conveyances were used by the different levels of the aristocracy Princes, navabs and the highest dignitaries used to ride in bochas or hava dars. *Hava dar*, the tandem (popularly known as *tamtam* in India), was a carriage with a leather hood which could be opened or shut by means of metal springs When there was no sun and the hood was lowered, it was open on all sides. Horizontal poles were attached to the front and back, which were carried on the shoulders of four bearers. The owner sitting inside would pass through the bazaars with much dignity, leisurely looking all around and exchanging greetings. The form of the hava dar shows that it was made by the British, according to their taste, after they had arrived in India. Its attractive design made it very popular with the Indian nobility By now it has gone out of fashion though it can still be seen in the households of a few nobles and occasionally in marriage processions of wealthy Hindus.

The *bocha* was a more stately and dignified conveyance. Its style was much the same as that of the present-day brougham, but with legs instead of wheels. It had horizontal poles at the front and back and was carried by at least eight and generally sixteen palanquin-bearers, as it was the heaviest of all such vehicles It was probably used by the nobility, although I have seen only Wajid Ali Shah using it. He used to go out in it when visiting his different parks, palaces and residences. The vehicle was surrounded on all sides by a large number of palanquin-bearers and honoured ministers as well as by favourite

courtiers, who went on foot Probably this vehicle was also copied from British carriages of that period, adapted to be borne by bearers

The *sukhpal* was a highly esteemed vehicle for women in those days. It was entirely Indian and a perfect example of Indian ceremonial taste It had a red dome with gold and silver decorations and the seat was the size of a large bed. Curtains hung from all four sides It was carried by a large number of bearers, with one and sometimes two horizontal poles attached at the back and front. This conveyance was used only by ladies of the highest nobility and members of the royal household

The *rath* was a wheeled vehicle similar in design but drawn by bullocks It is still used in the country by taluqdars and zamindars[211] but is gradually dying out. There used to be thousands of these in Lucknow for the use of the royal ladies. Bahu Begam, who ruled as queen in Faizabad, had in her household alone eight to nine hundred raths. Long before that, when the emperors of Delhi used to undertake long journeys, their ladies would accompany them riding in raths.

The *bahail* was an ordinary cart drawn by bullocks Its seat was large, about the size of a bed, and it had two wheels There were four vertical poles covered with an awning from which curtains were hung It was used as a conveyance by men as well as women, as in former days it was the only means of transport for middle-class villagers and city-dwellers alike They are still very much in use in the villages, but the need for them is diminishing day by day and they will soon be a thing of the past Except for the bocha and hava dar, all these vehicles came from Delhi and were not in any way peculiar to Lucknow There were other conveyances besides those I have described, but as they are still in use, there seems to be no need for me to give a description of them.

The majority rode in *finases*, sedan chairs Religious leaders, hakims, nobles and the well-to-do employed four palanquin-bearers who worked as indoor servants as well People with a taste for sports and the military arts, which is so common here, rode on horseback in style. The horse was decorated with a silver necklace and other jewellery, and the trappings were of gold- and silver-decorated velvet. Distinguished persons went about on elephants which, in spite of their bulk, managed to get through the lanes and alleys without trouble. The elephants had brocaded cloth or gold- and silver-embroidered velvet hanging down on both sides On top was placed an open or covered howdah.

Sukhpals, finases and other vehicles used by ladies were ostentatiously decorated The finases were covered by red, richly embroidered shawls, which were sometimes stitched with gold and silver lace The bearers wore knee-length, red broadcloth jackets, and on their heads were red turbans with silver fish sewn on to the edges In India the fish is considered to be a good omen. Before a journey, or when someone is about to undertake an important task, women say ritualistically, 'Come back with fish and yoghurt.' This is probably connected with astrology and it would seem that the silver fish were sewn on to the front of the bearers' turbans to precede the palanquin and remain visible at all times.

A female bearer used to run with the ladies' finases holding on to the corner of the shawl Their style of dress was peculiar to them and was characterized by the wide borders of their ankle-length skirts. These were in fact more border

than skirt. Of all these conveyances, only the finas remains in the city, although noblemen are sometimes seen riding on horses or elephants

How did these people dress when going out? I have already described the dress that came to Lucknow from Delhi, but in course of time improvements were made and it became different. In this connection I mentioned that it was not considered wrong to discard kurta or shirt when sitting at home and that people simply wore a *gharqi*, a knee-length loin-cloth, when in their own houses. The Lucknow court was Shia and everything here was cast in the Shia mould From the point of view of Shia jurisprudence there is nothing objectionable in exposing part of the thighs. For the Hanifites, orthodox Sunnis, on the other hand, the entire body from the navel down to the knees must be covered. Therefore in Delhi it was the practice to wear a loin-cloth in the nature of a tahmat, which came below the knee

In Lucknow, although everyone realized that he must go out properly dressed, at home it was not considered wrong to entertain a friend in this state of semi-dress. However, it was very different when a gentleman went out. He then dressed in *chau goshia*, a four-cornered cap, fresh from the mould, an immaculately clean angarkha, which looked as though it had just come from the laundry and the hems and sleeves of which had just been crimped, wide linen or muslin pyjamas, a triangular scarf over the shoulders, a handkerchief and cane in hand, and Lucknow-made *khurd nau*, light, short-toed velvet shoes, on the feet.

Many people took such care when going out that their clothes always looked freshly laundered, although they may not actually have been washed for months The practice was to go out in the evenings and stroll through the fashionable area of the Chauk market, taking great care not to let anything touch the clothes, even shying at one's own shadow. At night on returning home the first thing that was done was to put the chau goshia on its mould and cover it with a cloth, then the angarkha, pyjamas and handkerchief were carefully folded with the scarf wrapped round them and put away. Then one put on the gharqi and some old shoes or slippers and got comfortable In this way expensive clothes, especially those made of shawl material, lasted four or five generations. Because of the care bestowed on them, they did not become dirty, torn or moth-eaten and always looked new. People used to attend weddings and celebrations so gorgeously dressed that those who knew their circumstances often wondered how they managed to look as they did.

Although noble and wealthy people, especially princes, religious leaders and hakims, used to go out in conveyances, it was not considered out of place, as it is nowadays, for persons of rank to go about on foot. All sorts of individuals used to walk the streets and rub shoulders with the most exalted nobles and men of distinction and no harm was seen in it.

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Pottery

I should like to conclude with a description of the arts and crafts that developed in Lucknow. Man has made earthenware pottery from the earliest times. Potsherds of antiquity have been dug up in all corners of the globe, demonstrating the skill of prehistoric man at making pottery by baking clay in kilns. Clay vessels from the period of the Pharaohs have been unearthed in Egypt, and clay eating- and drinking-vessels, together with well-baked bricks, have been discovered in Babylon and Nineveh. The mummies of Egyptian nobles of the time of the Pharaohs were encased in coffins made of clay, and for a long period the ancient world used earthenware tablets in place of paper for the purpose of writing

People of India also acquired this art in the remote past and it appears from the antique utensils that have come to light that the progress made in Lucknow was on a par with that of any other region In particular the carving of images laid the foundation for the sculpting of figures among Hindus, and later grew into an art In the course of time the potters became a caste whose family profession was to make and bake earthenware utensils and toys.

During the Mughal era there arose a new class of craftsmen, known as *kasgars*, who also worked in clay. They were Muslims and their main profession was to make utensils, but to improve their trade they made toys as well, even though the making of images is prohibited by Muslim religious law These kasgars came to Lucknow with the Delhi nobles Here their craft developed further and, in the course of time, the work of both the Hindu potters and the Muslim kasgars achieved the level of creative art

The clay of Lucknow is of the right quality for fine pottery, and this gave impetus to the craft, with the result that the utensils and toys made here are so fine, light and attractive that they cannot be rivalled In Amroha (U.P) too, the clay is very suitable and the craft is developing But it is different in style.

Among articles in everyday use, the *ghara*, water pitcher, and *badhni*, a vessel with a spout, are light and very delicately proportioned The gharas are perfectly rounded and the badhnis look just like copper lotas Earthenware dishes are especially attractive. However, as the custom of eating from this kind of plate has died out, potters are no longer interested in making them. Instead they have turned to making *abkhoras*, *jhajris*, huqqas and pots for serving rice-pudding, and in this show great skill

Abkhoras are vessels for drinking water. Although light and attractive glass, enamel and copper drinking vessels are frequently used these days water is not palatable in the hot weather unless earthenware vessels are used Only these

can keep the water cool and fresh Additionally the water acquires a most refreshing smell of clay in these vessels The smell of the clay is so fragrant that in Lucknow people even started to make perfume from it For this reason, the abkhora survived and was continually improved upon Such excellent abkhoras are made that they are even finer than glass They are decorated with designs and a coating of sand is applied to the outer surface to keep the water cool for a longer period. Special trays have been made on which to serve them. These drinking vessels have become so exquisite that one has to admit that the skill of these craftsmen is in no way inferior to the skill of those who work in metal and glass.

Among the receptacles for containing water are *surahis*, pitchers in the shape of vases. They date from ancient times and were used in Persia and Egypt. But in Lucknow the surahi became so well-shaped and the curvature of its spout so well-proportioned, that it cannot be equalled anywhere Then there is the *jhajri*, pitcher, which is much the same as the surahi, but in place of a long neck it has a broad rim at the top. Its workmanship is no less skilled than that of the surahi.

It is essential that the smoke of a huqqa should be cool and for this purpose thin clay huqqas were made here, which were also very light and well-designed. These Lucknow huqqas were such that they could not be copied elsewhere. Their smoke was so satisfying that during the monarchy some aristocrats would not smoke any other type of huqqa Azim Ullah improved them still further and designed the huqqa named after him, which remains the best earthenware huqqa to this day. I heard in London that the Poet Laureate, Lord Tennyson, liked to smoke clay pipes and always kept a basket filled with them handy He could only smoke one for a few minutes, then he would have to throw it away. He would sit in this way all day, filling, smoking and breaking up pipes. I feel that if Lord Tennyson had been lucky enough to have an Azim Ullah Khani huqqa from Lucknow, he would have forgotten all about clay pipes

Earthenware cooking pots and dishes to serve *khir*, rice-pudding, are made everywhere, but those in Lucknow are distinctive in quality in that they serve the same function as those made of copper. Dishes to serve khir on formal occasions are as delicate and pleasing as the surahis and abkhoras. Lately some people have started to keep their prepared betel leaf in them in the hot weather.

The potters display even greater skill in making toys and models. The art of carving images is as old as idol worship. Egyptians, Babylonians, Persians, Greeks and Romans, have all evinced great skill in this art, which can be seen even today in the museums of Europe. The Greeks in particular showed such skill in sculpting out of stone and giving the human body its correct proportions that they are still considered the masters in the art. But the uneducated potters of Lucknow display great skill in proportioning their models and figures and in making them very life-like. They can make an accurate model of someone by observation only, and their small figures, of differing types and descriptions, are a tribute to their skills. At the time of the Diwali festival, Hindus buy a great number of toys and the work of the potters is greatly in demand.

The various groups of figures that these potters have produced are worth seeing: British bands, troupes of courtesans and bhands, social gatherings of

navabs and nobles, assemblies of different groups of tradespeople. A local potter made a model of a complete Indian village, which was displayed in an exhibition, in which there were shops, houses and alleys, with all manner of people in them Bullocks and bullock carts were in the fields and there were peasants ploughing. Water was flowing into the fields and one could see tiny ripples and visualize the flow. This was not all· the bullocks drawing the ploughs were emaciated and their ribs were evident I have also seen a model of Lucknow in the days of the monarchy, complete with people, streets and bridges. It is most regrettable that such wonderful work can be seen only for a few days before disappearing from public view There is no place where they can be preserved In London there is a waxwork museum called 'Madame Tussaud's', in which life-size reproductions of famous persons are exhibited. Some of these waxworks are so life-like that it is impossible to distinguish them from a living person. If a museum were opened here for the local earthenware figures, I think it would be of value. It would give encouragement to the craft and would also be lucrative There could be an admission fee and probably foreign visitors would not leave without seeing the museum But the trouble is that no one has sufficient interest or enthusiasm, and we all look to the Government for such enterprises.[551] If some wealthy man, instead of pursuing a life of luxury, were to take an interest in the matter, he would do great service to his country and his efforts would be much appreciated by all. As things are, there are only a few museums in India which exhibit some of these works, in a small section. But their standard is so high that they deserve a museum for themselves in Lucknow.

Notes

Chapter 1 · *Faizabad and the Early History of Avadh*

1. The name of Avadh (Oudh), a Province from the end of the sixteenth century, was derived from the popular version of the ancient town of Ajodhya, which was the capital of the mythological kingdom of Raja Dasratha (5) in prehistoric times Sravasti, also of this region, and where Gautama Buddha spent many years, features in the Buddhist literature of the centuries immediately before the Christian era Later on in the fourth century AD it was part of the Gupta Empire, after which it seems to have become a wilderness which was deserted by the seventh century.

In the following century it is supposed that the Tharus tribe, from the foot of the Himalayan mountains, descended upon this area By the ninth century the whole area had become part of the Kingdom of Qanauj Two centuries later, in 1194, Qutub ud Din finally defeated the ruler of Qanauj and broke up the last great Hindu kingdom of this region Subsequently the Bhars who rose into importance in Bundelkhand spread into parts of Avadh, but were crushed in 1247 From 1394 until 1478 almost this whole region was part of the Sharqi Kingdom (429) whose capital was Jaunpur in U P The region then changed hands many times between different adversaries who were trying to establish themselves on the throne in Delhi. In 1555 the Mughal King Humayun emerged as the final victor and this area thus became part of the Mughal Empire. His successor, Akbar, created the Suba (Province) of Avadh as one of the units of his Empire, the Governor of which was called a Subedar (12), and the official name of the town of Ajodhya also became Avadh. (*Imperial Gazetteer* vol 1, pp 225–28)

At that time Avadh was 'bounded by the mountains [the Himalayas] in the north, Bihar in the east, Manikpur Sarkar [a Sarkar is equivalent to a present-day Division, an administrative unit of several districts] in the Allahabad Suba in the south and the Qanauj Sarkar in the west . . and divided into five *havelis*, districts. Avadh [Faizabad], Gorakhpur, Bahraich, Lucknow and Khairabad.' These boundaries seem to have remained unchanged until the reign of the Mughal Emperor Muhammad Shah, two centuries later (Srivastava [A], pp 31–32)

Emperor Muhammad Shah appointed Sadat Khan the Subedar of Avadh in 1722. This may be regarded as the foundation date of the dynasty of the Navabs of Avadh, which ruled until 1856. With the disintegration of the Mughal Empire the office of Subedar became hereditary and this Province, like most others, achieved de facto independence, with no formal break from the Mughal court of Delhi The first three rulers of Avadh, Sadat Khan, Safdar Jang and Shuja ud Daula, in addition to this office, held important offices in the Mughal court. Safdar Jang was Vazir (135) from 1748 until 1753 (Srivastava [A], p. 127) and Shuja ud Daula held the office of Vizarat in 1762 (Srivastava [B], p. 141).

Sadat Khan extended the boundaries of his Province considerably by leasing the Suba of Murtaza Khan in 1728. His eastern frontier then came to include the Sarkars

of Benares, Jaunpur, Ghazipur, Chunargarh, Azamgarh, Ballia and the eastern portion of Mirzapur. The western frontier came close to the city of Qanauj, after his capture of the fort of Chachendi from Hindu Singh in 1729. Later, in 1735, with Sadat Khan's appointment by the Mughal Emperor as Faujdar (military commander) of Kora Jahanabad in Allahabad Suba, this region also became part of his dominion (Srivastava [A], pp 44–49) His successor, Safdar Jang, annexed the territory of the Navab of Farrukhabad (Chapter 3) but could not retain it; thus the boundaries of his Province remained the same during his reign.

During the rule of Shuja ud Daula the territory of Avadh was diminished after he was obliged to give away certain areas of his dominion to the East India Company by the Treaty of Allahabad (Chapter 4). However, in 1773 he bought back some of these areas from the British. In 1774 he annexed, except for a small area, the entire territory of the Khans of Ruhelkhand (23) which formed his northern frontier and some territory near Farrukhabad from the Bangash Navab (Chapter 4) Thus his dominion lay from the districts of Allahabad, Benares, Ghazipur on the east to Fatehpur, Kanpur, Etawah and Mainpuri on the west. (Ahad Ali, p 16)

Shuja ud Daula's successors continued to lose parts of their Province to the British in exchange for various treaties. As soon as he came to power in 1775, Asaf ud Daula ceded Benares to the Company, and after him Sadat Ali Khan did likewise with half of his dominion. From then on the dynasty continued to rule under the protection of the British.

In 1856 Avadh was annexed into the British Raj and became a Chief Commissionership with a separate administration. In 1877 the two Provinces of Agra and Avadh (Oudh) were brought together under the Lieutenant Governor of the North-Western Provinces who was also the Chief Commissioner of Avadh. In 1902 the name was changed to the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh and the title of Chief Commissioner was abolished The unit had forty-eight Districts, thirty-six in Agra and twelve in Avadh, among which were Lucknow, Unao, Rae Bareilly, Sitapur, Hardoi, Faizabad (Fyzabad), Sultanpur, Partabgarh and Bara Banki (*Gazetteer* vol 1, pp 1–5, 100) The name was once again changed to United Provinces on 1 April 1937. The capital of the Province had already been shifted to Lucknow in 1936, when the remaining Governmental offices were transferred from Allahabad.

In August 1947 the Province became one of the States of the Republic of India, and on 24 January 1950 it was given the name of Uttar Pradesh, Northern Region, but retained its abbreviation of U.P. At present it has fifty-one Districts and ten Divisions. The area of Avadh is included in the Division of Lucknow, which includes the Districts of Lucknow, Unao, Rae Bareilly, Sitapur, Hardoi, Khari and the Division of Faizabad, which includes the Districts of Gonda, Bahraich, Sultanpur, Partabgarh and Bara Banki.

2. The reference is mainly to the Muslim Princely States of Hyderabad (42). Bhopal and Rampur (124) which were flourishing in India during the author's lifetime and lasted until 1947.

3. *Hindustan Men Mashriqi Tamaddun ka Akhri Namuna* (literally, 'The Last Example of Oriental Culture in India'), the original title under which the articles comprising the present work were first published between 1913 and the early 1920s, in the author's journal *Dil Gudaz*. See the Note on the Present Edition, page 25.

4. Sanskrit *rajya*: a kingdom, principality. Raja was originally the title of a Hindu king or prince in ancient India. Maharaja: Great Raja, Emperor. In later times these titles were bestowed by the Mughal Emperors and then by the British Government of India on Hindus of rank The Republic of India in 1947 abolished the creation of new Rajas and Maharajas, but recognized the existing ones for their lifetime.

5. In Hindu mythology Rama, Ramchandra, or simply Ram, was the eldest son of Raja Dasratha, who fought and destroyed the evil Ravana, with the help of his half-

brother Lakshman. He is regarded as the seventh incarnation of the God Vishnu His adventures are the theme of the Sanskrit epic *Ramayana* (*Ramayan*), attributed to Valmiki, the ancient Sanskrit poet The present popular version of the *Ramayan* as known in U P. is the work of Tulsi Das, who composed this poem in Avadh's local dialect, Avadhi, in the latter half of the sixteenth century The capital of Raja Dasratha's legendary kingdom was Ajodhya (Sanskrit, Ayodhya), situated on the banks of the River Ghagra, about three miles from the present town of Faizabad and an important place of pilgrimage for the Hindus. The worship of Rama holds its ground particularly in Avadh and Bihar where he has numerous worshippers A common form of salutation among Hindus is 'Ram-Ram'. The *Ramayana* along with the *Mahabharata* remain to this day the two sacred epics of India.

6. A dramatic presentation of the heroic deeds of Rama in his struggle against evil, usually performed by amateurs as a popular celebration in village squares or other open-air places

7 Persian *abad* populated, an ending for the name of a town, added to the name of the founder or an adjective. Thus Faizabad, The Settlement of Liberality, Daulatabad, Town of Wealth, Tarababad, Town of Entertainment

8. Arabic *Navab*, plural of *Naib*: Deputy, but used honorifically as a title Under the Mughal Government the title of Navab was prefixed to the name of a high official and the Viceroy or Governor of a Province At the time of the disintegration of the Mughal Empire, some of the Navabs became independent rulers, hence the word came to be a common title for a Muslim sovereign in India. The title was retained by the British Government of India, who would confer it upon a Muslim of high rank or a dignitary without any office being attached to it In 1947, the Republic of India abolished the creation of new Navabs, but recognized the existing ones for their lifetime. The Navabs of Avadh had the title prefixed to the names of all the members of the family including the women This practice continued among the Muslim aristocracy in Lucknow even after the demise of the ruling dynasty

9 Arabic *ul*, the, and *Mulk*, land or country Added to a noun or adjective and given as a title by the Mughal Emperors Burhan ul Mulk, Credit to the Country

10 Khan, Afghan and Pathan are common appellations of men coming from the warrior tribes of Afghanistan and the north-west frontier of the sub-continent Khan is used as a surname. Sometimes the name of the tribe is also added, as in Ahmad Khan Bangash, Ahmad the Khan from the Bangash tribe. This tribe was originally domiciled partly in the Kohat area and partly in the Khurram valley in the north-west region of the sub-continent.

11 Of Nishapur, a town in the north of Persia. Following the Muslim practice, some families in India appended to their names the name of the town or tribe from which their families originated Bilgrami, from the town of Bilgram in U.P.; Tabrizi, from the town of Tabriz, Shirazi, from Shiraz, in Persia, Dehlavi, from Delhi, Lakhnavi, from Lucknow Urdu poets as a rule added the place of their origin after their name.

12 Arabic *subah*, province, and Persian *dar*, holder. The title of the Governor of a Province under Mughal administration

13 Arabic *shaikh*, elder, head of a Muslim tribe or village, a scholar, and *zada*, born of Originally a designation of those Muslims who profess to be descended from the first or second Caliph or from the Prophet's uncle

14. *Tarikh-e-Farah Baksh*, 'The Delightful History', is in two parts· 'Memoirs of Delhi', Part I, and 'Memoirs of Faizabad', Part II The manuscript is in Persian, a copy of which (265 pages, dated 1832) is in the British Museum, London. Its preface is dated 1233 AH (1818 AD), Faizabad The work was translated from the author's original manuscript into English by William Hoey in 1887 in two volumes and printed by the Government Press, North-Western Province of Agra and Oudh, in 1888 and 1889. A copy of this translation is in the India Institute Library, Oxford

The author, Muhammad Faiz Baksh, came in his early boyhood from Kakori near Lucknow to Faizabad in 1768, the fifth year after the city's rise to fame He writes. 'I saw six years of the rule of Shuja ud Daula and remained after his death for twenty-seven years under Jawahar Ali Khan [Chapter 27]. After his death the office of Nazarat [Superintendent] was filled by Darab Ali Khan and during his time up to the present [1818] a space of some twenty years more, I have witnessed events all of which I have faithfully committed to writing Hereafter, if it pleases God to spare me, I shall record whatever comes to pass provided I be above fear of want and my faculties remain unimpaired '

15 Hindi *bangla*· a thatched house, a summer house made after the fashion of those made in Bengal The word would seem to have been adopted into English as 'bungalow'.

16. Persian *jang*. war Added to nouns or adjectives and bestowed by the Mughal kings as a title, implying brave and chivalrous Safdar Jang, Warlike Conqueror, Sher Jang, Martial Lion; Bahadur Jang, Brave in War, Salar Jang, Martial Commander

17 Turkish *Mughal*· Mongol-Turks. The Mughals originally came to India from Central Asia and Turkestan (Land of the Turks) They belonged to the Chaghtai tribe See also Introduction

18 Persian *divan*. a royal court, a minister, the title of the Finance Minister in the Mughal Empire. Later the word came to signify a high-level administrator in the court of an Indian ruler

19 Arabic *risala*, a troop of horses, cavalry, and Persian *dar*, holder The commander of a force of cavalry

20. Persian *khwaja-sara*. eunuch. The eunuchs had a special role in royal and wealthy households Being sexually impotent they had free access to the ladies' quarters and acted as the messengers between men's and ladies' apartments Usually they performed the duties of a male servant, but during the days of the later Mughal Emperors and early Avadh Navabs some eunuchs occupied a high position and rank in the Government administration

21. Arabic *ud*, the, and Persian *daula*, court A title of the Mughal Court, usually added to an adjective or noun. Shuja ud Daula, Brave of the Court; Muzaffar ud Daula, Victorious of the Court, Raushan ud Daula, Light of the Court

22 The joint army of the Mughal Emperor Shah Alam, Mir Qasim of Bengal and Shuja ud Daula was defeated at Baksar (Buxar) by Major Hector Munro on 16 August 1765. The Treaty of Allahabad was then signed, according to which Shuja ud Daula was given back his dominion on payment of a war indemnity of fifty lakhs (85) of rupees to the East India Company The areas now known as Kanpur, Fatehpur and Allahabad were however taken from him and given to Shah Alam who had now gone over to the British (Srivastava [C], pp 11–16) Before the treaty Shuja ud Daula with some help from the Ruhelas and Marathas faced the British for a second time in 1765 but was again defeated in Jajmau near Kanpur District (*Gazetteer* vol I, pp 228–30)

23. The name given to the region of Katehr by the Afghans who had come originally from the mountainous area of Afghanistan (in the Pashtu language *roh* or *rohu* means a mountain) In the early eighteenth century Ali Muhammad Ruhela was rewarded for his services to the Mughal Emperor by a grant of land and the title of Navab By 1748 he had finally established himself as a ruler and extended his dominion considerably It lay on the north-west frontier of Avadh in the regions now known as Bareilly Division, Rampur and some areas in Naini Tal District (*Gazetteer* vol. I, pp 244–46) Following Ali Muhammad's rule, there was a Confederacy of twelve Ruhela Chiefs, of which Hafiz Rahmat Khan was the head, with headquarters at Bareilly (Najmul Ghani, vol II, p. 38) The latter's son Muhammad Mustajab Khan wrote in 1792 the history of the Ruhelas up to the time of his father. The manuscript, *Gulistan-e-Rahmat*, is in the British Museum

24. The son of Muhammad Khan, the Navab of Farrukhabad in Ruhelkhand. At the

time of his death in 1743, Muhammad Khan held most of the present Districts of Farrukhabad, Mainpuri and Etah with parts of Aligarh, Etawah, Badaun, Shahjahanpur and Kanpur The entire dominion was annexed by Safdar Jang in 1749 but was recovered from him by Ahmad Khan in the following year (*Gazetteer* vol I, pp. 419–22)

25 Town founded in 1639 in the region of present-day Delhi by the Mughal Emperor Shahjahan (99) which became the capital of the Mughal Empire The city of Delhi is composed of at least eight different towns, Shahjahanabad being one of them

26 Hindi *tri*, three, and *pulya*, a foot-bridge The name of a small area in Ajodhya near the River Ghagra where there were three foot-bridges

27 Hindi *chauk* a square or open space inside a city, around which was situated a shopping centre The name still applies to the main market in small towns and villages

28 Mosques are sometimes known after those who had them constructed.

29. Hindi *ghat* quay, where sometimes Hindu temples are built and Hindu mendicants (68, 69) live in huts and pursue a life of meditation

30 Sanskrit *nila*, dark blue, and *gau*, a cow or a bull A large short-horned deer The males are of slate-blue colour and the females rusty red

31 Persian *bagh* a park or garden Parks and gardens are usually named by adding a noun or adjective before the word Bagh Anguri Bagh, Garden of Grapes, Moti Bagh, Pearl Garden, Lal Bagh, Red Garden, Aish Bagh, Park of Pleasure, Qaisai Bagh, Garden of Qaisar (216)

32 Persian *shah*, king, and *alam*, the world The title of the Mughal Emperor who ascended the throne in 1759, was blinded in 1788 and died in 1806 (22)

33 'Breech loader' was the name of the muskets used at this time, which were loaded from the back Perhaps because of his position in the army, the popular name for these muskets—*bareech*—was added to Navab Murtaza Khan's name

34 *Brahmanas* were originally the texts which dealt with instructions and correct procedures in making sacrifices in Aryan times Later the scholars of these texts came to be known as Brahmans and served the function of priests (Gokhale, pp 25, 188). They are the first of the Hindu castes, *Pandit* (Sanskrit, scholar) is an honorific title used before their names

35 An Arab tribe among the Shaikhs, descended from Abdulla bin Zubair; hence they are also known as Zubairis. In U P. they had settled in Bareilly and Etawah

36. A Hindu race, or member of it, originally from South India who later settled in the present region of Maharashtra (41)

37 Arabic *mir* a chief, headman, Saiyyid, used as a prefix to the name. A Saiyyid is a descendant of the Prophet through his daughter Fatima.

38. There were four grades of Bakhshis in the Mughal court, the highest being Mir Bakhshi, Paymaster General In Shuja ud Daula's court, however, there was only one office of the Bakhshi who served as the Paymaster General, hence Tahawar Jang the Bakhshi In later times the word has sometimes been added before or after the names of the descendants of those who held such offices

39 Hindi *singh*, lion A title borne as a suffix by men of royal or military caste of Rajput and Sikh soldiers Later borne by all Rajputs, Jats and Sikhs Raghu Nath and Prashad belonged to the Rajput caste of U P

40 Persian *vala*, eminent, dignitary, and Bansi, a town in the District of Bansi, U.P ; also a bamboo fence. Thus Saiyyid Ahmad either originated from the town of Bansi or was so called because of bamboo fencing that was probably extensively used around his house.

41. The Marathas (36) were a dominant power in eighteenth-century India, with Poona as their capital They attacked the territory of the Khans of Ruhelkhand in 1773 (Srivastava [C], p 215) Their leader Mahaji Sindhia attacked Delhi at the time of Shah Alam II, and the latter became his virtual puppet from 1789 until 1803, when the British deported them and replaced them as councillors of the Emperor. Their rule

came to an end in 1818 when Baji Rao II, the Peshwa, surrendered to the British. Peshwa was the title of the hereditary Chief Minister, who was the most powerful member of the Maratha Confederacy (Majumdar, pp. 698–709)

42 Originally, Nizam ul Mulk Mir Qamar ud Din was appointed Governor of the Deccan Suba (later Hyderabad) by the Mughal Emperor Farrukhsiyar in 1713 In 1724, when the Mughal Empire began to weaken, he established himself as independent ruler and assumed the title of Asaf Jah Nizam Ali was his third son who ruled from 1762 to 1803. There have been nine ruling Nizams in the dynasty (Majumdar, p 982). The Hyderabad State became part of the Indian Republic in 1948 and has since been added to the State of Andhra Pradesh Its last ruler, Mir Osman Ali Khan, died in 1966.

43. Zabita Khan was the ruler of the northern part of Ruhelkhand north of the present Divisions of Bareilly and Meerut, with Najibabad, Bijnor (U P) as his headquarters The house was founded in 1755 by his father Najib ud Daula Najib Khan who in 1757 rose to the position of Royal Bakhshi in the Mughal court He later became Vazir of the Empire, after which he established his own rule in this territory (*Gazetteer* vol I, pp. 244–48). In 1774 Zabita Khan yielded to Shuja ud Daula. (Srivastava [C], p 265)

44. Zulfiqar ud Daula, Najaf Khan administered Kora and Allahabad on behalf of the Mughal Emperor Shah Alam, after the Treaty of Allahabad (Srivastava [C], p. 11). In 1774 he conquered Agra from the Marathas on behalf of the Emperor and lived there as an important official of the court until his death in 1779 (*Gazetteer* vol. 1, p. 405)

45. Sabit Khan tribesmen who originally came from Afghanistan.

46 A Rajput caste settled in the Bundelkhand area, which used to be approximately south of U P Chandela: a tribe of Bhangis, sweepers, from Bundelkhand, known for their fighting qualities.

47 A Rajput caste of Meos who were converted to Islam from the area of Mewar (Panjab). (*Gazetteer* vol I, p. 223)

48 Colonel J. B. J. Gentil lived in Faizabad from 1763 to 1775 He arrived as a military man but later became French Resident. He saw himself 'uniquement occupe de la politique, du gouvernement et de la littérature' and completed in Faizabad his *Abrégé historique des Souverains de l'Indoustan ou Empire Mogol* (1772–75), *Divinités des Indoustan* (1774), *Histoire des Pièces de Monnoyes qui ont été Frappées dans L'Indoustan* (1773) and *Histoire des Rajah de l'Indoustan depuis Barh jusqu'a Petaun ah* (1774). His *Mémoires sur l'Indoustan ou Empire Mogol* was published in Paris in 1822. In addition to these literary activities, he was also a collector of objets d'art Most of his collection, including the above manuscripts and albums of miniatures, is in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. Two portraits of Shuja ud Daula, one by T Kettle and another, a copy of Kettle's portrait of Shuja ud Daula with his ten sons, by Nevasi Lal, were presented by Gentil to the King of France in 1778 The first is in the Palace of Versailles and the second in the Musée Guimet, Paris (Archer, pp 53, 118)

Colonel Polier was a Swiss French, employed by Shuja ud Daula from 1774 until 1775, when the ruler was required by the British to dispense with his services However, he was allowed by Governor General Hastings to stay in Lucknow in order to complete his research on Indian literature and write his memoirs. He was also a collector of paintings and manuscripts After his murder in Avignon in 1794 his collection was dispersed, and parts of it were obtained by the British Museum, the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, and the Bibliothèque Cantonale, Lausanne. The part of his collection acquired by E Pote in 1788 in India was given to King's College, Cambridge and Eton (Archer, pp 53, 118)

Claude Martin (137) was also present in Faizabad at this time (Archer, p. 54)

49. Arabic *munshi*· a clerk, secretary, a regular post in élite households. During the British Raj Europeans used this term to denote a teacher of Arabic, Persian and Urdu. Munshi ul Sultan Private Secretary to the King, Chief Clerk.

50 Sanskrit *nagar*. a city, town; also used to denote a quarter. Mumtaz Nagar, Distinguished Quarter, Ram Nagar, Ram District

51. A cold, sweet drink with wheat-paste as a base

52 Arabic *hakim* a practitioner of the Yunani, Greek, medicinal system in India. (Chapter 14)

53. The principal denomination of Indian currency. It was introduced as a silver coin in the first instance by Sher Shah (1540–45) and has survived to this day with changes in its silver content. (236)

54. In particular, Madrasas, Muslim religious seminaries where religious and philosophic instruction was given and which were usually located in or around mosques Students joining these seminaries were looked after and provided with food and clothing by the believers, through the teacher. The students in return performed certain religious duties for the spiritual benefit of the community In all fields of activity, they showed complete obedience to their teacher, whose authority was never questioned.

55 Sharar here means courtesans (Chapters 25, 40, 42)

56 Arabic *hafiz*· guardian, protector, used as a prefix to the name of one who knows the Quran by heart, that is, guards it in his heart. According to believers, this is the surest way of preserving the words of God

57 The Marathas (41) were at this time encamped at Ramghat and ravaged the northern portion of Ruhelkhand.

58 Persian *do*, two, and *ab*, water: the waters of the two rivers in U.P., the Ganges and the Jamna The Doab refers to the land lying between these two rivers

59 In 1773 another agreement was made between Shuja ud Daula and Warren Hastings in Benares according to which the Allahabad territory was returned to Shuja ud Daula on payment of five million rupees He also agreed to pay two and a half million rupees a year, besides the cost of a brigade of British troops to be stationed in his territory A permanent British Resident was also appointed at his court for the first time This marked the beginning of the East India Company's control over Avadh (*Gazetteer* vol. I, pp. 228–30) Shuja ud Daula obtained special permission from the British to use their troops in this campaign At the time Shuja ud Daula's revenues came to twenty-seven million rupees from which he paid eight million three hundred thousand rupees to the British. (Ahad Ali, p 16)

60 Arabic *Ramadhan* the ninth month of the Muslim calendar, during which the faithful are required to observe a fast every day from dawn to dusk, a principal obligation for the followers of Islam.

61 Hindi *bahu*, daughter-in-law, and Turkish *begam* (begum), lady of the house, the lady daughter-in-law Bahu Begam was the title by which she was generally known though her given name was Ummat-uz-Zahra She died in 1815 at the age of eighty-six. Begam came to be used as a title of a king's (and later high dignitary's) wife or wives, and subsequently was used simply as the ending of female names in élite Muslim households in India, mainly in Avadh. Begams were addressed as 'Begam Sahiba'. The term is now used both in Lucknow and elsewhere to signify a Muslim noblewoman and is added to the name of the husband· Begam Agha Khan, Lady Agha Khan.

Chapter 2. *The Origins and Early History of Lucknow*

62. Families of repute usually kept a record of lineage and important events connected with family life. Sometimes these records also provide information about social and political affairs

63. Sanskrit *pur*: fortified town. A common ending for the name of a town.

64. Sanskrit *Shesha Naga*. in Hindu mythology, the king of the serpent race, a

serpent with a thousand heads forming the couch of the God Vishnu when he sleeps during the intervals of creation

65. During worship Hindus sprinkle drops of water at the deity and make an offering of flowers by placing them at its feet

66. Sanskrit *Yudhishthira* the son of Dharma, the God of Justice in Hindu mythology. He was the nephew of Raja Dasratha who appointed him his heir to part of his kingdom of Hastina Pura in preference to his own son

67 Hindi *ji* life, soul, self. Also used to mean 'Sir' and added to the name as a form of respect.

68 Sanskrit *rishi* a savant, religious author and teacher In common usage the term is applied to a Hindu ascetic of superior holiness, whose entire life is devoted to the study, writing and teaching of religion and the practice of Yoga

69 Sanskrit *muni*. a Hindu holy man, an inspired sage, who has attained a more or less divine nature through self-mortification and withdrawal from the world

70 Persian *salar* commander Masud, a religious saint, was also a general in the army of Mahmud of Ghazni. He attacked Bahraich in U P. in 1033 and made many converts to Islam, thus acquiring from the believers the title of Ghazi, Conqueror in the Name of Islam His tomb in Bahraich was built in the thirteenth century and is still an important Muslim shrine (*Gazetteer* vol I, pp. 21, 233)

71 A general in the army of the Delhi King Qutub ud Din Aibak (died 1210). He attacked Hansi and Meerut in U P (Ali Azhar, p. 75)

72. A Hindu caste or a member of it, born of a Kshatriya (warrior caste) father, and Vaisya (trader caste) mother Their occupation has traditionally been that of clerk or accountant

73 The son of the second Mughal Emperor Humayun. He reigned from 1556 to 1605 and firmly established the Mughal Empire. An enlightened ruler who was a patron of scholars and artists

74 Persian *shah*: king The title is sometimes also used as a prefix or suffix to the names of ascetic and inspired Muslim religious leaders Shah Pir Muhammad was popularly known as Shah Mina

75 On Thursday evenings, the eve of the Muslim sabbath, some Sunni and all Sufis (207) go to the tombs of religious leaders and saints. Here they recite a prayer and sing *qavvali* (417), hymns and songs of a religious nature This practice has continued to the present time at Shah Mina's tomb

76. The Mughal Emperor who ruled from 1658 to 1707, well known for his religious fervour

77 Arabic *mahal*· palace. Nadan Mahal Palace of the Ignorant Firangi Mahal: European Palace. Moti Mahal Pearl Palace

78. Persian *mahi*, fish, and Arabic *maratib*, dignity, honour. The Honour of the Fish. A title conferred by the Mughal Kings as a mark of distinction on individuals of the highest order. The ceremony consisted of the presentation of a fish, or part of one, of metal gilt, borne upon a pole with two circular gilt balls similarly elevated

79. Hindi *machchi*, fish, and *bhavan*, palace Palace of the Fishes. It was destroyed by the British at the time of the Mutiny. Earlier during the Mutiny the British made this their fortress but abandoned it a few days later in favour of the Residency (84) As they could not transfer overnight the ammunition they had stored there, the palace was blown up and razed to the ground (*The Lucknow Album*, p 48)

80. Sanskrit *Abhir*: a caste of Hindus or its members who were originally cultivators and followed the occupation of a cowherd

81. A town in the present District of Bareilly in U P.

82. Hindi *gol*, round, and Persian *darvaza*, door, gate A huge gate, so called because of the arched ceiling under the roof. The Gol Darvaza is still in existence.

83. A town in Bara Banki District, U.P.

84. The residence of the Envoy of the East India Company to the Court of Avadh, officially described as Vakil, literally a lawyer but actually an envoy The British envoy was known as the Resident, for whom this house was constructed by Sadat Ali Khan (Ahad Ali, p 27) During the Mutiny of 1857 the entire British population in the area took refuge in it and it was attacked by the mutineers The ruins of this building are still in existence

85 Sanskrit *laksha* one hundred thousand

86 A subcaste of the Qanauj Brahmans Traditionally, offerings made to religious leaders are used for religious purposes

87 Caste whose members were engaged in manual work

88 Caste whose members were formerly nomadic freebooters but who later settled down to agriculture

89 Hindi *banjara* a trader A caste of traders who travelled over the countryside.

90 Hindi *tola* a quarter, district, or part of a town inhabited by people of the same caste or occupation Bajpai Tola Quarter of the Bajpais.

91 Arabic *mir*, chief, king, and Persian *zadah*, born of a prince Originally a prefix to the names of princes, as in Mirza Salim Later the term came to signify a Mughal Turk of high rank, or noble birth, as in Mirza Fazil, and subsequently became a common prefix to the names of Mughal Turks.

92 The son of Akbar who ruled under the title of Jahangir from 1605 to 1627. He is remembered for his patronage of the fine arts.

93. Arabic *qazi* one who fulfils, title of a district judge or magistrate under the Mughal administration Mahmud, the Qazi, from Bilgram (Hardoi District, U P.) Later used as prefix to the name of the male descendants of those who had held this office

94 Persian *ganj* a store, treasure Hindi, a food market, a populated place Shah Ganj, Shah Market, Hazrat Ganj, Market of His Highness; Alam Ganj, World-wide Market.

95 Arabic *mulla, maulvi* or *maulana* a Muslim doctor of law, a man learned in religion These titles are also prefixed to the name of a religious leader or a person in charge of a mosque

96 Mulla Nizam ud Din Sehalvi was a renowned Muslim scholar and religious leader from Sehali (hence Sehalvi) in Bara Banki District in U P He was the founder of the house of Firangi Mahal scholars, which in succeeding generations produced many important religious scholars, popularly known as the Firangi Mahal school The tradition still flourishes in the family, though many members now follow secular professions The original houses in the enclosure survive to this day and are occupied by members of this family

97 Arabic *silsila* a chain, a series. *Nizamia* of Nizam. This curriculum has been formalized and used by the Madrasa Nizamia, a school opened by Maulana Abdul Bari of this family in 1923 (351) The institution survives to this day on a modest scale, but since the late forties has emphasized secular rather than religious instruction.

98 The reference is to the many Islamic religious seminaries, *madrasas*, in Afghanistan, Persia, Turkey and Central Asia

99. Jahangir's son, who ascended to the throne in 1628 and was deposed in 1658. He founded Shahjahanabad (25) and is well known for his architecture He built the Taj Mahal in Agra, and the Red Fort and Jumma Mosque in Delhi

100. Persian *nau*, new, and Hindi *basti*, settlement. New Settlement

101. Hindi *garh*: a small fort. Now refers to the area in which the fort is situated The quarter around the Pir Khan Fort

102 Muhammad Shah ruled from 1719 to 1748. He was called 'Rangeley', colourful, because of his voluptuous nature.

103. Arabic *khilat*: a robe of honour, bestowed as a mark of distinction by kings upon

dignitaries. At times accompanied by jewels, arms, a horse or an elephant, the *khilat* was usually considered an insignia of office

104. Hindi *katra*: a market-place Rani Katra market-place founded by Rani. Saiyyid Husain Katra market-place founded by Saiyyid Husain Later the word came to be applied to residential quarters which grew up around the market, as in Katra Bizan Beg. the quarter founded by Bizan Beg

Chapter 3. *Burhan ul Mulk, Safdar Jang and the Foundation of the Avadh Dynasty*

105. Mughal Emperor who ruled from 1707 until 1712.

106. Arabic *imam*. spiritual and religious chief. The Shia sect of the Muslims believes in a succession of twelve Imams from the family of Ali, Muhammad's cousin and son-in-law, who is himself regarded as the first Imam, followed by his two sons Hasan and Husain Musa Kazim is the seventh in this line. The last of the twelve Imams is supposed to be alive and will remain so until the Day of Judgement; he is called the Present Imam.

107. Akbarabad (7) was founded by Akbar (73) about 1566 as his capital It was situated on the right bank of the River Jamna, to the left was Agra The present town of Agra includes both these towns.

108 The two Saiyyid brothers from Baraha in Muzaffarnagar (U.P.), Abdullah and Husain Ali, were regarded at this time (c. 1707) as the 'king-makers'. Within a short period of time they had put several Mughal Emperors on the throne, only to depose each in turn (Majumdar, p 529). Muhammad Amin was among those who had conspired to murder Husain Ali and played a leading part in calming the resultant situation (Srivastava [A], pp 12–21)

109. The levy imposed by the Marathas (41) on such dominions as had come under their influence but retained their independence by paying them one quarter of the Government revenue (Majumdar, p. 519)

110 The battle took place in 1737 near Agra Burhan ul Mulk then offered to expel the Marathas from the whole of north India, but his opponents at the imperial court advised the Emperor to the contrary as they thought that Burhan ul Mulk would thus become too powerful. (Srivastava [A], pp. 54–58)

111. Persian *naubat*, drum, and *khana*, house. It was the custom in the Imperial household to have a guard-house near the main entrance where drums were beaten on special occasions and to announce the time of day and night. (Chapter 27)

112. Nadir Shah was a Persian adventurer who became the King of Persia in 1732. He entered Delhi in 1739, where the Mughal Emperor was at his mercy, and he carried away with him all the crown jewels and immense wealth estimated at about twenty *karor* of rupees, including the Koh-i-Nur diamond and the Peacock Throne of Shahjahan with 27,000 gems set in it (Majumdar, pp 531–34) The Koh-i-Nur diamond later found its way back to India and eventually to Queen Victoria, and is at present among the crown jewels of the English monarchy The Peacock Throne is in the possession of the present Shah of Iran and was used for his coronation in 1967.

113 Sher Jang was the son of Burhan ul Mulk's brother Safdar Jang was his sister's son.

114 Burhan ul Mulk's *vakil* (84) and representative to the Mughal Court (Srivastava [A], p. 81)

115 Burhan ul Mulk left behind him five daughters, but had no male heir to succeed him in office (Srivastava [A], p. 83) Under Mughal administration the assets and property of nobles theoretically became Crown property at their death, but in practice part was restored to the heirs as a favour from the Emperor, and sons were often granted an official position (Moreland and Chatterjee, p. 211)

116 Hindi *karor*. ten million, equalling one hundred *lakhs* (85)

117. Under Mughal administration, the title of a Chief of Police, who also acted as a city magistrate and additionally had many duties of a civil administrator. The post was continued under the Avadh administration (Srivastava [C], p 319)

118 In common belief green was the colour of the banner of Ali which was carried with him in battle

119 Persian *gulab*, rose, and Hindi *bari*, enclosure A garden in which a high pavilion was built by Shuja ud Daula. He and his wife, Bahu Begam, were later buried in it It is still in existence and is popularly known as the Tomb of Bahu Begam

120 Shuja ud Daula spent three lakhs of rupees on this construction (Srivastava [A], p 250). This tomb is still in Delhi, although in a state of decay.

Chapter 4. *Shuja ud Daula and Asaf ud Daula*

121 Ahmad Shah belonged to an Afghan tribe called Abdali. On succession to the throne he assumed the title of Durr-i-Dauran, Pearl of the Age, after which his clan came to be known as Durrani. (Majumdar, p 534)

122 Ahmad Shah Durrani succeeded Nadir Shah in 1747 and invaded India five times between 1748 and 1759, finally leaving the country in 1762 (Majumdar, pp. 534–36)

123 As soon as Asaf ud Daula came to power, he was required to sign a new agreement with the British. Under its terms he ceded to the East India Company the areas of Benares, Jaunpur and Ghazipur, the income from which was twenty-three lakhs of rupees, and the cost of keeping the British brigade in his dominion was raised from two lakhs and ten thousand rupees to two lakhs and sixty thousand rupees He was also required to pay the costs of an additional army, which came to twelve lakhs of rupees, and to pay the salary of the British Resident to his Court, along with that of an additional agent, which came to two lakhs and twenty thousand rupees The latter post was soon abolished by the Company. By 1779 his payments to the Company were one karor of rupees In return, the British promised to look after his territory in case of invasion (Ahad Ali, pp 17–18)

124. When Asaf ud Daula came to power, his half-brother Sadat Ali Khan was the Governor of most of Ruhelkhand, having been so appointed by Shuja ud Daula At Asaf ud Daula's request he was removed from this position under threat by the British army and the area was added to his dominion (Ali Azhar, p 168). However, this did not affect the part of Ruhelkhand which was still in the hands of the Pathans and which ever since Shuja ud Daula's occupation (Chapter 2) had remained in the hands of a Ruhela Chief, Faizullah Khan, who, under British guarantee, was allowed to retain his estate in the Rampur area, under the control of Avadh (Najmul Ghani, vol II, pp 262–65) The State of Rampur, consisting of six towns and 1,120 villages (*Gazetteer* vol I, p 486), survived until 1947, when princely States all over India merged with the new Republic. There have been seven ruling Navabs of this house; the last Navab, Muhammad Raza Ali Khan, died in 1967

125 After receiving two payments from his mother, Asaf ud Daula signed an agreement with her in 1775 renouncing any further claims on her property (Najmul Ghani, vol. II, pp 187–88). However, in 1782 he asked for the help of British troops in seizing the personal treasuries of his mother and grandmother (Safdar Jang's wife). They succeeded in obtaining for him one karor and twenty lakhs of rupees (Najmul Ghani, vol. II, pp. 225–28). Warren Hastings's responsibility in this affair by lending the British troops featured as one of the major counts against him in his trial by the British House of Commons between 1788 and 1795, in which he was acquitted.

126 The second and last ruler of Mysore, 1783–99.

127 Persian *daulat*, wealth, and *khana*, house The Exquisite House The expression is currently used for the residence of an élite person Sultan Khana House of the King

128 Persian *darvaza*, gate, and *Rumi*, Asia Minor and Turkey The Gate of Asia Minor. The Rumi Darvaza is a huge gate about fifty yards high, said to be modelled after a gate of Constantinople (*Gazetteer* vol II, p 309) It exists to this day.

129 Arabic *imam*, spiritual and religious chief (106), and Hindi *bara*, a house, an enclosure. The House of the Imams The premises where *tazias*, or paper models of Imam Husain's mausoleum situated in Kerbala, Iraq, are kept throughout the year. This building is used only for mourning assemblies known as *majlis*, to commemorate the deaths of Ali, Hasan and Husain and the members of this family On the 10th of Muharram (first month of the Muslim year), when Husain and his family were killed, these models are taken to the local Kerbala of the town and buried there This is known as the Muharram or Tazia Procession The main period of mourning is from the 1st to 10th of Muharram, which is called the Observance of Muharram Well-to-do Shias around Lucknow try to build an Imam Bara of their own The poor reserve a section of their house, ranging from a shelf to a hall for these purposes, and call it an Imam Bara

130 Asaf ud Daula insisted that this architecture should be original in conception and not a copy of any Mughal building (*The Lucknow Album*, p. 50) He spent ten lakhs of rupees on chandeliers and other glassware to decorate the Imam Bara (Ahad Ali, p 71)

131 To build a roof of this size, flat on the top surface and slightly arched within, without the help of a single iron or wooden beam, is an architectural achievement It was done by using the bricks in a special way, *kara dena*, that is, breaking them in different sizes at different angles and joining them together at these points to interlock them Concrete is then used as a covering The Imam Bara is covered with concrete several feet thick

132 Arabic *mujtahid* one who shows the right path, a religious leader or doctor of law The title of the leading Shia priest He is addressed as *Qibla-o-Kaba*, the one who shows the way to Kaba, 'Your Holiness'.

133 The building is now (1975) one hundred and ninety-one years old, but these remarks are still applicable.

134 Arabic *nakhas*, horse or slave market, originally a cattle market around which a residential quarter later developed.

135 Arabic *wazara*· to bear a burden *Vazir* has been the traditional title of the 'Councillor of State' or chief administrator of a Muslim ruler at various times and in various countries. He appears to have been a ruler's companion too Under the Mughals, from the time of Akbar, administration at the highest level was divided into four sections General business was brought before the Emperor by the *Vazir ul Mumalik*, the rough equivalent of a present-day Chief Minister; revenue affairs were in the charge of the *Vazir-e-Maliat*, the head of the military administration was the *Bakhshi*, the Paymaster (38), the *Subedars*, Governors of the Provinces (12), received direct orders from the Emperor The Navabs of Avadh followed the same administrative system

136 Arabic *mahalla*: population. The section of town inhabited by people of the same caste or profession Rastogi Mahalla: Quarter of the Rastogis. Kashmiri Mahalla· Quarter of the People from Kashmir.

137. Claude Martin joined the army of the East India Company as a common soldier at the end of the seventeenth century. He rose to be a General in the army of the Navab of Avadh where his services were later transferred (Ghani Najmul, vol. III, p 206) About 1774 he served as military and political adviser to Shuja ud Daula in Faizabad, where he lived in grand style with four concubines and a large staff of eunuchs and servants. He was a collector of miniatures and other works of art and employed local

artists to execute works for him Some water-colours of plants made for him are now at Kew Gardens, London He had a large library of four thousand books including some in Persian and Sanskrit (Archer, p 54) These belongings were auctioned among the British after his death in Lucknow, where he had moved with the shift of the capital

He had amassed a large fortune by trade and by winning bets on cock-fights with Sadat Ali Khan and left properties worth three lakhs of rupees to be spent equally for founding three schools for orphan children in his home town, Lyons, in Calcutta and in Lucknow. He had willed that all three schools were to be called 'La Martinière' These schools were opened accordingly after his death The Lucknow school opened in 1833 (Najmul Ghani, vol III, p 206) His magnificent house Constantia, named after his deceased lady-love in France, was willed to be a hostel, or caravanserai; thus it became a hostel for Europeans in and around Lucknow (Ahad Ali, pp 71, 73) Some time later his school was transferred to these premises where it exists to this day as an expensive place of learning on the model of an English public school Students no longer receive financial assistance from this institution When this school opened its admission was restricted to European and Eurasian children only, but the situation has changed and since the beginning of the century, soon after Sharar wrote this essay, Indian children were also admitted to this school

138 Arabic *sahib*: friend, master, sir Added to the name or title as a sign of respect *Sahiba* is the form for ladies *Markin* is a popular version of Martin, hence Markin Sahib

139. Hindi *kothi*. originally a mansion of the élite, now a European-style house

140 Persian *darbar*· a court, the court of a king or chief, held on important political and religious occasions and to announce proclamations. Holding court has a long tradition among Indian rulers and chiefs

141. The East India Company's Resident in Benares State at the time

142. Other sources state that Wazir Ali was imprisoned and died in Fort William (Calcutta) (Majumdar, p 720)

143. While thirty lakhs of rupees were spent on his wedding, his funeral expenses came to a modest figure of about seventy rupees (Ahad Ali, pp 23) This remark has been repeated in Lucknow over successive generations to exemplify the changes of fortune in a man's life Wazir Ali was probably the legitimate son of Asaf ud Daula but he was unacceptable to the Resident as his successor because of his anti-British leanings (Irwin, p. 102)

Chapter 5. *Sadat Ali Khan and Ghazi ud Din Haidar*

144 Before coming to power in 1798 Sadat Ali Khan entered into an agreement with the British Governor General to increase the payments from fifty-six lakhs to seventy-six lakhs of rupees (Ahad Ali, p 24) In 1801 another agreement abolished these payments and in their place he was required to cede the following areas. Kora, Kara, Etawah, Kanpur, Farrukhabad, Kheragarh, Gorakhpur, Batul, Allahabad, Ruhelkhand, Navabganj, Khali and Mahal, the revenue of which was one karor and thirty-five lakhs of rupees His own revenue, after this, amounted to about one karor per annum. (Najmul Ghani, vol. III, pp 3, 22–28)

145 In order to plead for this transfer Sadat Ali Khan sent an envoy to the Board of Directors of the East India Company in London They demanded a payment of eighteen karor of rupees before the hearing and for this purpose the Navab had saved up to seventeen karor when he died.

146. Sadat Ali Khan died in 1814 at the age of sixty-three (Najmul Ghani, vol. III, p. 58). It is possible that the British Resident Sir John Baillie (1807–14), who had a

series of disagreements with the Navab because of Baillie's interference in the internal administration of Avadh, was involved in the plot to poison him Sadat Ali Khan had made a request to the Governor General for the transfer of Baillie but this was not granted. (Kamul ud Din Haidar, vol. I, p 199)

147 A Persian hemistich. In Persian and Urdu prose it used to be common for a couplet or hemistich to be included in the text This is no longer so today

148 After the agreement of 1798 and before the second treaty of 1801, Sadat Ali Khan was required to reduce his own army while the British army in his dominion was increased to twelve thousand soldiers at his expense He resisted this at first, but yielded when the British troops moved to encircle Avadh. (Ahad Ali, p 25)

149. Farhat Baksh was a vast complex of buildings only part of which, near the river, was built by General Martin It remained the chief royal residence until Wajid Ali Shah built Qaisar Bagh Soon after the British occupation the remaining part of Farhat Baksh, near the river, was joined to the Chattar Manzil, built by Ghazi ud Din Haidar (*Gazetteer* vol II, p. 310). The area was the scene of bitter fighting during 1857 and the complex was almost destroyed (Kamul ud Din Haidar, vol II, p 267) Chattar Manzil became a British club during the period of the Raj; since 1947 it has been the seat of the Central Drug Research Institute.

150. Hindi *barah*, twelve, and Persian *dar*, door, portal, archway A building of twelve archways used as a reception hall Hindi *lal*, red The building was so called because of the coloured stone or the thick red plaster of which it was built This part of the massive Farhat Baksh complex known as Qasr-ul-Khaqan, King's Palace, served as throne-room, coronation hall and hall of assembly for Avadh rulers from the time of Sadat Ali Khan (*The Lucknow Album*, p 32) This building and the adjoining Gulistan-e-Iram now house the Provincial Museum (*Gazetteer* vol. II, p 310). Sadat Ali Khan also built a canal between Farhat Baksh and Lal Barah Dari, which no longer exists (Ahad Ali, p 32)

151. The Dil Kusha became the residence of the British General of the Commanding Division in 1857. Subsequently, as a result of damage during the Mutiny, it was reduced to ruins, so that at present only part of the massive walls and staircases remain (*The Lucknow Album*, p 10) The modest premises in this compound now house a club for the local élite

152. The Commissioner in Lucknow who succeeded to the British Civil Command in July 1857. He was shot by the mutineers on 20 July (*Gazetteer* vol II, p. 304)

153. In the British administration, Deputy Commissioner was the title of a civil administrator in charge of a District, who also exercised some judicial functions The Commissioner above him was in charge of an administrative unit of several Districts called a Division The Deputy Commissioner of some important towns, less than half a dozen in the whole of India, was called a Chief Commissioner This post was created in Lucknow in the early days of British supremacy but merged with that of Lucknow Division soon after 1857 These posts have been retained under the present Indian administration.

154 Arabic *manzil*. destination, lodging, a storey of a house, a house The word is generally used as an ending for the name of an impressive residence· Khurshid Manzil, The Sun House; Mubarak Manzil, The Welcome Residence, Shah Manzil, King's Residence; Asad Manzil, The House of the Lion.

155 A Hindu sub-caste of Vaisya Traders, in Lucknow they are also known as Mahajan, and their profession is to lend money

156. After annexation, the Moti Mahal (77) came into the possession of the British and was used at first as a commissariat Later it was sold to the Maharaja of Bulrampur, who made alterations to the buildings and the 'Pearl Dome', which was a unique architectural achievement, disappeared (*The Lucknow Album*, p. 19) About 1950 the Maharaja's successors sold the palaces.

157. Sadat Ali Khan had told the British Governor General that he would like to abdicate in favour of his son and go to live in Mecca or Kerbala—provided he were allowed to take his treasury with him. As this condition was not agreed upon he did not pursue the matter. (Najmul Ghani, vol III, p 39)

158 Arabic *murshid*· religious preceptor. Persian *zadi* female, born of. The daughter of a religious leader.

159. Ghazi ud Din Haidar had in fact received between seventeen and eighteen karor (Ahad Ali, p 29)

160 Both of these houses (154) have since been destroyed Ghazi ud Din Haidar also built two palaces called Chattar Manzil for his wives. *Chattar*. umbrella, dome (*Gazetteer* vol II, p 303) They were referred to as the 'large' and the 'small' palaces One of them was destroyed during the Mutiny; the surviving building was added to what remained of Farhat Baksh (149)

161. A contemporary of Sharar and like him a scholar of Islamic theology and history, and the Arabic, Persian and Urdu languages.

162 Arabic *qadam* footprint, and *Rasul*. Messenger (of God) An impression on a black stone of the supposed footprint of Muhammad, and according to popular belief brought from Mecca by some distinguished pilgrim Hence a Muslim shrine The building was heavily damaged in the 1857 war and has since fallen into decay. However, a stone bearing a footprint believed to be a copy of the original is still standing on a high pedestal near the Sikandar Bagh

163 The British Governor General had suggested to Ghazi ud Din Haidar that he could declare himself King if he wanted to This he did on 9 October 1819 by issuing new coins in his name and removing the name of the nominal Mughal ruler Shah Alam, and by spending one karor of rupees on the crown, throne and other regalia (Ahad Ali, pp. 28–30)

164 Ghazi ud Din Haidar had given loans to the East India Company on the following occasions. in 1814, the sum of one karor, eight lakhs and fifty thousand rupees at six per cent interest per annum. In 1816, one karor at six per cent per annum interest, which was cancelled when he was given the areas of Khera Garh and the land lying between Ghagra and Gorakhpur In 1825, one karor (the provision for the maintenance of Shah Najaf was made from the interest on this loan). Lastly, in 1826, half a karor at five per cent per annum interest for a period of two years In 1827 the Navab wanted to convert this last sum also into a perpetual loan, but the Company did not agree (Najmul Ghani, vol III, pp. 77, 78, 118, 120)

165. The Safavi Dynasty ruled from 1500 to 1736 and declared the Shia faith the State religion in Persia.

166. Arabic *shia* follower The followers of Ali who believe him to be the rightful successor of Muhammad. Those who follow the Twelve Imams are also known as Asna Ashari (106)

167. The Sunnis recognize the four Caliphs as the successors of Muhammad; Abu Bakar, Omar and Usman were the first three, while Ali was the fourth. (Chapter 10)

168. Also known as the Mujtahid family, the family of Shia priests descended from the family of Maulvi Dildar Ali Guframab who was prominent during the reign of Asaf ud Daula (Najmul Ghani, vol II, p 230) His descendants have continued the tradition up to the present and among other things lead Friday prayers at Asaf ud Daula's mosque.

169 Hindi *chhati*: sixth. A Hindu celebration on the sixth day after the birth of a child (Chapters 44, 45) For a further account of this queen see Maulvi Muhammad Faiq, *Waqa-e-Dilpazir*, written in 1849 at the request of J D. Shakespeare, second secretary to Col. J. Lowe in Lucknow. The manuscript is in the British Museum.

170. Hindi *janam*, birth, and *ashtmi*, eighth. A festival held on the anniversary of the god Krishna's birthday.

171. Najaf in Iraq is the presumed burial place of Ali (106) where his mausoleum is to be found, hence The Tomb of Ali Like Kerbala it is an important place of pilgrimage for Shias

172. The British Government had undertaken to distribute the interest of the perpetual loans (164) and later some others for the upkeep of the respective Imam Baras of Asaf ud Daula, Shah Najaf and Husainabad. This was known as *vasiqa* (394), an endowment arrangement After the commencement of British rule in Avadh in 1886, *vasiqa* legislation was passed in the Governor General's council to regularize the arrangements (*Gazetteer* vol I, p 102) As a result a trust with a board of trustees, which continues to this day, was instituted to manage the funds. The chairman was the Commissioner of Lucknow Division, while the members were Shias descended from the royal family At the end of the British Raj in 1947 these obligations, as well as certain others, were transferred to the Republic of India and the *vasiqas* continue to the present time (394)

Chapter 6: *Nasir ud Din Haidar and Muhammad Ali Shah*

173 Passages from the Quran are read by Muslims and dedicated to the souls of departed friends and relatives The Shah Najaf Trust employs people to do this for the benefit of Ghazi ud Din Haidar's soul

174 Burial place of Imam Husain in Iraq A copy of this mausoleum known as the local Kerbala is the place of final mourning on the 10th of Muharram, when paper models of the shrine are taken from the Imam Baras (129) and buried in the grounds surrounding the local mausoleum.

175. The building is now in a dilapidated state and serves as the headquarters of a bank.

176 Under British administration detailed local information was collected by the officials of the Districts through the Indian staff and published in a Government publication called the *Gazette*, which dealt mainly with administrative problems From the *Gazette*, information was compiled covering the whole Province under the title of *The Gazetteer* This was done for the benefit of the newly arrived British civil servants. The one referred to here is *The Imperial Gazetteer of India Provincial Series, United Provinces of Agra and Oudh*, vols I and II, Superintendent of Government Printing Press, Calcutta, 1908

177. Nasir ud Din Haidar's frivolous activities have been described in detail by one of his British courtiers, William Knighton, in his book *The Private Life of an Eastern King*, London, 1855. For details about the British reaction and the warnings they issued see Sleeman, vol I, ch 6, and vol II, chs 3 and 4.

178 In 1832 Nasir ud Din Haidar had posters put up in the town stating that Munna Jan was not his son but the son of a palace employee He also informed the Resident of this (Najmul Ghani, vol III, pp 151–54) This was in all likelihood done to annoy his mother. Munna Jan was probably his son (Irwin, ch 4) For further details of this affair see Sleeman, vol. II, ch 4.

179. The Fort of Chunar is situated on the banks of the Ganges about seven miles from Benares. In the first instance it was given to Shuja ud Daula by the East India Company in exchange for the Allahabad Fort but subsequently it was ceded to the Company by Sadat Ali Khan in 1801 (144) (*Gazetteer* vol. I, p. 11)

180 The treaty was signed in 1837, the year Muhammad Ali Shah ascended the throne and the same year that he laid the foundations of his Imam Bara. (Najmul Ghani, vol. IV, p. 5)

181. In 1839 Muhammad Ali Shah deposited twelve lakhs of rupees and later an additional sum of 2,400,000 rupees with the East India Company, at an interest of four

per cent per annum This income was to be used for the upkeep of his Imam Bara (Najmul Ghani, vol IV, pp. 5–6) and the surplus income to be devoted to charity. (*Gazetteer* vol II, p 309)

182 Arabic *jami*. collector; *juma*. Friday, Muslim sabbath. The main mosque of a town in which prayers are held, especially on Fridays. The Jamey Masjid mosque of Delhi was built by Shahjahan in Shahjahanabad (25), with two minarets 130 feet high and three marble domes It is considered to be one of the largest and most beautiful mosques in existence

183 Built between 1880 and 1887, the clock-tower, with its chiming bells, is still standing. It was built after Moorish design and is 221 feet high and 20 feet square at the base. (*Gazetteer* vol. II, p. 304)

184 The ruins of this building are still standing

Chapter 7 *Amjad Ali Shah, Wajid Ali Shah and the End of the Dynasty's Rule —Urdu Drama*

185. One of the basic obligations of Islam, according to which one is required to give one-fortieth of one's annual income to charity

186 A poet in the court of Ghazi ud Din Haidar and later in that of Wajid Ali Shah, who adopted the pen-name Akhtar He died in 1858.

187 It was the custom for Urdu poets to adopt a part of their own or some other name as a pseudonym, which was invariably added to their name, and by which they were generally known. Sometimes their town of origin was also added to it· Asghar Ali Khan, Nasim Dehlavi, pen-name Nasim, of Delhi. This practice is no longer regularly adhered to.

188 The residential and office quarters of the British civil servants in Indian towns during the early years of British supremacy In time the Civil Lines became the residential quarters of the Indian élite as well

189 A Hindu shrine dedicated to the god Shiva· sometimes an abode for rishis and munis

190. Sibtain is the joint name for Hasan and Husain, the two sons of Ali and grandchildren of Muhammad Sibtainabad. The House of Sibtain (7)

191 During the ten days of Muharram, all the Imam Baras are illuminated. The Imam Baras of Asaf ud Daula, Shah Najaf and Husainabad are famous for their decorations, with lights and oil-lamps all around the building People flock to see this every year

192 Followers of Guru Nanak (1469–1539) Sanskrit *guru*· religious saint, teacher The Sikhs ruled north-west India in the late eighteenth century. After two wars their empire was annexed to British India in 1849.

193 Persian *nazim*: administrator This post was originally created by the Mughal Emperor in 1705 as his Divan in Bengal By 1740 the dynasty became practically independent However, after the Battle of Baksar (22) they became Deputy Divans to the East India Company, which abolished the post in 1772

194. Wajid Ali Shah arranged to meet the courtesan Waziran several times in the house of Azim ud Daula, who lived near her in the Gola Ganj quarter He first met Ali Naqi Khan on one of these occasions· (Najmul Ghani, vol IV, p 23)

195 The *ghazal* is composed of two-lined verses, the second line of which must end in a rhyme Amorous in character but at times containing matters of a mystical nature, it is the most popular form of Persian and Urdu poetry It is Arabic in origin For a selection in English translation of some Urdu gahzals see D. Matthews and C Shackle, *An Anthology of Urdu Love Lyrics*, Oxford University Press, 1972, and Ahmed Ali, *The Golden Tradition*, Columbia University Press, 1973.

196 A long laudatory poem in praise of some earthly or religious lord written in a forceful and fanciful style

197 Muhammad Taqi Mir born Akbarabad 1722 Came from Delhi to Lucknow in 1782 at the invitation of Asaf ud Daula, where he died in 1810 He is regarded as one of the most celebrated masters of ghazals, which are characterized by their melancholic tone

198 Muhammad Rafi Sauda· born Delhi 1703/7. Went to Faizabad at the court of Asaf ud Daula and came with him to Lucknow where he died in 1781. He wrote poetry in most forms and is acknowledged as a master of *qasidas* and *hajv*, satires For essays in English on Mir, Sauda and Mir Hasan, see R Russell and K Islam, *Three Mughal Poets*, Allen & Unwin, London, 1969.

199. Shaikh Imam Baksh Nasikh. Probably born in Faizabad, he was employed in the courts of various lords including Agha Mir, the Vazir. He died in 1839. As a ghazal writer he paid special attention to the use of language and along with Atish is considered to be a founder of the Lucknow school of Urdu poetry.

200. Khwaja Haidar Ali Atish. born Faizabad 1806. He became a courtier to a local lord and came to Lucknow with the transfer of the court, where he died in 1846. He is famous for the melancholic tone of his ghazals.

201. Persian *rind* a rake, libertine. A style of ghazal in which amorous feelings and religious scepticism are expressed rather freely in a mystical interpretation of life, love and religion.

202 Navab Syed Muhammad Khan Rind 1797–1857. A nephew of Burhan ul Mulk, he wrote sensuous ghazals in an elegant style.

203. Mir Wazir Ali Saba. 1794–1854 Employed in the court of Wajid Ali Shah. His sensuous ghazals are written in a highly decorative language

204 Originally an Arabic form. A long narrative poem with flexible subject-matter and style.

205 Navab Mirza Tasaduq Husain Shauq· died 1871 He was a hakim in the court of Wajid Ali Shah and wrote senuous poetry in an elaborate language

206 Arabic *khalifah* a successor The term refers, in the main, to the four religious and political successors of Muhammad between 632 and 661 Later, some Islamic dynasties also ruled under the title of Caliph

207. Arabic *suf*, wool. A sect of Muslim mystics originally from Persia in the tenth century who wore coarse woollen garments and lived very simply in silent protest against the luxuries of the world. Some Sufis rank among the most important poets and writers in Persian and Urdu literature.

208. Muslim women are required by religion and custom to live in purdah (behind curtains), that is, inside the house Only immodest and loose women did not follow this custom. Hence the expression 'veiled women' meant modest and chaste women whom no male outside the family had seen, 'not even the sun' as the expression goes. This custom is dying out

209. This vast complex was built between 1848 and 1850 at the cost of eighty lakhs of rupees. Only the rear portion remains (*Gazetteer* vol. II, p. 304) Part of it was destroyed in the fighting of 1857 and part demolished later as the result of redevelopment plans for the city

210 See Chapter 8.

211. Arabic *taluqa*, estate, and Persian *dar*, holder Holder of an Estate. Persian *zamin*. land. *Zamindar*· landowner. According to Mughal practice, reorganized and defined under British administration, state revenue was collected from the peasants through persons known as *zamindars* and *taluqdars*, who kept some of the income for themselves and had a proprietary right over the land. A *zamindar* was a land-holder and lesser proprietor while a taluqdar had double proprietary rights and exercised authority over a considerable area. A taluqdar usually carried in U.P the title of Raja or Navab and had some civil power to dislodge peasants who could not pay their dues.

In the last days of the rule of the Navabs, taluqdars held two-thirds of the villages (*Gazetteer* vol. I, pp. 109–111) The *zamindari* and *taluqdari* system was abolished in U.P. in 1952 Zamindars and taluqdars were given bonds by the Government equal to their income for a period ranging between eight to twenty years depending on the size of their holdings, redeemable over a period of forty years

212 The requirement to maintain the houses applies to this day.

213. After the British occupation in 1856 this Barah Dari became the headquarters of the Avadh Taluqdar Association, which became defunct in 1947. Once used for their lavish receptions it is still used for important civic functions, and thus serves a different function from town halls in Europe The offices of the Municipality founded in 1862 are housed separately

214. Mahal (77) was also a title Wajid Ali Shah gave to his better placed wives, who were given their own palaces The titles began with Navab, were followed by an adjective and ended with Mahal Navab Khas Mahal Arabic *khas*, principal wife. Navab Hazrat Mahal (*Hazrat*, Highness) was his second wife. Others included Navab Akhtar Mahal (*akhtar*, star) and Navab Mashuq Mahal (*mashuq*, beloved)

215. Sanskrit *yogi*. a Hindu hermit who has renounced the world in order to seek self-realization through the union of his soul with the universe by means of Raja Yoga, meditation, and Hatha Yoga, control of his body The eighty-four postures of Hatha Yoga are an aid in the achievement of Raja Yoga (Raghavan, pp 141–49) A yogi usually wears red-ochre robes, covers part of his body with ashes and sits in meditation in lotus posture under a tree.

216 Qaisar was the pet name of Wajid Ali Shah His pen-name was Akhtar, under which he wrote over forty works, mainly poetic compositions in various forms, and prose of a scholarly nature His *thumris* (440) were composed under the name of Kadar Piya (Saxena, p. 118)

217. In mythology, a circular dance performed by Krishna with a flute in his hand, his love Radha in the centre and *gopis* (219) worshipping around them. The term now refers to a dance representation on this theme

218. Sanskrit *Sri*. Lord, Sir, a title of respect, Lord Krishna. The word has now come to be used in India as a simple prefix, like Mr.

219. *Krishna* is regarded as the eighth incarnation of Vishnu, the second aspect of the Hindu trinity He features in the pages of the *Mahabharata*. The *Bhagavadgita*, Krishna's teachings to Arjuna, is part of this epic. His image represents him as a handsome youth playing the flute in Mathura (U.P) where he grew up A mass of love-legends and fables has gathered round him, the main theme being how he sported in his youth with *gopis* (cowherd damsels) and wives. Their love symbolizes human yearning for union with God.

220. On 4 February 1856 General Outram, the Resident, who was also Chief Commissioner of Lucknow, gave Wajid Ali Shah a document of abdication from the British Governor General. He asked him to sign it and abdicate within three days, but Wajid Ali Shah refused. On 7 February the Resident announced the annexation of Avadh to the British Indian territory by affixing notices in police stations He called various important officials to the Residency and issued orders to them directly (Najmul Ghani, vol IV, pp 105–17) Wajid Ali Shah died in exile in Matiya Burj in 1887

The indictment against the rulers of Avadh was formulated for the benefit of the directors of the East India Company by the Governor General, the Marquis of Dalhousie, under the title *Oude Blue Book* Major R W. Bird who was the Assistant Resident in Lucknow replied to these charges after his term of office in his book *Dacoitee in Excelsis, or the Spoliation of Oude Faithfully Recounted*, London 1857.

For accounts of the rulers of this dynasty see Munshi Inam Ali, *Asaf ul Asif*, written about 1850, covering the period from the beginning of the dynasty's rule to 1783; Ghulam Ali, *Emad us Sadat*, a history to about 1801 written in the nineteenth century;

Fakhr ud Daula Ratan Singh, *Sultan ut Tawarikh*, a history up to the death of Muhammad Ali Shah (1844), written about 1850; Kamal ud Din Haidar, *Savaneh Hayat Salatin-e-Avadh*, covering the period up to 1849 when the work was completed, published in Lucknow in 1879 These manuscripts are in the British Museum

Chapter 8 *Wajid Ali Shah in Matiya Burj—The Mutiny*

221 The immediate cause of the Mutiny on 6 May 1857 was the introduction of the Enfield rifle in the British army The cartridges for this rifle were greased with animal fat. The Hindu sepoys thought that the grease was made of the fat of cows, a sacred animal for them, and the Muslims thought it was of pigs, detestable to them It was thus an abomination to the followers of both religions The deeper cause was the dissatisfaction of these soldiers with the expansion of British rule. (Sir Henry Lawrence, quoted by Ali Azhar, p 231) Ali Azhar argues that the annexation of Avadh was an important issue in this respect as the Bengal army, which was the main British army of Indian soldiers, was three-fourths composed of men from Avadh For details see Ali Azhar, essays 11–13

222 On 10 May the mutineers galloped from Meerut, U P , to Delhi, occupied the palace and proclaimed the aged and nominal Mughal King Bahadur Shah II as Emperor of Hindustan He was popularly known as Zafar Shah, Zafar being his pen-name as he wrote poetry in Urdu. Delhi was recaptured by the British between 14 and 20 September 1857 This event marks the formal end of the Mughal Sultanate in India. From then until his death Zafar Shah remained a prisoner of the British in Rangoon, Burma, where he eventually died His poetry at that time is filled with lamentations.

223, Popular name for the British Resident's headquarters (84) in Lucknow, officially known as the Residency With Sir John Baillie (146) the British army came to be stationed in Lucknow for the first time, and the number of guards at the Residency was increased. This led the local population to refer to this building as the Baillie Guard

224 Lucknow was finally captured on 21 March 1858 by Sir Hugh Rose with the largest British army in Indian history to that date, after two earlier attempts had failed on 25 September and 17 November 1857 For details of fighting in Lucknow from the local point of view see Kamul ud Din Haidar vol II and Ali Azhar, chs 11, 12 and 15. For the British account see *Gazetteer* vol I, p 232; L F Ruutz Rees, *Siege of Lucknow*, Longman Brown, London 1858, and a recent work, M Edwardes, *Season in Hell, The Defence of Lucknow Residency*, Hamish Hamilton, London 1973.

225 Shaikh Sa'di· 1189–1291 (both dates approximate) A classical Persian poet from Shiraz, author of *Gulistan*, a book of tales and anecdotes each with a moral, which has been translated into many European languages, and *Bostan*, a poem of similar content.

226 His Excellency Sir Harcourt Butler was the Governor of U P from about 1921 to 1925 He was a popular figure as he did much for the social welfare of the people, such as establishing in Lucknow the King George Medical College (now known as Mahatma Gandhi Medical College, Teaching Hospital of the University), and the Avadh Chief Court He also developed Canning College which was founded in 1864 and later became Lucknow University, and shifted the Revenue Office of the Province from Allahabad to Lucknow, thus making Lucknow the de facto capital of the Province He used to go to the gatherings of wealthy people where he spoke Urdu, sometimes wearing Indian dress. Butler Palace, now used as a Government office, for which he laid the foundation stone himself in 1921, was a private palace built and named after him by Maharaja Sir Ali Muhammad Khan of Mahmudabad.

227. In 1700 British factories in Bengal were established in a new fortified settlement near Calcutta named Fort William. Subsequently it became the headquarters of the East India Company.

228 Persian *jahan*, world, and *panah*, protection Protector of the World A form of address for a king or a way of making reference to him

229 Arabic *Huzur*, Your Lordship, Your Highness, a mode of addressing a dignitary

230 The Embassy of the Ottoman Empire before World War I The graves were transferred to a cemetery in the suburbs of Paris.

231 Arabic *mutah*, enjoyment, marriages contracted for a limited period, usually in exchange for some monetary consideration on the part of the woman. It was frequently practised in the past among wealthy Shias.

232 Music as well as other forms of intoxication are important prohibitions of Islam.

233 Persian *ab*, water, and *khana*, house. *Abdar khana* refers to the system of cooling water for drinking purposes (Chapter 31) Persian *khas*, fragrant grass Curtains made of this were hung on the doors and windows and kept damp in order to keep the rooms cool and to provide a fresh smell.

234. *Marsiya* is an elegy about Ali, Hasan, Husain and the calamities that befell their family in Kerbala *Nauha* is a short poem on the same theme (Chapters 26 and 49)

235. Persian *bahadur* · brave, hero, added as a suffix to the name of the members of a royal family and as a title to that of high dignitaries, meaning 'Honourable'

Chapter 9 *Mirza Birjis Qadar—Urdu Poetry*

236 Hindi *kauri*. a small shell, also the smallest denomination of Indian currency, which became obsolete in the 1920s At that time four cowries were equivalent to one paisa, four paisas one anna and sixteen annas a rupee In the late 1960s India adopted the decimal system in currency and one rupee is now equal to a hundred new paisas.

237. Arabic *shair* poet A literary gathering in which poets recited their verses and the audience showed their appreciation, hence it became a sort of contest among poets as to who could win the greatest acclamation. Traditionally everyone sat on the floor in rows parallel to the walls, the poets in a rectangle in the centre of the hall and the audience between them and the walls A candle was passed around inviting poets to recite in turn This order was hierarchical, the novices first and the masters last The session, which usually started after the evening meal and ended at dawn, was considered an important social occasion. The practice is today no longer common, and in its place one or several poets might be invited to someone's house to recite his poems before selected guests

238. Opium was taken by a small section of the people in the form of tablets This was done in a group where fantastic story-telling sessions took place amid general intoxication (232)

239 Written in flowery prose, often accompanied by a poem. Some of those written by Shaida Begam have survived, in which she describes the conditions in Lucknow during and after the Mutiny. A collection of Wajid Ali Shah's own letters from Matiya Burj to Navab Aklail Mahal in Lucknow have been published in Lahore recently under the title *Tarikh-e-Mumtaz*, ed Muhammad Baqar.

240 A favourite saying of Jahangir (92) was that he had exchanged with his Queen, Nur Jahan Begam, his empire for a cup of wine. She was of Persian origin.

241. The ruler of the Carnatic region in the south of India, the capital of which was Arcat

242. Hindi *thag*, cheat, and *daku*, armed robber. Organized bands of armed highway robbers active in central India who killed their victims and then robbed them They were finally crushed by the British in 1801. (*Gazetteer* vol. I, p. 452)

243. Arabic *Hadith*: a body of Islamic religious knowledge based on accounts of acts

attributed to Muhammad and, in a wider sense, to his companions It is a compilation of records which cover matters of religious doctrine, ritual, and rules of conduct for almost any conceivable action in everyday life

244. Muhammad Wali probable dates 1668–1744 (Saxena, p 12) Born and brought up either in Gujrat or the Deccan, he came to Delhi in 1700 and wrote his poetry in Rekhta, the early form of Urdu. Until then poetry in Delhi was written in Persian

245. An up-to-date account of Urdu literature can be found in Muhammad Sadiq, *History of Urdu Literature,* Oxford University Press, 1964

246. Siraj ud Din Ali Khan Khan-e-Arzu born Delhi 1689, died Lucknow 1756 A Persian scholar and poet of Delhi who wrote poetry in Rekhta and thus helped further to establish the language. He came to Lucknow in 1739, to the court of Salar Jang. (Saxena, pp. 47–48)

247 Maulana Muhammad Husain Azad 1832–1910, of Delhi (Saxena, p 219), Arabic and Persian, a prose stylist and an Urdu poet. The reference here is to his *Ab-e-Hayat*, a history of Urdu language and literature

248 Mirza Mazhar Jan-e-Janan. 1698–1780. A religious preceptor and scholar of Delhi who wrote ghazals in an easy, flowing and sensitive style, in a language closer to present-day Urdu. (Saxena, p. 49)

249 1720–84, of Delhi A scholar, poet in Persian and Urdu, musician and religious preceptor He renounced the world at the age of twenty-eight and later succeeded his father as spiritual chief of the sect of Chistis (Saxena, pp 55–57) His ghazals offer the best examples of Sufi (207) poetry in Urdu

250. Persian *shagird*. one who studies under a master A novice, scholar or poet, a writer or musician, and also craftsmen in other fields, spent a period of apprenticeship under an *ustad* in Islamic tradition, or guru in Hindu tradition, to whom he showed sometimes total obedience and always great respect. The relationship signified a spiritual bond between them in their personal lives and lasted a lifetime even when the period of learning was over.

251. Died 1772. He was attached to the court of Ahmad Shah in Delhi (Saxena, p. 52) and ranks among those poets who brought the Urdu language nearer to its present form.

252. Hindi *koka.* When a wet-nurse gave her milk to the infant of an employer, her own son became a *koka* brother to the child

253 Born Delhi 1770, died Lucknow 1798. He came to Lucknow in the reign of Asaf ud Daula who became his shagird in poetry. (Saxena, p 59) His ghazals show a youthful spirit

254 Born Delhi about 1737, died Lucknow about 1792 A pharmacist by profession, he became courtier to various lords on arrival in Faizabad during the reign of Shuja ud Daula; he later moved to Lucknow. (Saxena, p 98) His introspective ghazals are on love themes.

255 Born Delhi, died Lucknow 1797 He spent most of his life in Lucknow during the reign of Asaf ud Daula (Askari, p. 349)

256. This name probably refers to Hasan Dehlavi (260) The Editor has been unable to trace any other person to whom this name could refer.

257 A scholar and poet who wrote in Persian, attached to the court of Shuja ud Daula. (Saxena, p. 62)

258. He came from Delhi to the court of Shuja ud Daula in 1765 with his young son Mir Hasan He wrote marsiyas (Askari, p 349)

259 Shaikh Baqa ullah Khan Baqa· born Delhi, died Lucknow 1832 Wrote mainly satires in a language that borrows expressions from Hindi (Askari, p 217)

260. Mir Ghulam Hasan Hasan Dehlavi, born Delhi about 1741, died Lucknow 1786. He came to Faizabad with his father in 1766, later joined the court of Salar Jang and then went to Lucknow when the capital, was shifted. He is the author

of the famous masnavi *Sehr ul Bayan* which was completed in 1785. (Saxena, p. 67)

261 Went to Faizabad and then to Lucknow in the reign of Asaf ud Daula.

262 Came from Delhi to Faizabad and then to Lucknow; later went to Patna (Azimabad) where he died. He was a contemporary of Sauda and wrote in a difficult style (Askari, p. 216)

263 Shaikh Muhammad Qaim ud Din Qaim· born 1722, died 1793. Went to Delhi at an early age whence he came to Lucknow about 1776, later moving to the court of Rampur about 1778. He was a very prolific writer who wrote masnavis, qasidas and ghazals (Saxena, p. 97)

264 Arabic *sajdah* prostration, the touching of the ground with the forehead in Muslim prayer *Sajjada* prayer mat, and Persian *nashin*· sitting The successor to the prayer mat, the spiritual leader of a religious order.

265 Shaikh Qalandar Baksh, Yahya Khan Jurat. died 1810 Born Delhi, spent his early childhood in Faizabad and went to Lucknow in 1800 when he became attached to the court of Mirza Suleman Shikoh (Saxena, p 88). He composed amatory ghazals with an easy flow of language.

266 Saiyyid Insha Allah Khan· 1756–1818 He became a courtier to Sadat Ali Khan but was later dismissed. A soldier, hakim, scholar and poet who wrote frivolous and sensuous ghazals, he is the author of *Darya-e-Latafat*, the first grammar of the Urdu language to be written by an Indian. (Saxena, pp. 82–86) The conversation quoted in the text between the courtesan and the nobleman is from this book

267. Shaikh Ghulam Hamdani Mushafi· born 1750 Amroha, U.P , died Lucknow 1824 Came to Lucknow in 1783/4 during the reign of Asaf ud Daula and saw the rule of three other Navabs in his lifetime A very prolific writer whose ghazals are full of pathos (Saxena, pp. 90–92)

268 Mirza Muhammad Hasan Qatil: died 1824 He was a Hindu convert to Islam from Faridabad, Delhi, who came to Lucknow and was attached to the court of Mirza Suleman Shikoh and probably later to the court of Ghazi ud Din Haidar. a Persian scholar who wrote some Urdu prose as well

269. Navab Sadat Yar Khan Rangin born Delhi 1757, died Lucknow 1835. A wealthy lord, soldier and scholar who wrote ghazals in *rekhti*, feminine language of a frivolous and sensuous character (322) (Saxena, p 93) Qatil, Insha and Rangin were personal friends: the last two gave Urdu poetry of the Lucknow School a carefree, youthful and merry tone

270. The first day of the new month after Ramzan (60) which is the day of the Muslim festival called Eid ul Fitr Hence people look for the sign of the new moon the evening before, which is called the Eid moon The expression refers to some very welcome thing or person which is so rare as to show up only once a year

271. Of the ten days of mourning in Muharram (129) the eighth is devoted to the memory of Abbas, the half-brother of Husain and the commander of his forces in Kerbala A procession takes place in his honour

272. The Delhi flower shows which herald the spring originated in Delhi under Akbar Shah II and continue to this day. The main feature is a procession of big fans made of flowers, followed in the evening by songs, dances and entertainments

273. Arabic *shams*, sun, and *ulema*, plural of *alim*, scholar. One who shines among scholars. A title bestowed by the British Government of India on Muslim scholars and religious leaders. The Republic has discontinued this practice and instead gives State and Presidential Awards

274. Khwaja Muhammad Wazir Wazir· died 1854 in Lucknow. He remained preoccupied with spiritual matters and twice refused the invitation of Wajid Ali Shah to join his court (Saxena, p 108) He composed in difficult rhymes and styles

275 Navab Faqir Muhammad Goya: died 1850 A Risaldar in the Avadh army of the Navabs. (Saxena, p 257) He was preoccupied with language and style.

276. Mir Ali Ausat Rashk: 1799–1867 Born in Faizabad, he was mainly concerned with the correct employment of phrases and expressions, and famous for his dictionary of Urdu (Saxena, p 108)

277 Navab Asghar Ali Khan Nasim Dehlavi. 1794–1864. Born in Delhi, he lived in poor circumstances in Lucknow employed by Newal Kishore Press as an Urdu translator. (Saxena, p. 152) He wrote with facility in a flowing style.

278 Saiyyid Muzaffar Ali Khan Asir 1800–81 He was a scholar of the Firangi Mahal school who joined the court of Nasir ud Din Haidar and later Amjad Ali Shah and Wajid Ali Shah, after whose deposition he went to the court of Rampur. (Saxena, p 120) He concentrated on language and technique.

279. Pandit Daya Shankar Kaul Nasim 1811–43, from a family of Kashmiri Brahmans settled in Lucknow He was a Munshi in the army of Amjad Ali Shah. In poetry he concentrated on language, expression and idiom. He was the author of the famous masnavi *Gulzar-e-Nasim* (Saxena, p 114)

280 Hakim Momin Khan Momin· 1800–51 A well-to-do noble of Delhi who also practised medicine and was a scholar of Persian and Arabic (Saxena, p 148) His ghazals are noted for their subtle thought His masnavis are erotic in nature.

281 Shaikh Ibrahim Zauq 1789–1854 Of humble origin, he found his way to the Mughal court and became the Ustad (250) of Bahadur Shah Zafar (Saxena, p 152) He wrote elegant ghazals and qasidas polished in language and technique.

282 Mirza Asad Ullah Khan Ghalib born in Akbarabad and lived in Delhi, of noble birth but in reduced circumstances (Saxena, p 158) He was a Persian scholar who wrote poetry in Persian as well as in Urdu His ghazals and qasidas in Urdu are philosophic in character He is also a prose stylist in Urdu, which he practised in his private letters. His biography, under the title of *Ghalib's Life and Letters*, has been compiled and translated into English by R Russell and K Islam, Allen & Unwin, London 1969. He is perhaps the best known Urdu poet, representing, with Momin and Zauq, the Delhi school of Urdu poetry, characterized by a subtle quality of thought and craftsmanship For a short selection in English translation of Ghalib's poems see S Jafri and Q. Hyder (eds), *Ghalib and his Poetry*, Popular Prakashan, Bombay 1970. For a study of Ghalib see Sayyid Fayyaz Mahmud, *Ghalib· A Critical Introduction*, University of the Panjab, Lahore, 1969

283 Munshi Mufti Amir Ahmad Amir Minai. 1828–1900, from the family of Shah Mina (74) a religious scholar, poet and magistrate. He was connected with the court of Wajid Ali Shah, after whose deposition he went to the court of Rampur His delicate ghazals have a moral tone He is also the author of the incomplete Urdu dictionary in two volumes, *Amir ul Lughat* (Saxena, pp. 182–85)

284 Navab Mirza Dagh Dehlavi: 1831–1905, stepson of the heir apparent of Bahadur Shah Zafar. After the Mutiny he spent most of his life in the courts of the Navab of Rampur and the Nizam His ghazals deal with the agonies of love in simple, tender and eloquent language (Saxena, pp 186–88)

285 Syed Ismael Husain Munir 1819–1881, from Shikohabad, U P. but lived in Lucknow until 1857. From 1860 until his death he was attached to the court of Rampur (Saxena, p 110) His poems, mainly masnavis, have a simple and elegant style.

286 Ahmad Husain Taslim (alias Amir Ullah) born 1820, died Rampur 1911. He was a scholar and calligraphist and a soldier in the army of Muhammad Ali Shah, later attached to the court of Wajid Ali Shah as a poet (Saxena, p 196) His masnavis and ghazals have a vigorous and easy style.

287. Mir Mahdi Majruh: died 1902. Left Delhi after the 1857 Mutiny and entered the courts of Alwar and Rampur

288 Hakim Syed Zamin Ali Jalal 1834–1909 A hakim and scholar of Arabic and Persian he went from Lucknow to the court of Rampur in 1857 but later returned to

Lucknow. He is the author of several books in prose (Saxena, p. 192) His ghazals are written with careful craftsmanship.

289 Syed Hasan Latafat Son of Amanat (319). he wrote ghazals in sensitive language, expressing simple sentiments (Rizvi, p 11)

290 Both sons of Asir and his shagirds. (Saxena, p 120)

291 The tradition of Urdu poetry in Lucknow goes further than the account in this narrative takes it. Between the early 1920s, where Sharar's account ends, and the late 1940s, Urdu poetry continued to flourish in Lucknow Some prominent poets of this period are Syed Anwar Husain Arzu (born 1873, died Karachi 1954), Hakim Mirza Fida Ahmad Danish (1858–1928), Maulvi Ali Mian Kamil (1835–1906), Naubat Rai Nazar (1866–1923) and Mirza Wajid Husain Yas Yagana (born Azimabad 1883, died Lucknow 1956) They all had their own style within the framework of the Lucknow school However, Mir Madhi Husain Ahsan (1867–1935) was also well known as a playwright, Ali Naqi Safi (1862–1950) wrote some descriptive poems as well, Pandit Brij Narain Chakbast (born Faizabad 1882, died Lucknow 1926) wrote mainly on patriotic and nationalistic themes Mirza Muhammad Hadi Aziz (1882–1935) was famous for his qasidas, Mirza Zakir Husain Saqib (1869–1954) and Mirza Kazim Husain Mahshar (died 1941) also wrote ghazals Writers of comic verse were Maqbul Husain Zarif (1870–1937) and Rafi Ahmad Khan (1888–1944)

These were followed by a group of ghazal writers prominent among whom were Navab Jafar Ali Khan Asar (1885–1967), Shahen-shah Husain Iram (died Karachi about 1967), Muhammad Askari Khan Sarosh Tabatabai (1913–66), Qadir Ahmad Khan Qadir (1890–1969), Syed Siraj ul Hasan Siraj (1894–1968), Syed Muhammad Ahmad Bekhud Mohani (1883–1940), Syed Al-e-Raza (born 1897, now in Karachi) and Shabir Husain Khan Josh Malihabadi (born 1901, also now in Karachi), famous for his poems At present Pandit Anand Narain Mulla (born 1901, a retired judge and M P. for Lucknow), Syed Muhammad Hasan Salik (born 1910), Muhammad Umar Ansari (born 1912) and Maharaj Kumar Muhammad Amir Haidar Khan of Mahmudabad (born 1917) are living in Lucknow and represent the last phase of the Urdu poetry of this school

Ali Jawad Zaidi (born Azamgarh 1916, a civil servant in Delhi), Israr ul Haq Majaz (1913–55) and Ali Sardar Jafri (born Agra 1913, at present in Bombay) are well known as politically conscious poets from Lucknow, the last two being 'progressive' (345) communist poets

In 1947, with the partition of the sub-continent into the states of India and Pakistan, the position of Urdu poets and prose writers in Lucknow changed Some of these poets migrated to Pakistan, while in U P Hindi was declared the state language, and since then the vogue for Urdu poetry seems to have been dying out. However, in 1971 the Government of U P established the Urdu Academy for the promotion of the language, the secretary of which is the poet Sabah ud Din Umar (born Lucknow 1913). For brief character-sketches of some literary personalities of Lucknow up to the late 1940s, see Shaukat Thanvi, *Sheesh Mahal*, Urdu Book Stall, Lahore 1950.

Chapter 10 *The Development of Urdu Poetry*—Masnavi, Marsiya *and Forms of Humorous Verse*

292 Abul Qasim Hasan Firdausi: died about 1020, from the region of Khurasan. His *Shah Nameh*, 'Book of Kings', which took twenty-five years to complete (Levy, p 177), is the national epic of Iran.

293. Nizami Arudi born in Samarqand; lived in the early twelfth century A courtier and poet

294. Maulvi Jalal ud Din Maulana Rum. 1207–73. One of the greatest Sufi poets.

295. Nasir-e-Khusrau: 1004–77. Traveller, sceptic and poet.

296. Nur ud Din Abdul Rahman Jami 1414–1592. Born in Jam in Khurasan A poet of religious and Sufi sentiments.

297 Maulana Abdullah Hatifi died 1521. Of Khurasan, nephew of Jami. The poets mentioned in notes 292–97 are all masters of classical Persian poetry

298. Khwaja Arshad Ali Khan, Aftab ud Daula Qalaq· one of the court poets of Wajid Ali Shah in Lucknow. His poetry is of sensuous character, couched in elegant language. (Saxena, p. 121)

299. The reference is to linguistic mistakes. In 1905 a literary controversy began in Lucknow in the columns of *Avadh Akhbar*, and later continued in the pages of *Avadh Punch* and *Dil Gudaz*, on the literary merits of the language employed by Nasim; Sharar was one of his chief critics This controversy was published later in the form of a book, *Marka-e Chakbast-o-Sharar*, ed. Mirza Muhammad Shafi Shirazi, Newal Kishore Press, 1913

300 Muhammad Husain Naziri: born Nishapur, died Ahmedabad (India) 1614 He came to India as a young man and joined the court of Akbar and then that of Jahangir

301. Khwaja Saidi Muhammad Urfi: born in Shiraz, died 1591 He came to India and was attached to the court of Akbar

302. Mirza Muhammad Ali Saeb. died 1669/70 Brought up in Isfahan, went to Delhi and other parts of India before 1629 but returned to Persia to the court of Shah Abbas II (Browne, vol IV, p 163)

303. Shaikh Abul Fazal Faizi. born Agra 1547, died 1595 Poet, philosopher and scholar of Arabic and Persian, an important personality and poet at the court of Akbar, reputed to have written one hundred and one books. (*Tarikh Muslim Adabiyat* vol. IV, pp. 278–88)

304. Muhammad Ikram Ghanimat died 1688, born Qunjah (Gujrat). A poet who was also a military commander of Sialkot (*Tarikh Muslim Adabiyat* vol IV, p 426)

305. It is said that a religious leader, Mir Ali Haidar of Isfahan, referred to himself as *Tabatabai* instead of *Qaba Qabai* (Arabic *qaba*, the robe of a religious scholar, and *qabai*, one who wears it) because of a speech defect Members of his family subsequently adopted the word as a suffix to their name.

306. The contrast between the Urdu idioms and expressions used in Delhi and in Lucknow has been a favourite issue among Urdu scholars.

307. Wali Muhammad Nazir died 1830 Spent most of his life in his home town of Akbarabad earning his living as a private tutor He declined the invitation of Sadat Ali Khan to join his court, renounced the world and became a Sufi towards the end of his life. His natural and simple poetry is expressed in commonplace words *Banjara Nama* is a long poem about the toils of those engaged in menial occupations

308 Arabic *rajaz* verses read at the battlefield to arouse the martial spirit

309. The Sassanide dynasty (of Zoroastrians) ruled Persia from 224 to 651 before the advent of Islam, when it was overrun by the Arabs. Under this rule Persia was a country of imperial splendour and many of its manners and institutions were adopted by the later Muslim Abbaside dynasty

310 The Abbaside dynasty, whose members ruled in Baghdad from 750 to 1258 under the title of Caliphs, is known for its development of architecture and art and for the many men of letters, philosophers and scholars whom it attracted to the court.

311 Hindi *Mian* Sir A polite form of address for a young master, but sometimes added before a name as a title

312. Mir Mustahsan Khaliq· 1774–1804, the son of Mir Hasan Spent early years in Faizabad and then came to Lucknow He began as a ghazal writer but abandoned this style in favour of marsiyas (Saxena, p 124)

313. Mir Muzaffar Husain Zamir brought about changes in the pattern of marsiya

writing of the time and evolved, together with Zamir, a new form which was later popularized by Anis and Dabir (Saxena, p. 125)

314 Mirza Salamat Ali Dabir. born Delhi 1803, died Lucknow 1875. Came to Lucknow with his father at the age of seven and became famous as a writer of marsiyas.

315 Mir Babar Ali Anis born Faizabad 1802, died Lucknow 1874. He is regarded as one of the greatest of Urdu poets. Anis and Dabir were both recognized as masters and were much sought after by the local lords. They recited before Wajid Ali Shah on special invitation only Dabir also recited before Ghazi ud Din Haidar. (Saxena, pp. 126–33)

316 In 1835 Lord William Bentinck introduced a new plan of education for India inspired by the writings of Lord Macaulay. It was orientated on the British pattern of secular education and instituted the use of vernacular and English in place of Persian as the languages of instruction, thus marking the beginning of a new outlook among educated people. (*Gazetteer* vol I, p. 130) The plan was finally approved by the directors of the East India Company in 1854. (Moore, p. 108)

317. Persian *khwani*, reading. This style may appear to be theatrical but in fact the use of mime or acting was strictly prohibited.

318 The families of Mir Anis and Mirza Dabir continued the tradition of composing and reciting marsiyas for three to four generations The last in the line of the former was Syedi Zafar Husain, popularly known as Babu Sahib Faeq (d. 1943) and of the latter, Mirza Sarfaraz Husain Khabir (d 1948). Saxena, pp. 135–39; Syed Safdar Husain, 'Marsiya Bad-e-Anis', PhD thesis in Urdu, Aligarh University, U.P. (about (1940) Through the later members of the family of Mir Anis who were attached to the court of Mahmudabad State, this art was passed on to the Rajas of Mahmudabad. The last exponent in this family was Raja M. Amir Ahmad Khan who died in 1973

319. Syed Agha Hasan Amanat, popularly known as Mian Amanat, 1815–58 Began as a marsiya poet but abandoned this form to write ghazals. In 1853 he wrote *Indar Sabha*, 'The Court of Indra', a musical comedy with dialogue in verse that is generally supposed to be the first theatrical work in Urdu He was asked to write this comedy by Wajid Ali Shah and his flowery and artificial language is regarded as typical of one aspect of the Lucknow school. (Saxena, pp 121, 351) For details see Rizvi, *Urdu Drama and Stage*.

320. Persian *Parsi*: Persian However, the name is applied in India to those Zoroastrian Persians, or Fire-Worshippers, who fled their homes in the eighth century with the advent of Islam and came to settle near Bombay (Moreland and Chatterjee, p 134) After the fall of Wajid Ali Shah, a Parsi named Pestonji Framji formed his 'Original Theatrical Company' to stage Urdu dramas, in which many actors were also Parsis This was the starting-point of Urdu theatre, which is generally referred to as Parsi theatre (Saxena, p 353)

321. The vogue for Urdu drama died in its infancy in Lucknow. In the 1940s there existed in Bombay, for a short time, the Indian People's Theatre Association followed by the present Indian Theatre of Delhi which stages plays in different Indian languages, including Urdu.

322 Derived from *rekhta* (244) The feminine form of language; artificially adopted speech of uncultured women in poetry to arouse lustful sentiments. (Askari, p. 25)

323 Mir Jafar Zattali 1659–1713. A contemporary of Wali in Delhi, and employed as a soldier in the army of the Mughal prince.

324. Little is known about this poet except that he was under the patronage of a local lord in Lucknow.

325. Mir Yar Ali Jan Sahib born 1818 in Farrukhabad, U.P., he went to Lucknow and after 1857 to Rampur where he died. A scholar who took part in the literary controversies of his day, he would appear at mushairas wearing a woman's veil. (*Tarikh-e Adabiyat* vol. VII, p. 331)

326. The masculine gender is no longer employed by contemporary poetesses in Urdu

327. Anvari is a woman's name

Chapter 11: *The Development of Urdu Prose*

328 Persian *serai* singing Ghazals (195) were usually chanted by poets in mushairas (237) though sometimes by individuals in private company This is distinct from ghazal singing (442), where a distinct style evolved

329 The reference is to the middle classes in north India, mainly U P., and to the élite in some other courts. In 1835 Persian was replaced by Urdu as the administrative language by the British.

330 In 1880 a college was added to Fort William to teach Indian languages to the newly arrived British administrators Dr John Gilchrist, the head of the college, brought many Indian scholars into this institution who prepared text-books for the British officers and other publications of a literary nature, thus creating a standard Urdu prose One of these scholars was Mir Amman Dehlavi who in 1801 translated into Urdu the famous story *Qissah-e-Chahar Darvesh*, 'The Four Dervishes', under the title of *Bagh-o-Bahar*

331 Mirza Ali Lutf: from Delhi, where his father was attached to the imperial court In 1801 he wrote *Gulshan-e-Hind*, 'Garden of India', at the suggestion of Dr Gilchrist. (Saxena, p. 252)

332 Maulvi Ismail was known as *Shahid*, martyr, as he was killed in the name of Islam. He came from Delhi and went to Kojistan to fight the infidels (Saxena, p. 254)

333. Mulla Nur ud Din Muhammad Zahuri. 1537–1616 Born Qaen, Persia, he came to Ahmadabad in 1580, where he was attached to the court of Ibrahim Adil Shah of Bijapur as poet. (*Tarikh-e Adabiyat* vol. IV, pp. 313–16)

334. Hakim Mirza Muhammad Nemat Khan-e-Ali 1640–1709 Hakim, poet and scholar, came to India from Shiraz at an early age and was attached to the Mughal court. (*Tarikh-e Adabiyat* vol IV, pp 414–18)

335 Shaikh Abul Fazal Faizi (303) Probably the best known literary figure of his time and the doyen of the intellectuals

336. Tahir Wahid of Bukhara died 1120 A poet who was also secretary to two vazirs of Persia, court historian, and later a government minister. (Browne, vol IV, p. 264)

337. Born Lucknow 1786, died Benares 1867. Prose writer, calligraphist and musician, he was deported by Ghazi ud Din Haidar but later returned under the rule of his son He was court poet to Wajid Ali Shah and wrote *A Tale of Marvels* in 1824, a romantic story in ornate style, with adventures, demons, charmed forests and witchcraft, on the model of popular Persian tales (Saxena, pp 257–62)

338. Died 1829 Originally from Delhi but later came to Lucknow He was a contemporary of Mir and Sauda (Qadri, p. 200)

339 From the District of Lucknow. A scholar, famous poet and hymn-writer in Urdu and Persian who earned his living as a clerk in the law courts in Allahabad (Saxena, p 300)

340. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan 1817–98, born Delhi A Muslim scholar, literary figure and social reformer In 1870 he started a monthly journal in Urdu, *Tahzib-ul-Akhlaq*, 'The Social Reformer', to introduce Western ideas to Muslim readers. He is best remembered as founder of the Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh, which developed into a university in his lifetime and is now known as the Muslim University of Aligarh, U P. He is the author of *Asar ud Sanadid* on the architecture of Delhi (Saxena, p 269)

341. Started by Munshi Sajjad Husain in 1877 as a humorous journal, it became

famous for its witty prose style and literary merit The journal ceased publication with his death in 1912. In 1930 it was re-started under the editorship of Hakim Mumtaz Husain Osmani, after whose death his son Zaheer Osmani took over He died prematurely and for a short while the latter's sister continued to edit it from purdah (208); the magazine eventually ceased in the early 1940s Some other famous contributors were Sharar himself, Sarshar, Vilayat Ali Mambuq Kidwai, Abbas Husain Hosh, Bishan Narain Dar, Jwala Parshad Barq and Akbar Allahabadi

342. Pandit Ratan Nath Sarshar born Lucknow 1846, died Hyderabad 1902 Editor, translator, poet and journalist, later attached to the court of Maharaja Krishna Prashad in Hyderabad He is best known as a novelist, *Fasana-e-Azad* (1880) being one of the first modern novels in Urdu literature (Saxena, pp 325–34) For a detailed study see Feroz Husain, 'Life and works of Sarshar', Urdu PhD thesis, London University, 1964

343. *Avadh Akhbar* (Arabic *Akhbar*. news, newspaper) was started in Lucknow by Munshi Newal Kishore (382) in 1859 and continued until the early 1940s In its early days some pages of this newspaper were reserved for literary writing and many Urdu writers of Lucknow contributed to its columns Sarshar was its editor from 1878 until probably 1894 Sharar was its assistant editor from 1880 until 1882 *Fasana-e-Azad* appeared in the columns of the newspaper between 1878 and 1879 (Saxena, p 325)

344. Shams-ul-Ulema (273) Maulvi Nazir Ahmad born 1836 in Bijnor, U P, died 1912 He was employed in the Education Department, later as a civil administrator in U P and then in Hyderabad. About 1858 he was commissioned to translate the Penal Code, but is better known for his innovations in Urdu novel-writing (Qadri, pp 536–58)

345. This covers the period to about 1925 To complete the picture it should be added that a group of Urdu novelists emerged in Lucknow after this time They were Muhammad Ali Tabib, Munney Agha Hosh (died about 1930), and Mirza Muhammad Hadi Ruswa (1857–1931), a poet and essayist but better known as a novelist, and Mirza Fida Ali Khanjar (died 1956).

A development of a different kind took place in Lucknow about 1936 when a group of communist/socialist writers and poets who called themselves 'progressive' writers became prominent in the field of short-story writing They are Saiyyid Sajjad Zaheer (1905–73), Dr Rashid Jahan (died Moscow 1953) and Professor Ahmad Ali (at present in Karachi) Journalists of this group are Muhammad Raza Ansari (born 1917) and Saiyyid Sibte Hasan (now in Karachi) The younger short-story writers of this group are Pandit Brij Mohan Nath Kachar (born 1932) and Ram Lal (born 1923) Among the novelists and short-story writers of this period who do not belong to the 'progressive' group are Syed Abid Husain (born 1899), Hamid Ullah Afsar (born 1898), Ali Abbas Husaini (born Azamgarh 1899, died Lucknow 1971), Hayat ullah Ansari (born 1911, editor of *Qaumi Awaz*, Urdu daily in Lucknow), and the novelist Shaukat Siddiqi (now in Karachi) and Miss Qurratul Ain Haider (at present a journalist in Bombay).

Along with this writing Urdu literary criticism developed Some of the critics are Professor Syed Masud Husain Rizvi (born 1893), Abdul Bari Asi (1893–1946), Professor Ehtisham Husain (born Azamgargh 1912, died 1973), Niyaz Muhammad Khan Niyaz Fatehpuri (born Fatehpur, died Karachi 1969), Professor Nurul Hasan Hashimi (born 1913, presently head of the Department of Urdu in the University of Lucknow), Dr Ibadat Barelvi (born Bareilly), Mumtaz Husain (born Azamgargh), and Dr Muhammed Ahsan Farrooqi, who is also a novelist and a short-story writer These last three now live in Pakistan A prominent writer of humour and satire was Muhammad Umar Shaukat Thanvi (born Lucknow 1905, died Lahore 1963)

Chapter 12. Dastan Goi—*the Art of Story-Telling*

346. *Dastan-e-Amir Hamza*, a fairy tale in Persian covering about 18,000 pages in many volumes, concerning the adventures of Amir Hamza. It contains magic, charms, fairies and devils and was written, probably in its present form, by Faizi, to entertain the Emperor Akbar (Askari, p 100)

347. Abul Hasan Amir Khusrau 1255–1325. A Sufi, distinguished scholar, soldier, musician (422) and poet He was an eminent person in the court of Muhammad Tughlaq As a poet he wrote ghazals in rekhta and employed Hindi words freely in his Persian poetry For a detailed study see Muhammad Waheed Mirza, *The Life and Works of Amir Khusrau*, Calcutta 1935.

348 The most well known are *Tilism-e-Hosh Ruba* in seven volumes which is part of *Dastan-e-Amir Hamza* The first four volumes were translated from Persian into Urdu by Mir Muhammad Husain Jah and the last three by Ahmad Husain Qamar; another part entitled *Nausherwan-Nama* was translated by Shaikh Tassaduq Husain Equally well known is *Bostan-e-Khayal* by Mir Taqi Khayal, the last two volumes of which were translated by Chotey Agha in Lucknow, who also revised the five earlier volumes translated by Khwaja Aman of Delhi (Askari, p 100) In style and content all these stories are based on the *Arabian Nights*

349 In kite-flying, bamboo poles are used to hook in the kite after the string is cut. (Chapter 20)

350. Since most of the dastans referred to (348) were published by Newal Kishore Press in Lucknow, the book on Zila was probably also one of their publications

Chapter 13. *Islamic Studies*

351 The pattern of Muslim education in India, as elsewhere, was confined within the religious framework, the subjects taught being the Quran, its commentary and exposition, Muslim jurisprudence, ethics, history and medicine. The Silsila-e-Nizamia (97) enlarged the scope by incorporating some social and physical sciences into the curriculum, which then became standard The period about which Sharar writes seems to mark the end of this type of instruction, with the introduction of British education (316).

352. Arabic *mufti*. one who is authorized, in view of his scholarship, to issue a religious decree.

353. 1809–1891. The leading Shia *fiqh* (jurisprudence) scholar and Mujtahid (132) at the beginning of the present century.

354. i e. in Arabic and Persian literatures.

355 Popularly known as Nadwa College, this institution was founded in 1894 from donations of the Muslim public, with the purpose of revising the course of instruction in Islamic (Sunni) theology, Arabic and Persian languages and literatures. At the suggestion of Maulana Shibli (506) in 1895, certain secular subjects and the English language were also included in the curriculum. Its present foundation was laid in 1909 when the British Government in U P. gave it a substantial grant (Saxena, p 290) The college exists to this day supported by the present Government of U P and is regarded as an important institute of Islamic studies in India.

Chapter 14: *The Development of Yunani Medicine*

356 The Iberian Peninsula was conquered in the first instance by the Muslims in 711. It was ruled by the Umayyad Amirs of Cordova from 756 until 961, by which time the court had become a seat of Islamic culture. (Hitti, p. 514)

357 Beyond the study of basic texts, there was no standard curriculum for the training of a hakim. A beginner studied under an old and experienced hakim who improvised the course as the studies progressed. In this process he usually reserved the finer points of professional skill for members of his own family or some special pupil. As a result, the profession at a higher level tended to run in families Besides medicine, the same system of instruction applies to music and some other crafts to this day.

358 Hereditary title of the ruler of the Indian Princely State of Baroda, from 1721 until 1947.

359 They flourished until the 1920s, after which their school of medicine was superseded by Western medical science.

360 Arabic *haziq*, expert, and *ul Mulk*, of the Country. Expert of the Country An honorific title for outstanding hakims

361. The medical college exists to this day. Its curriculum includes Vedic and European medical systems along with the traditional Muslim curriculum.

362 Traditional Hindu medical knowledge derived from ancient Sanskrit texts For the Hindus the source of all forms of human knowledge was revealed to human beings through the four *Vedas*, which go back to Aryan times They are. 1) *Rig Veda*, a book of hymns; 2) *Yajus Veda*, sacrificial rituals; 3) *Saman Veda*, hymns set to music at the time of offering sacrifices; 4) *Atharva Veda*, magic, medical formulae, mysticism and philosophy (V Raghavan)

363. Takmil ut Tib College still survives today on a modest scale on the same lines Hakim Abdul Aziz was succeeded by his two sons, both of whom were hakims Members of the family still continue the tradition but medical practice is no longer their principal occupation A student of this college, Hakim Dharam Paul, now practises in London.

364. This tradition continued in Lucknow until the 1940s and several famous hakims flourished until this period. Today however, they have been replaced by advocates of Western medicine and hospitals

Chapter 15· *The Significance of the Persian Language*

365. Hindus, especially Brahmans, are prohibited from eating meat. Thus a Hindu convert to Islam would say jokingly that he changed his religion to be able to eat meat.

366 A member of a troupe of male performers who entertained by acting, dancing, jesting and mimicry.

367. A group of pandits (34) originally from Kashmir, some of whom became attached to the court in Delhi and later settled in parts of U P. In Lucknow this community lived in a quarter named after it, Kashmiri Mohalla, which is still in existence.

368 Hindi *bhasha*: language Sanskrit has always been a literary language and a language of intellectual discourse. The vernacular spoken in parts of Avadh was called Purbi, Eastern Bhasha.

369. In parts of north India under the British, Persian was replaced by Urdu as the administrative and court language in 1832. (Qadri, p. 202) It became the language of instruction in 1835 (316). This policy was extended to the remaining parts of U.P after the annexation of Avadh and remained so until 1947 when Urdu was replaced by Hindi.

370. Author of *Bostan-e-Avadh*, a short history of Avadh in Urdu, published by Maktba Dabdaba-e-Ahmadi, 1892.

371. Muslims bow to the Quran, placing their foreheads upon it. Hence the expression 'to place the brow upon' means to show extreme respect.

Chapter 16. *Scripts—Calligraphy and the Urdu Press*

372 Naskh script is a cursive form of Arabic writing, where the letters are not necessarily vertical as in Kufic, but the foliation attached to them is derived from Kufic.

373 Developed in Hira, a medieval Arab town near the site of Babylon

374 Kufic script, also known as Cufie, after the name of the town Al-Kufah south of Baghdad, where this form of writing developed, is one of the earliest forms of Arabic script writing It is characterized by heavy, solid vertical lines which are used to form the letters According to Grube, there are eight distinct styles within this group, the three main ones being simple Kufic, with straight vertical strokes and angular forms of letters; foliated Kufic, in which the vertical strokes end in leaves and half-palmettes; and floriated Kufic, where the endings of the letters are enhanced by floral designs and half-palmettes and the round forms are rendered as rosettes. (Grube, pp 11–13)

375. Tahir Ibn al Husain, a Persian general, was appointed Governor of the region east of Baghdad in 820 and later became its ruler His successor remained in power until 872 and extended his dominion as far as the Indian frontier. (Hitti, p. 460)

376. Timur (Tamerlane) conquered Persia between 1370 and 1383 Mir Ali lived at that time One of his works, a collection of poems in his handwriting dated 1396, is in the British Museum The work is entitled 'Khamsah', five poems of the poet Khwadju Kirmani, who died in 746 For an account of Nastaliq writers, see *Ahwal-o-Asrar-e-Khushnawaisan*, Tehran University Press, 1970

377. *Katba* is the stylized writing of a Quranic verse, excerpts from a hadis in Arabic, or one or two aphoristic lines or verses in Urdu or Persian

378. Arabic *katib*· a scribe. Urdu publications are still printed lithographically. Katibs prepare the entire manuscript for printing, usually in Nastaliq style This process of copying the manuscript is known as *kitabat*

379. Turkish tughra sign, symbol A Quranic verse, a sentence from a prayer or Hadis, so written that the composition outlines an animal figure which is not considered unclean or of ill omen. Usually it is a dove or a tiger.

380 The printing-press was first introduced in India at Fort William College in 1814 by missionaries to translate the Bible into Urdu in five volumes In Lucknow the letter-press method was established during the reign of Ghazi ud Din Haidar The litho press however was introduced in 1837 by a certain Mr Archer who had first established one in Kanpur (Qadri, pp 96–97)

381. Arabic *hujja*· to bear witness Haji is an honorific title of one who has made a pilgrimage to Mecca, one of the basic obligations in Islam

382. Munshi Newal Kishore established his press in Lucknow in 1858 to publish classics and religious books in Arabic, Persian and Sanskrit. (Saxena, p 318) Its main publications were, however, contemporary works in Urdu, and some in Hindi. It was regarded as one of the most important publishing houses in India in the field of Oriental scholarship, unequalled in its range of subjects and literary works Since the 1940s the firm has severely reduced the number of Urdu, Arabic and Persian publications It now operates under the name of Newal Kishore Book Depot and is still run by the same family

383 Except for the Nastaliq style, which is used in Urdu litho printing, the art of calligraphy has now died out in Lucknow and other parts of the sub-continent. If it is continued at all it is in the occasional work of amateurs. The art of musleh sangi has disappeared completely.

Chapter 17: *The Arts of Combat and Self-Defence*

384. The remuneration was not intended for the personal use of the Saiyyids (37) but as charity for the poor, to be distributed by the Saiyyids.

385 To pinion in bānk is to render the opponent helpless by twisting his limbs in such a way that his body becomes a knot

386 Arabic *sabha*, to praise *Tasbih* is the Muslim rosary carried by believers, who say a short prayer on each bead whenever they have the opportunity The number of beads corresponds to the ninety-nine attributes of Allah.

387 The sacred thread worn by male Hindus, especially Brahmans, over the left shoulder which hangs diagonally across the body to the right hip The investiture of the sacred thread marks, according to the ancient Hindu tradition, the initiation of a boy into the first stage of manhood, or *brahmacharya*, the period of studentship. the other three stages in life following this are *grahastha*, domestic life, *vana prastha*, life in hermitage, and *sanniyasa*, complete renunciation

388 Persian *kushti*, something between Japanese judo and Western wrestling The game is won by the person who can throw his opponent in such a way that the backs of his shoulders touch the ground

389 Persian *darugha* supervisor, in charge of the whole or a section of the staff of a wealthy household

390 Wedding processions went from the house of the bridegroom to that of the bride and were accompanied by bands of music, displays of acrobats and other forms of entertainment (Chapter 47)

Chapter 18· *Animal Combats—Beasts of Prey and other Quadrupeds*

391 A spiked iron bar about one foot long with two circles in the centre into which the fingers are placed for a firm grip. For a detailed description of these animal combats, see Knighton, chapters 7, 10 and 11

Chapter 19 *Bird-Fighting and Pigeon-Flying*

392 For details on the varieties of Indian birds, see Hugh Whistler, *Popular Handbook of Indian Birds*, Gurney and Jackson, London 1949, and Salim Ali, *The Common Birds of India*, Thacker and Co , Bombay 1945.

393 The custom of offering charity or alms for the poor as a form of sacrifice for the granting of a specific prayer, such as welfare of someone in distress or health for the ill In this case the charity was for the man himself, from God, for the well-being of the Imams.

394. Persian *vasiqa*, endowment (172), and *dar*, holder. *Vasiqa dar* were usually the descendants either of the ruling house or of the leading employees of the court, hence the grant of a vasiqa signified nobility At the present time the amount of the vasiqa pension has been greatly reduced owing to the increase in family numbers over the successive generations since they were originally instituted When the amount of vasiqa for an individual reaches under five rupees per month, a lump sum equal to the total for twenty years is paid as a final settlement.

395. Persian *jamadar*, headman, a non-commissioned officer in the Indian section of the British army

396. In fact there are many varieties of quail in India, but bush quail and button quail are the best known.

397 Arabic *itr*· essence, fragrance, a perfume extracted from flowers with sandal-oil as the base, without clarified spirit or alcohol. There are three varieties: those which have the freshness of clay, those which have the fragrance of summer flowers, and those which are especially prepared to have a warming effect in winter.

398. Girah baz are usually white and blue and the seven varieties are a mixture of

these two colours They are flown early in the morning and fly high in the sky, coming back in the evening or after dark, sometimes somersaulting as they return. They fly vertically from the ground, so that if a bowl of water is placed at the point where they have taken off their reflections can be seen in it for some time

Goley are found in three major varieties, and in many colours except white They fly low in the sky covering long distances, usually in flocks. In competitions they return at the sound of their master's whistle, bringing with them some pigeons from his opponent's flock and so increasing their number and in this way winning.

399. Considered a better variety of goley, large in size. The head, beak, mouth and wings can be of different colours, although are usually red or green. The body and tail are white, with a beautiful, coloured, floral-like pattern on the breast. Originally the breed was brought from Shirazi (11)

400. Guli, like shirazi, have white breasts with the back and wings of different colours, but are quite small in size. They have coloured floral-like designs on the upper parts.

401. A variety of girah baz from Peshawar, now nearly extinct Its breast is white and its back a mixture of white, black and grey.

402. Gulvey is usually white, but is found also in other colours It is not flown but is reared for its beauty only, as the feathers on its neck are especially attractive

403. Laqa is usually white with a small head and distinctive long neck, which it twists backwards to touch its fan-shaped tail, sometimes to such an extent that the bird somersaults It is delicate and cannot tolerate being mixed with other varieties · when this happens the bird withdraws and loses its special characteristics.

404 Lotan has a white head, black wings and a small white crest. If held by the head and shaken it quivers for some time. There is one variety which, unless stopped, would continue to quiver until it dies This bird is now almost extinct.

405. A variety of girah baz, now extinct. There were two kinds, *kapur chandàn* and *choya chandan*, both grey in colour, small in size, with a white beak and a crescent at the throat They were bred for their beauty

406. A white variety of lotan, small in size, which keeps its tail tightly closed. It makes the sound resembling 'Yahu' when breathing.

Chapter 20: *Parrots and Kite-flying*

407. The idea of infidelity is expressed in Urdu with the phrase 'he has the eyes of a parrot'.

408. Hindi *akas*, sky, atmosphere, and *diya*, oil-lamp. According to Hindu mythology the abode of the Gods is on three spheres—sky, atmosphere and earth In popular belief, stars are lamps lit in honour of the Gods of the first two regions.

409. The string used in kite-fighting is of two kinds The front part, which is involved in the fight, is specially prepared with powdered glass so that it can cut sharply. The back part is untreated so that it can be handled safely.

Chapter 21: *The Origin and Growth of North Indian Music*

410. This and the following chapters on music apply in the main to the school of music known as Hindustani music: the other school is South Indian or Karnatic. For an account see Peggy Hoyle.

411 Hindi, song. The science of classical Indian music is composed of three elements, singing, instrumental music and dancing. In singing various combinations of *surs* (413) are interpreted in a definite and pleasing order. If this is done through meaningful words instead of vocalizing the names of the surs (*sa, re, ga . . .*) the composition is called a

git (Mohtashim, p 10) Originally a git was of devotional nature but later the term came to be applied to love songs as well.

412. Projection of a git through a musical instrument, which may be one of two types· those which accompany a singer but are unable to convey all the notes in the phrases of the git on their own, like *pakhavaj*, *tabla*, *dhol* and *duf*; and those that can express all the notes like *sarangi*, *sitar* and *esraj*, and hence can be played on their own (Mohtashim, p. 10)

413. Sanskrit, *svara* A sur is a tone of a definite pitch, a note of the scale In ancient times they were called *surtis* or *shruti* and recognized as twenty-two in number, the pitch rising in an ascending order and with equal distance between each note In the contemporary system they have been reduced to seven They are popularly known as *sa*, *re*, *ga*, *ma*, *pa*, *dha*, *ni*, *sa* (Mohtashim, p. 12)

414 Sanskrit *raga* A raga is a melodic form made up of a series of surs within the octave distinguished by a 'particular sequence of notes, number of tones, ascending and descending orders, most prominent notes, notes of different lengths, characteristic phrases and a principal mood' It is the melodic base of the Indian musical system on which the musician improvises in any style, for any duration and in any tempo, either as a solo or accompanied by tabla; it may have a composed bass song or instrumental gat. (Ravi Shankar, p 29) Ragas have been classified according to emotional mood and time of day, usually early morning or evening Although a large body of theory exists, musical knowledge in practice is learnt directly from a master and is never written

415 Brahma, Vishnu and Mahesh are the supreme gods of the Hindu trinity. Brahma is the first aspect as the creator of the universe, Vishnu the second aspect as the preserver and sustainer of the universe. He had nine re-births, the seventh time as Rama (5), the eighth time as Krishna (219) and the ninth time as Buddha. one more incarnation is expected. Mahesh, also known as Mahadeo or Shiva, is the third aspect. He is the god of destruction who changes nature It is believed that after the creation of the universe he danced with joy with his consort Parvati. Hence he is regarded as the creator of music, dance and drama. (Ravi Shankar, pp 156–60)

416 Feminine word for raga, employed to express the lighter and technically less vigorous version of the raga

417 Singers of a Muslim hymn or *qavvali*, a religious song sung in gatherings of the devout in a fast tempo This style originated with Amir Khusrau (422) and is known as the qavvali style of singing.

418 An elongated stringed instrument with a gourd made of hide at one end and a narrow metal finger-board The sarod is played with a plectrum and as well as the main strings for playing, there are sixteen sympathetic strings which resonate as in the sitar.

419. The *chang*, *barbat* and *rabab* were ancient stringed instruments, now obsolete. A variation of rabab known as *rudra bin* was invented by Tan Sen. (Ravi Shankar, p. 50).

420. The *shahnai* is a wind instrument made of a wooden stem with a metal funnel attached at the end, similar to an oboe Traditionally the shahnai was played outside a house to announce celebrations, especially marriage, but during the last few decades it has become a solo concert instrument, sometimes accompanied by other instruments

421. The *zangula* or *jangla* and *zaif* were adopted as proper ragas or raginis within the Indian musical system by Amir Khusrau. Tan Sen (430) composed *shahana* raga to display royal splendour and grandeur and also *darbari* raga, which consists of three ragas—*darbari kanrah*, *darbari kalyan* and *darbari asavari* Originally Tan Sen composed the three ragas known as *tori*, *sarang* and *malhar*, which were quite different from the established ragas at the time. Akbar liked these new ragas and they were sung frequently at his court. Hence they came to be known as darbari ragas. (Bare Ahga, pp. 7, 8).

422 As a musician Amir Khusrau (347) invented the tabla as well as the sitar, and

composed a large number of ragas and raginis like *sanam, aymet basant, kankali, kafi* and *ghara*, which were a departure from the traditional ragas of that time Moreover he initiated several new styles of singing which were gay, colourful and less demanding than the strict singing of the ragas Prominent among these are qavvali, ghazal and trana styles of singing (Bare Agha, p. 7)

423 Persian *seh*, seven, and *tar*, strings. The sitar is about four feet long with a hollow gourd at the base, on which lie the seven strings used for playing In addition, it has about twenty other strings, the purpose of which is to amplify the sound, and twenty metal frets, some of which can be moved by the player The strings are plucked with a plectrum This instrument has become the most popular in India and is well known in the Western world.

424 A light, entertaining melody free from the rigid structure of a raga

425 Arabic *hal*, ecstasy, and *qal*, condition. to be thrown into ecstasy On Thursday evenings the Sufi prayer meetings are followed by qavvali singing, during which some people go into a trance and are said to attain cosmic unity.

426 Muhammad Tughlaq ruled from 1326 to 1351 Soon after coming to power he transferred his capital from Delhi to Deo Garh about 700 miles away and gave it the new name of Daulatabad (7) Later however the capital was removed to Delhi

427 Hindi *chaudhri*, village headman. Feminine *chaudhrayan* A title used for the chief of a group of people who live together or follow the same trade.

428. Arabic *tarawih* prayers and reading of the Quran, offered by Muslims after the evening meal during the month of Ramzan (60)

429 Sultan Husain Sharqi (1719–48) was the third and last king of the Saiyyid dynasty which ruled from Jaunpur and was established in 1414. He was a patron of music and himself composed fifteen ragas, some of which, like *shyam kadar, shyam des, rama tori* and *jaunpuri*, became famous. (Bare Agha, p 6) The *khyal* style of singing, the origins of which are attributed to Amir Khusrau (422), was promoted and made popular by Sharqi. (Ravi Shankar, p 33)

430. Mian Tan Sen (Hindi *tan*, musical phrase, *sen* from *chaien*, peaceful; *mian* [311], one who brings peace through music) was the title Emperor Akbar gave to Ata Muhammad Khan who was born of a Brahmin family in Gwalior and given the name of Ramtanu. (Ravi Shankar, p. 49) He is the greatest name in North Indian music and is generally believed to be the most accomplished singer that has ever lived Various legends have grown about the perfection of his art, one being that by singing the *dipak* raga he was able to light the oil-lamps and another that he could bring rain by singing the *megh malhar* raga

431 Hindi *nau*, nine, and *ratan*, jewel Emperor Akbar collected in his court the nine foremost men of letters, musicians and soldiers of his time. He called them the Nine Jewels Tan Sen was the first

432. The family of Tan Sen, descending through his son and daughter, have devoted themselves to music over a period of centuries It was this family and their pupils who established the tradition of North Indian music as it is known today. The last great masters of the family were Wazir Khan at the court of Rampur (438) and Muhammad Ali Khan at Lucknow, the latter a vocalist who died at the turn of the century Some members of the family continue as top-ranking musicians to this day, among them Vilayat Khan, a sitar player, Imrat Khan, a surbahar player and the Dagar brothers, singers of khayal

433 The reference is probably to the numerous members of the Tan Sen family who dominated Indian music over centuries. But Hindu musicians have also been prominent all along.

434. Thick pancakes about six inches in diameter fried in clarified butter or oil; hence an expensive item.

435. Thick clotted cream, nearly semi-solid with the skin on the top.

436 Urdu *pichvan*· a type of huqqa which has a flexible extension of the stem sometimes several yards long A huqqa is an elaborate smoking-pipe with a water bowl attached at the bottom, through which the smoke is drawn

437 In the old Indian system of weights, four *chitanks* were one *pao*, four *paos* a *ser* (roughly two pounds) and sixteen *sers* a *man* The metric system has been recently adopted

Chapter 22· *The Development of Light Classical and Instrumental Music*

438 Wazir Khan was Ustad (250) of the Navab and head of more than five hundred musicians at the court of Rampur (124), at least fifty of whom were among the most renowned instrumentalists and vocal artists in the whole country (Ravi Shankar, p. 53) About this time, at the beginning of the century, the court of Rampur was the greatest single patron of musicians in India, a tradition which continued to flourish at this court

439. Hindi *kadar*, mean, and *piya*, lover, husband the mean lover, pen-name of Wajid Ali Shah as a writer of amorous songs

440 Hindi *thumri*· a short love song expressing romantic longing, a style of both vocal and instrumental music where parts of different ragas are joined in a rhythmic pattern. It had been known already in Benares but was popularized by Wajid Ali Shah. Some other members of his court who followed his example and also composed thumris were Navab Wazir Mirza Qadar, Navab Kalbe Ali Khan, Binda Din Binda and Lallan, thus establishing the Lucknow style of thumri singing. (Mohtashim, p 583)

441. Arabic *khyal* imagination, fancy. A love song expressing feminine feelings about the imaginary meeting or separation from the lover This is in accordance with the tradition of Hindi poetry of expressing sentiments in the feminine form of the language As a style of vocal music it is a composition of colourful melodies which take precedence over the verses It was originated by Amir Khusrau (422), improved upon by Sultan Husain Sharqi (429) and made popular by his court musician Shah Sadarang In the first half of the eighteenth century, Mian Sadarang composed khyal songs in many different ragas At present, it is the predominant vocal style of North Indian classical music (Ravi Shankar, p 33).

442 Initially, Amir Khusrau started the singing of Persian ghazals in light and attractive melodies Over a period of time this style developed new techniques, using Urdu ghazals It became very popular in Lucknow. Now known as light classical style, it is a common form of singing in parts of North India. The singing of a ghazal, usually accompanied by tabla and sarangi, starts from the middle stages of a raga, leaving out the earlier parts, and concentrates on the airs Some favourite airs of ghazal-singing are *kaharva, pashtu* and *rupak* Begam Akhtar (b. 1914) was an outstanding contemporary ghazal and thumri singer from Lucknow She died in 1974

443 Persian *soz* lament; the recital of marsiya elegies in a majlis (129) Because of religious prohibition of music a special style was evolved in which the ragas and raginis remain in the background as a framework only, omitting the surs and stressing the rhythm. This style of singing must never be accompanied by any instrument

444 For details of the development of music in Lucknow see Raja Muhammad Navab Ali, *Maaruf-ul-Naghmat*, 2 vols, Mumtaz ul Mutaba, Lucknow (probably 1920), and Hakim Muhammad Karam Imam Khan, *Maadan ul Mausiqi*, ed. Munshi Syed Wajid Ali, Hindustani Press, Lucknow 1925

445 Originally a form of folk singing from the camel cart drivers in the Panjab. Tappa was later developed to a classical level by Minan Shori The style consists of improvisations on a melody, usually in fast tempo.

446. Persian *tarana*, melody, song, a song in a raga composed of simple words,

usually Persian, sung in a colourful and gay melody in fast tempo. The style was initiated by Amir Khusrau as a result of a competition in the court of Sultan Husain Sharqi Gopal Naek sang a raga and Amir Khusrau was challenged to reproduce it. He did so, but not being proficient in the Sanskrit language he replaced the Sanskrit words in the song with Persian and sang the raga (Bare Agha, p. 7)

447 A set of two small spherical drums with skin stretched across the flattened top surface and a range of about an octave. The tabla is the most widely used accompanying instrument

448 Small stringed instrument with a rounded body and wide neck played with a bow and held vertically. It has three main strings and many vibrating sympathetic strings.

449. Known as *vina* in South India· an ancient stringed instrument going back to Aryan times, in various sizes, often elaborately decorated. It is capable of much diversity and subtlety of tone quality.

450 A simple stringed instrument with a narrow neck and a gourd at the end; it has four to six strings. One or two are plucked in playing Its function is to repeat the tonic at appropriate intervals throughout the performance of both vocal and instrumental music

451. A cylindrical drum, formerly made of clay but now of wood A skin is stretched over both ends, each of which is tuned to a different pitch.

452. Also a cylindrical drum with a skin stretched over each end, played on both sides

453 Muhammad Ali Khan was an eminent vocalist, who returned to live in Lucknow towards the end of his life. He left a disciple, Khurshid Ali Khan, who furthered the development he had begun His pupil, Raja Thakur Navab Ali Khan, author of *Maaruf-ul-Naghmat*, in turn became a very renowned musician in Lucknow, both as an artist and theoretician. With his death in the 1930s the torch was passed to his pupil Syed Shams ud Din Haidar, popularly known as Bare Agha: artist, author on music and Vice-Principal of the School of Music in Lucknow. In addition to these men, there have been many other prominent singers and instrumentalists in Lucknow. An important development took place when the Marris College of Hindustani Music was founded by the British in the 1920s under the leadership of the well-known musicologist V N. Bhatkande. Since 1947 this institution has been called Bhatkande Sangeet Vidyapeeth.

Chapter 23: *Dance and the Development of the* Kathak *School*

454. Wandering minstrels who chanted *kathas*, Hindu mythological stories, while making appropriate bodily movements This is the origin of *kathak* dancing Later the kathak school of dancing changed its characteristic mood from devotional to erotic.

455 Instrumental compositions which do not allow for free improvisation They can be played in any rhythm and with any number of rhythmic cycles from two to sixteen. They are accompanied by tabla

456 A *tora* (plural *torey*) is a complete cycle of one rhythmic pattern. The dancer or player of an instrument, e.g. a sitar, tries to create a false impression to his accompanying instrumentalist, usually a tabla player, as to when and where he or she is going to complete the cycle, sometimes performing as though it were about to end and then continuing The result is a kind of playful game to see whether the tabla can answer the question put by the dancer or the sitar.

457. This was the greatest school of kathak, sometimes referred to simply as the North Indian or Lucknow school of dancing It is characterized by very quick alternations of rhythmic footwork. It is one of the four Indian schools, the others being

Kathakali and Bharat Natyam in South India and Mani Puri in Assam For an account, see E Bhavnani

458. A short rhythmic composition, many of which make up a dance.

459 In Indian dance a collection of small bells is frequently worn on a band round the ankles by male and female dancers alike In kathak dancing one of the finer points is the control with which the performer is able to jingle the bells with his leg movements

460. Hindi *batana*. to tell In dance terminology, to depict through bodily movements. In kathak dancing there is sometimes another person who gives a verbal commentary to clarify what the dancer is illustrating through movement.

461 Kalka Prashad had three sons who were dancers of repute and who maintained the family tradition The son of one of them, Birju Maharaj, is the contemporary authority on this school. For some time he had a private school of dancing in Lucknow, but he is now in Delhi, attached to the Indian Academy of Fine Arts.

Chapter 24: *Light Entertainment*

462. Time-beat in a rhythmic cycle, the completion of which is emphasized by the clapping of hands

463 Sanskrit Vikramaditiya, Sun of Power, the legendary King of Ujjain who established the Vikrama era starting in 58 BC Its use became very popular in north India and is still referred to by many Hindus under its new name of Samvat The name Vikramaditya was adopted by many kings of ancient India including the Gupta Emperor (375–413). The deeds of all the Vikramadityas seem to have become part of one series of legends and probably reflect the achievements of the Gupta period from about 320 till about 500 (Moreland and Chatterjee, pp 70–578)

464 A male performer or a troupe of them who entertain by jesting, joking and mimicry Feminine *domni* (Chapters 44, 47)

465. A *dhari* is a performer similar to a *dom* but who dances as well

466 Hindi *babu* clerk The expression 'Babu English' came to signify the Indianized form of English used by clerks

467 Hindi *divanji* *divan* (18), *ji* (67) After the rule of the Navabs it became the title of an accountant or bookkeeper, usually Hindu, employed in a wealthy household.

468 Stalls were set up in Lucknow on the days when the Muharram processions took place for the benefit of the participants

469. Female entertainers who specialized in singing popular tunes

470 Hindi *jagna* to be awake A troupe of female entertainers whose main function was to keep the female household awake throughout the night during celebrations. (Chapter 44)

471. These forms of light entertainment have declined rapidly since the author's time and now they have disappeared entirely

Chapter 25 *Courtesans and Theatre*

472 Hindi *sabha* assembly Following the great popularity of *Indar Sabha* (Chapter 10), hosts of theatrical societies, and later companies, sprang up in Lucknow, and all had 'Sabha' as part of their name.

473 Hindi *natak* drama Popular amateur theatre in India, the roots of which go back to the Sanskrit drama of ancient times

474 The vogue of theatre in Lucknow died in its infancy and the Bombay Parsi theatre developed from it, employing writers from Lucknow This theatre was taken over in the 1930s by the film industry, of which Bombay remains the centre to this day

Chapter 26. Soz—*the Chanting of Dirges*

475. Mir Ali Hasan and Mir Bandey Hasan initiated and evolved the *pukka soz* style, in which dirges were sung rigidly according to a few raginis selected for the purpose, mainly from the *malkaus* group. The two other styles of soz are (1) the Mufti Ganj school, in which to make soz more acceptable to religious people, Shaikh Ata of the Mufti Ganj quarter evolved a style in which the raginis were not developed or elaborated but remained 'curtained' and hidden in the background; and (2) Rangeen soz, which developed in Lucknow in the 1930s with gay and colourful raginis like *pahari* and *pilu* as a base. Its main exponent was Navab Asghar Ali Khan from the family of Bahu Begam's (61) brother, Navab Salar Jang.

476. Manjhu Sahib was the popular name of Mir Muhammad Husain (1870–1944), a pensioner of Mahmudabad State and a very prominent exponent of soz khwani. He travelled frequently to Bihar and Hyderabad for his recitals. His contemporaries included Mir Hamza Ali Kinturi, Fazal Husain, a pupil of Mir Bandey Ali; Navab Asghar Ali Khan and the courtesans Imam Bandi and Kajjan.

477 Women as well as some men from Shia families in Lucknow continue to chant dirges to this day in an amateur fashion as part of the mourning assemblies in Muharram. However, the remaining exponents of it as an art form are Maharaj Kumar Muhammad Amir Haidar Khan of Mahmudabad, Begam Akhtar and Muharram Ali. Prince Sultan Hasan Mirza, from Benares and at present in Karachi, is also one of the last remaining masters of soz khwani.

478. An oral account describes how the situation changed in the early 1920s in Lucknow, soon after Sharar wrote this essay. 'Mir Bandey Hasan and his brother Mir Ali Hasan went to Mujtahid Mir Muhammad Abbas [353] to seek his ruling on soz khwani They were persistent, and hence were allowed to sing a soz as a specimen of their form of art This touched the Mujtahid to such an extent that he became ecstatic and fainted His judgment was in their favour but only for those soz where the raginis remain hidden in the background.'

Chapter 27. *Bands, Processions and the Telling of Time*

479. The dhol, tasha, raushan chauki and naubat have by now almost all disappeared from public sight, as have the turhai and the qurna The bugle and the danka are still seen in the occasional wedding procession, but are more frequently present in political or religious processions, which sometimes also include bagpipes and other British band instruments. As a result of the gradual disappearance of wedding processions this type of music has lost much of its popularity.

Chapter 28· *Gastronomy*

480. Persian *dastar khwan* tablecloth, usually square and yellow in colour with verses in Urdu or Persian printed by wood-cut around the edges in black Food was served on this cloth, usually placed on the floor and later, in more Westernized homes, on tables. *Khwan*, a wooden octagonal tray for carrying food.

481 A rich rice and meat dish with a high proportion of meat, prepared in an elaborate manner and flavoured and coloured by saffron and other spices In Lucknow the dish is prepared so that separate grains of rice are coloured yellow and white.

482. A thick, highly spiced conserve of vegetables, with an oil and vinegar base.

483 Braised meat curry in thick sauce, of dark gold colour. In Lucknow it is prepared without vegetables.

484 *Zarda* a sweet rice dish with saffron and raisins, prepared for special occasions.

485 *Kabab* is prepared in Lucknow from finely ground meat, spiced and fried in the shape and size of hamburgers

486. *Biryani* is a variety of pulau containing slightly different spices and with meat sauce employed in preparing the rice

487. *Chapati*, *paratha*, *shir mal* and *rogni roti* are Indian breads *Chapati* is a very thin, light unleavened bread made of whole-wheat flour and grilled on a hot plate An everyday bread *Paratha*, a pancake made with milk and fried in clarified butter, is thick, crispy, six to nine inches in diameter and used on special occasions. *Shir mal*, an unleavened bread, is about six inches in diameter, made with milk and butter with saffron on the top and baked in an underground oven. It is used on special occasions. *Roghni roti*, another variety of unleavened bread, is about eight inches in diameter, prepared with clarified butter and milk. It is used for breakfast in well-to-do households.

488. A preparation of fruits and vegetables cooked in spices to a thick paste and preserved in vinegar. In Lucknow some special chutneys are also prepared from fresh vegetables without cooking or vinegar

489. Different vegetables, first cooked and marinated, pickled in oil, salt and spices.

490 A specially prepared clarified butter of high quality with a sweet taste.

491. A simple dish of boiled rice and lentils. This is a common everyday dish for the poor.

492. *Gulathi* is a sophisticated rice pudding made of milk, clarified butter and dried fruits.

Chapter 29. *Delicacies and Confectionery*

493. A hard sweet similar to toffee, prepared with clarified butter and dried fruits.

494. A breakfast curry prepared in Lucknow according to a special recipe, with spices and cuts of meat.

495 Fatiha is the opening surah of the Quran. It is also the name of the ceremony in which this surah is read with a prayer, usually over food, for the souls of religious saints but occasionally for relatives as well. The food is intended for distribution to the poor but can be eaten by the members of the household.

496. Persian *niyaz*: desire. This ceremony is similar to Fatiha, but the prayers are for the souls of relatives and friends The food over which the prayers are said is usually not eaten in the house but given to the poor

497. Edible, gossamer-thin wafers prepared with gold and silver foil and used for decorative purposes.

Chapter 30. *More Delicacies and Confectionery*

498. The custom of sending food to people's homes arose in order to include the women, since owing to purdah, their movements in visiting homes were restricted.

Chapter 31: *Food Refinements and Water-cooling*

499. A small, decorated earthenware pitcher with an elongated neck like an ancient Greek vase, made of a special clay found at the bottom of lakes. It is baked but only very slightly glazed in order to allow air to pass through and so keep the water cool.

500. An earthenware goblet for drinking-water, baked, but left totally unglazed. In

both surahis and abkhoras, the unglazed clay imparts a refreshing fragrance to the drinking-water

Chapter 32: *The Evolution of Men's Dress*

501. At Ellora and Ajanta near Aurangabad are situated shrines and monasteries carved out of solid rock into rock temples or caves The oldest go back to the pre-Christian era but the series ranges from the first to the sixth century, displaying in the three groups of temples the sculpture and frescoes inspired by Buddhism, Jainism and Hinduism Their subject remains religious throughout the centuries, though the content changes according to the different religious point of view The sculpture of Buddha with his attributes, sometimes more than life-size, is to be seen beside sculpture presenting other religious images Frescoes, also painted over a period of centuries, have survived in six out of the twenty-nine caves of Ajanta In the earliest period their subject-matter is the life and legends of Buddha, who is painted in heroic proportions. Religious images of later periods have court scenes, nature and animals around them Hindu art emerges fully in the last phase. These works are the earliest known examples of Hindu sculpture and painting, and summits of Indian art

502 The dress most popular today for everyday life in the cities is kurta and trousers. Black shervani and *churidar*, tight pyjamas (Chapter 35), and Gandhi cap (Chapter 33) have become the dress for formal and official occasions in Lucknow and Delhi. The angarkha survived in Lucknow as the dress for the law courts until the 1930s when it was replaced by English legal costume.

Chapter 33 *Forms of Headwear*

503. Since ancient times in India, male dress was not complete without head-dress, originally some form of pagri, later a cap, and it was considered an impropriety to go outdoors bare-headed. To remove someone else's headwear was considered a great insult.

504. Embroidery of floral designs on muslin, in which the thread is used in such a manner that it remains invisible and the design appears to be part of the fabric. The four kinds of *chikan* work in Lucknow are: *katao*, where minute patterns of different materials are sewn into the muslin; *murri*, where designs are embossed upon the muslin with the use of thread, *phanda*, a design made of thread in chain stitch, and *jali kholna*, in which individual threads are carefully removed from the material and re-used in the same place to form the design Chikan work from Lucknow is still popular in the rest of India and can be seen on the kurtas worn by young people today. Because of its popularity this craft has now been taken under the wing of the Cottage Industries Plan of the Government of U.P.

505 In the 1930s the *taluqdari* cap, also known as the Lucknow cap, was finally evolved. This was usually made of black velvet and had two sides, between four to eight inches high, joined by a piece of cloth on the top centre This cap, when made from white *khadi* (hand-spun and hand-woven cloth), became known as the Gandhi cap and is the most widely used head-dress in India at present.

Chapter 34: *More Headwear*

506. Born Azamgarh (U.P) 1857, died 1914 A scholar of Islamic theology and Arabic, Persian and Urdu literatures who was for a short time professor at Aligarh,

associated with Nadwa College (355) and founder of Darul Musanifin (Azamgarh), an institute for Islamic research which survives to this day.

Chapter 35. *Forms of Trousers (Pyjamas)*

507. Similar to an ankle-length skirt and at present a popular form of ladies' dress in Lucknow.

Chapter 36. *Footwear and Female Fashion*

508. The cow from which the hide is obtained is of course a sacred animal for Hindus
509 Mustard oil was applied to soften the leather and to prevent cracking
510. The sari is at present worn throughout India, as well as in Lucknow.

Chapter 37: *Winter Clothing, New Fashions and Jewelry*

511. The paste prepared from the leaves of the henna tree As part of their make-up, women applied henna paste as a dye to the palm of the hand and finger-tips in different patterns. After a few hours the dried paste was washed off and the patterns remained in fast red dye. In later days the fashion for men was to cover the top joint of the small finger of the right hand with henna dye.
512. A piece of woollen cloth roughly the size of a sheet, embroidered with colourful patterns in cotton and wool This delicate and fine craft is special to Kashmir.
513. Just as the Mughal Emperors honoured a person by bestowing upon him a khilat, the later Navabs of Avadh bestowed a doshala, a brocaded shawl of rectangular shape hung over the shoulders.

Chapter 38: *The Building of Houses*

514. This part of the house was the coolest and served mainly as a rest room during the heat of the day.

Chapter 39: *Domestic Furnishings*

515. The *takhat* is a large rectangular or square plank of wood supported by four short legs.
516. The *palangri* is a low bed made of cane or jute with a wooden frame and four small legs
517. The *dari* is a thickly woven cotton material in colourful designs used as a mattress.
518. Hindi *pankha*· fan. *Farshi pankha* was a large fan made of bamboo leaves or cloth and operated by the servants. The hand fan, small in size, was used by individuals Another variety of fan not mentioned here was of rectangular cloth with a wooden frame on three sides, suspended from the ceiling and operated by a string.

Chapter 40. *Hair Fashions, Etiquette and Courtesans*

519 The salons of high-class courtesans were important centres of social etiquette as well as dancing and music Sometimes young boys of good families were even sent there a few times with an older person to acquire social polish Such courtesans were usually attached to a rich noble on a regular salary and did not practise the profession of a prostitute. For details about the life of a Lucknow courtesan, see Mirza Muhammad Hadi Ruswa, *Umrao Jan Ada*, translated into English by K. Singh and M A Husaini, Orient Longmans, Calcutta 1961; and *The Beauties of Lucknow—Twenty-four Portraits of the most celebrated and Popular Living, Historic Singers, Dancers and Actresses of the Oudh Court and of Lucknow*, Central Press Co Ltd, Calcutta 1874

520. A simple wooden spinning-wheel for cotton or silk thread, with which coarse cloth is traditionally made in India. In the 1920s under the leadership of Gandhi, spinning charkha became associated with nationalist sentiments, for men and women alike. It became a symbol of protest against machine-produced cotton cloth from Britain, which was prepared from Indian raw materials and considered economically exploitative.

521. For a detailed account of the life of women in India, especially Muslims, based upon their own observations, see Mrs F. Parks, *Wanderings of a Pilgrim in Search of the Picturesque*, London 1852, and Mrs Meer Hassan Ali, *Observations on the Musulmans of India*, Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, London 1917. While Mrs Parks was a traveller, Mrs Hassan Ali, an Englishwoman, stayed in Lucknow from 1816 to 1828 and her account provides a detailed description of life, manners, customs, ceremonies and religious practices of Lucknow at the time.

Chapter 41: *More on Etiquette*

522. Persian *taslim*· submission. A common form of greeting which is also used to express thanks. (Chapter 42)

523. Persian *farsh*, floor, this consisted of a *dari* of thickly woven cotton over which a clean white sheet was spread. In well-to-do houses a Persian carpet or velvet cloth embroidered with gold and silver threads was placed on top

524. A small dome-shaped, silver receptacle, elaborately decorated with carvings, used for serving prepared betel leaves.

525. The placing of each hand alternately between each hand of the other person, while bowing slightly.

526. Consisting of three embraces on each shoulder without touching the other's face. *Musafiha* and *muaneqa* are Arab forms of greeting.

Chapter 42: *Social Gatherings and Forms of Greeting*

527. In large towns coffee houses have now become a meeting place mainly for intellectuals, artists and journalists

528. This practice is no longer followed.

529. The expression *Adab arz*, 'I pay my respects', accompanied by an inclination of the head and a hand movement to the forehead, became the usual form of greeting for middle-class Muslims and many Hindus. Ordinary Muslims continue to say *As Salam Alaikum* among themselves while Hindus greet each other with a gesture in which the palms are pressed together and the hands held close to the face while saying the words *Ram Ram* (5) or *Namaskar*, in obeisance.

Chapter 43· *Everyday Speech in Urdu*

530. In its present literary form Hindi goes back to about the same time as that of Urdu prose, when translations and works were commissioned in Hindi, along with Urdu, at the Fort William College (330) Since 1947 Hindi has become the national language of India (Qadri).

Chapter 44. *Wit and Female Celebrations*

531 'Bismillah ir Rahman ur Rahim', 'In the name of Allah, who is kind and merciful', is the first phrase of the Quran, recited by Muslims before commencing any new activity. It is sometimes shortened to the first word only. In Lucknow, as well as with Muslims in other parts of India, it was also the name of the ceremony initiating the education of a young child, as described in Chapter 45. It is still often observed

Chapter 45. *Festive Celebrations*

532. During the first ten days of Muharram, as a part of mourning, Shias are obliged to give up, among other pleasures, eating *pan*, prepared betel leaf. They simply use some of the dry ingredients, which have been specially prepared

533 A paste prepared from barley flour, dry flower petals, oil, sandalwood and perfumes, and rubbed over the body before bathing, in order to impart a fragrance

534 Large sweets shaped like balls, four to eight inches in diameter and decorated with silver foil, prepared from fine flour, clarified butter and dried fruits They are specially prepared for wedding celebrations, as well as to celebrate childbirth.

535 A jug with a round body and rim and with a long pouring spout, used to hold water. (Chapter 52)

Chapter 46 *The Wedding Ceremony*

536. A head-band with heavy gold and silver threads hanging down to the waist with various embellishments

537. 'Babul mora nahyar chuta jai . ' is the opening line of a song, the theme of which is, 'When I crossed the threshold, I felt as if mountains had come between us.' Probably composed by Amir Khusrau, the song is still sung exclusively on this occasion in a melancholic tone in the thumri style (440) in which the morning raga (414) Bhairavin is prominent.

Chapter 48: *Funeral Services*

538. Those households that did not employ regular palanquin-bearers would hire them when needed.

Chapter 49: *Forms of Religious Assembly*

539. The popularity of this and other innovations was of short duration and they are no longer in practice.

540. In fact the custom is simply to burn the effigies and make derogatory remarks.

Chapter 50. *Betel Leaf, its Appurtenances and Tobacco*

541. A prepared betel leaf folded in a conical fashion and decorated with edible silver paper. (Chapter 51)

542. Ibn-e-Batuta (1304–77) was a Moroccan Arab who travelled extensively, as far as China in the east and the interior of Africa in the south In the account of his travels we are told that he arrived in India during the reign of Muhammad Tughlaq (426), and spent a few years at his court.

543. The firm he founded exists to this day.

Chapter 51: *Preparing and Serving Betel Leaf*

544 This firm exists to this day and is renowned throughout the country for its products of tobacco and scent.

545. A black cosmetic tooth powder for women prepared from chemicals based on a copper salt. It was rubbed on the teeth with the finger and washed off, leaving the interstices black. The main function of this cosmetic was to clean stains left on the teeth, mainly from chewing betel leaf.

546. For religious reasons Hindus and Muslims did not eat food or accept liquid refreshments prepared by each other. Dried fruits and other dried edibles were exempt from this prohibition. By now this practice is very much on the wane.

Chapter 52: *Utensils for Everyday Use*

547. Hyderabad is famous for inlaid silver-work of floral design on black metal Usually done on small objects for everyday use, this craft is known as Bidar work After the beginning of this century, Lucknow and Murshidabad also became important centres of this craft

548. In Islam it is prohibited to display one's wealth by using gold and silver utensils.

549. Hindi *besan*: flour of chick-pea, used for washing and bathing before the introduction of soap.

Chapter 53: *Conveyances and Dress for Outings*

550. *Finas* and *miyanas* were elaborate forms of palanquins used mainly by women and carried by palanquin-bearers The *doli*, much smaller in size and made of bamboo, was the simplest and most common form of transport for ladies of the average household.

Chapter 54: *Pottery*

551. In the late 1920s the British Government did open a museum of local history, arts, crafts, costumes, weapons and other objets d'art in Lucknow. There is also a section for pottery and clay models (150).

Since then, the museum has developed considerably. At present it is well known for the collection of paintings in different styles done in Lucknow The most important are the miniatures, done in two styles, both beginning at the outset of Shuja ud Daula's reign. These continue the Indian miniature tradition The style generally known as 'Later Provincial Mughal School of Lucknow' depicts the full bloom of Lucknow's

luxurious way of life, painted with intricate craftsmanship and great attention to minute details of setting as well as figures (see, for example, the illustration in the present edition 'A Prince and Princess watching a Dancer with Candles'). Occasionally, when the artist turns his attention to some other subject, such as a saint, a hermit or a Hindu deity, he treats it with the same air of affluence and abundance ('Krishna with Gopis'*) The other style of miniature, which also probably came from Delhi and became very popular, is known as *Raga mala*. Its subject is raga and its concern is with nature as well as human emotions. The scene, which is occasionally semi-erotic, is painted against a simple but elegant background ('Ladies Listening to the Raga Madhu Madhvi') These remained the dominant styles up to the time of Asaf ud Daula, when European taste in painting began to be popular with the rulers.

The new taste began when Shuja ud Daula invited Tilly Kettle to Faizabad (1771–73) He completed six large paintings of the ruler To the court of Asaf ud Daula came John Zoffany in 1784 and Ozias Humphry in 1786 About this time in Lucknow, T. Daniell worked independently. Robert Home was attached to the court of Ghazi ud Din Haidar and stayed in Lucknow until 1828 In addition, at least three other British artists lived and worked in Lucknow One of them was Robert Smith The work of the unknown British artist 'Panorama of Lucknow' probably belongs to this period John Beechey went to Lucknow in 1828 and stayed there until his death in 1852 He painted for all the Navabs who ruled during his lifetime, including Wajid Ali Shah The portrait of Wajid Ali Shah reproduced in the present edition shows his marked influence

However, the direct influence of this new taste upon the work of the local artists seems to begin with Gentil, who around 1765–70 employed three local artists for ten years at Faizabad to illustrate his manuscripts on the Mughal Empire and Hindu deities (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris) One of them was Nevasi Lal Because of Gentil's instructions the work was slightly different in style and colour from the usual court style of the time. Polier also had an album of paintings prepared for him, part of which is in the British Museum. About the same time, Shuja ud Daula's portraits by Tilly Kettle began to be copied by the local artists, notably in 1775 by Mir Chand at Faizabad, who was well known in his time This was followed by many others, an example of which is the portrait of Shuja ud Daula by an unknown artist of Lucknow, about 1800 Through these copies local artists discovered new techniques and mediums, including oils. These new skills were incorporated into their own styles Asaf ud Daula's water-colour portrait of 1780 by an unknown Lucknow artist, though based on Kettle's portrait, does not seem to be a copy but an attempt to create a new style by a miniature painter The European technique seems to be far more pronounced in the oil portrait of Sadat Ali Khan by a Lucknow artist A typical example of the local traditional style in portrait painting is 'A Lady Seated against a Cushion' by Miskin Muhammad A further development of this new style can be seen in the gouache painting of Ghazi ud Din Haidar's banquet The details include the paintings on the wall, and the royal coat of arms on the door which opens on to the River Gomti. Another gouache of 1831 portrays Nasir ud Din Haidar seated at a table with a British officer and an English lady. Besides the principals, there are ministers in the background and dancing girls and musicians at the sides, along with chandeliers, fountain and flowers.

With the commencement of British rule, another new style emerged in Lucknow, which can roughly be described as the 'Company style'. Artists, here as well as in some other parts of the country, started to portray, for the British, themes connected with local life, customs, people and animals, to be kept as souvenirs or to be sent home A significant artist of this period was Mummoo Jan, who was employed by the King

* Many of the works and artists mentioned in this note are reproduced in the present edition (see List of Illustrations).

NOT TO BE ISSUE

of Avadh in the 1850s and probably worked with John Beechey. For further details see Archer, chapter 6.

In the late 1920s the British Government also started a School of Art and Crafts in Lucknow. It exists to this day and is run on the model of art schools in Britain.

Besides the collection in the Lucknow Museum, collections of works of Lucknow artists can be seen in the Victoria and Albert Museum, the British Museum and the India Office Library and Records in London (which also has a collection of works of British artists who worked in Lucknow), the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, and the Berlin Museum.

For comments on some Lucknow paintings see also *Company Drawings in the India Office Library Catalogue*, ed. M. Archer, London, H M. Stationery Office, London 1972.

Revised Notes

Page 234 Note 4 As a general rule a Raja or Maharaja were Hindu, though in later times some Muslims also bore these titles

Page 238 Note 48 In 1774 Gentil had some local artists prepare for him an album of sketches and drawings depicting aspects of local life and culture This album has recently been acquired by the Victoria and Albert Museum, London

Page 241 Notes 96, 97 The Firangi Mahal religious leader originally started his religious school in 1698, which later on developed as an important institution by the eighteenth century *Madrasa i Nizamia* was actually founded in 1905 by Maulana Abdul Bari See *Bani i Dars i Nizami Ustad ul Hind Mulla Nizam ud Din Muhammad* (Urdu), by Raza Ansari (Firangi Mahal Kitab Ghar, Lucknow, 1973) 'The Ulemma of Firangi Mahall and their Adab', by Francis Robinson, in *Moral Conduct and Authority The Place of Adab in South East Asian Islam*, Ed B D Metcalf (University of California Press, Berkeley, 1984), 'Problems in the History of the Firangi Mahal Family of Learned and Holy Men', by Francis Robinson, in *Oxford University Papers on India*, ed M J Allen *et al* (Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1987)

Page 242 Note 112 Although of the same name, the Persian Peacock Throne is a new construction in a different design Shah Jahan's Peacock Throne was dismantled by some subsequent Persian owner and a large number of its gems were employed in the construction of the subsequent Persian Peacock Throne

Page 244 Note 130 For an eyewitness account of the construction of some of Asaf ud Daula's buildings and his administration see *Tafzih ul Ghaflin* by Abu Talib, trans William Hoey (North Western Province and Oudh government Press, Allahabad, 1885), Abu Talib's *Masir e Talibi*, trans Charles Stewart (Sona Publications, New Delhi, 1972) the reprint is an account of his travels in Asia, Africa and Europe between 1799 and 1803

Page 244. Note 137 Claude Martin was not a general in the navab's army, but in the East India Company's army 'General' was only an honorific title Martin worked as a superintendent of the navab's arsenal but was appointed by the Company to this post He settled in Lucknow in 1776 on the appointment being ratified The auction of his estate was in Calcutta in 1801 The schools were founded with twenty-eight lakhs of rupees left for this purpose. La Martiniere school in Lucknow started in 1840 but the Calcutta school began four years earlier in 1836 Claude Martin's biography is in preparation by Rosie Llewellyn-Jones and will be published by OUP, Delhi

Page 247. Note 162. In Muslim belief, the angel Gabriel was sent with a special horse to bring Muhammad for a night journey to heaven Muhammad's footprint on the rock, when he was mounting the horse on this occasion, has been preserved near Al Qassa Mosque, Jerusalem A stone cast of this imprint was brought to Lucknow.

Page 249. Note 195 For a translation of some contemporary Urdu poetry, see *The Penguin Book of Modern Urdu Poetry* by Mahmood Jamal (Penguin Books, 1986).

Page 250. Note 207. For an account, see *Tasuwwaf i Islam* (Urdu) by Abdul Majid Daryabadi (Islamik Book Foundation, Lahore, 1980), *The Way of the Sufi* by Idries Shah (Octagon Press, London, 1980), *As Through a Veil Mystical Poetry in Islam* by Annemarie Schimmel (Columbia Univ Press, 1982)

Page 252. Note 226 Harcourt Butler was the governor of U P from 1918 to 1923.

Page 257. Note 291 The term of office for the U P Urdu Academy is limited The present secretary is R K Verma

Page 259. Note 318 Mahmudabad estate

Page 260. Note 340 Anglo-Oriental College, founded in 1875, became a university twenty-two years after Sir Syed's death In 1906 Shaikh Abdullah founded at Aligarh a girls' school which became a Degree College in 1937 It is a maintained institution of the university since 1955 Shaikh Abdullah's book *Usul o Tanzi M Jamiat e Ahbab* (Urdu, Aligarh Muslim Univ Press, 1941) deals with the need and the procedure for social reforms in the Muslim society of his region and time His biography of his wife, *Begam Abdullah* (Urdu; Aligarh 1940's) also gives an account of the changing pattern of Muslim society in this period

Page 260. Note 341 *Avadh Punch* ceased publication in 1913 and restarted in 1916 Vilayat Ali Kidwai's pen name was Bambuq

Page 262. Note 351 In 1833 a Shia scholar of Lucknow refuted the charges made against Islam by a Protestant missionary in North India This controversy extended from Lucknow to Agra and Delhi and lasted till 1857. For details, see 'Contact and Controversy Between Islam and Christianity in Northern India 1833–57 The relations between Protestant Missionaries in the North Western Provinces and Oudh', by Avril A Powell, (Ph D. thesis Univ of London, 1983)

Page 263. Note 369 Persian was formally replaced as the language of administration in 1837 in Avadh, after its annexation in 1856

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A Fatal Friendship
The Nawabs, the British and the City of Lucknow

Rosie Llewellyn-Jones

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PREFACE TO THE OMNIBUS EDITION

When this book was published in 1985, it was the first modern analysis of Lucknow's architecture, its origins and its builders *A Fatal Friendship* was written in anger and sadness, emotions that are not uncommon today to those who still care for the history of this marvelous city

It seemed to me extraordinary, when I first visited Lucknow in 1972, that no one had surveyed the buildings, or photographed them, or written about them for decades. No measured drawings could be found of the decaying palaces, which had been so insensitively altered to accommodate dull municipal functions Inside the lofty rooms were ceiling-high piles of dusty documents creating their own kind of interior architecture and mocking the painted stucco, still visible through years of neglect Outside the Bara Imambara, cheap guidebooks cribbed from the British *Imperial Gazetteers* and the nineteenth century *Archaeological Survey of India* were on sale Extracts from the *Survey of India* included the memorable quotation by Dr Fuehrer, one-time curator of the Lucknow Museum, that began 'But nowhere can we see more markedly the influence of a depraved oriental court and its politics upon art and architecture than in Lucknow' This was written in 1891, and was almost the last word on the city's buildings for nearly a century

Lucknow was one of the flash points of the 1857–8 uprising, and the siege of the British Residency, which lasted for six months, forms a central part of the Victorian iconography of empire. So many heroes lie buried in the city's cemeteries that it is hardly surprising that Britons writing immediately after 1857 had nothing complementary to say about the battered buildings where their countrymen had

been killed Palaces, mosques, gardens and bungalows were now cherished only for their associations with the siege and recapture of the city, not for any intrinsic merit or pre-mutiny history (Only the Irish journalist W H Russell was prepared to state that Lucknow appeared to him finer than Constantinople or Rome). In *The Making of Colonial Lucknow 1856–1877*, Veena Talwar Oldenburg has shown how the city was radically altered when the British regained control in 1858 Indeed, Robert Napier and the others who followed him appeared to take a positive pleasure in further physical destruction of the urban landscape

But what seemed odd in the early 1970s—and still seems odd today—is that no one had arisen to challenge the British post-1857 view of Lucknow It was as if Dr Fuehrer was sitting balefully in the Chattar Manzil, his official residence, voicing his disgust at the buildings around him, which he called 'the most debased examples of architecture to be found in India' Even Maulana Abdul Halim Sharar, in his entrancing book *Lucknow: the Last Phase of an Oriental Culture*, rubbishes the palaces built by Asaf-ud-daula's successors as 'extremely weak, in addition to revealing the decline in national style' Only one brave man, P C Mookherji, in his book *Pictorial Lucknow* (1883) had accused the British of cultural vandalism and narrow mindedness in judging Lucknow architecture by western standards. Since then, Lucknow seemed to have fallen asleep, certainly over its own heritage and history. Though the city expanded physically, there was apathy about anything to do with the past, except from a few committed people. Although the British flag no longer flew over the Residency, the labels on the model of the Residency inside still described the besiegers of 1857 as the 'the enemy' (Some one has subsequently crossed out these words and substituted 'the Indians')

It was the injustice done to Lucknow's old buildings that provided enough anger and impetus to sustain the writing of *A Fatal Friendship*. Mostly unloved and unappreciated, often uninhabited and usually vulnerable, they stood as mute reminders of a glorious past and an uncertain future

Over the last quarter of a century, when research for this book first began, much has been irretrievably lost, including

the Begam Kothi in Hazratganj, which became the main Post Office More of the Musa Bagh has disappeared, and the whole of Lat Kalan ki Lath cemetery has been encroached Crude additions to the Asafi Kothi (in the Sheesh Mahal complex), which in the mid-1970s still looked out over the remnants of the Nawab's garden, have now concealed its fine bow-fronted colonnade The Alambagh palace, which was in use in the 1940s, had lost its roof and ceilings thirty years later, and is now fenced off as a dangerous structure Other smaller, but no less sad, changes have taken place The Chattar Manzil has lost its chattars and the Chaupar Stables off Hazratganj are now reduced to only one arm of the original cross

But there have been other changes for the better Twenty-five years ago, it was impossible to get a contemporary view of Lucknows's architecture, art and culture except by talking to people Today, the bookshelf bends under the weight of books and magazines on the city, and there are more to come as scholars finish their Ph D theses at universities in India, America and Britain Appropriately enough, many of these authors come from Lucknow, so they know what they are talking about There is even a promise of an exhibition in Los Angeles devoted entirely to Lucknow.

Just as important is the city's newfound interest in its own urban history and heritage, a part of the wider Indian movement towards conservation which must be welcomed Voluntary and statutory bodies, including the Archaeological Survey of India (ASI), the Indian National Trust for Archaeological and Cultural Heritage (INTACH) and the UP State Tourism Department are raising the city's historical profile. True, this is not taking place without some dissension and much discussion Having lost their voice for nearly a century, Lucknow's supporters have now a great deal to say to each other, and if the buildings are the ultimate beneficiaries, then constructive debate must be encouraged

A Fatal Friendship has, I like to think, helped focus attention on Lucknow's unique assets and suggested ways in which they can be preserved for the future Indeed, so widely quoted is the book (usually without the author's permission), that it clearly continues to have an effect

However, there is much still to be done Anyone who loves old Lucknow must have their own particular wish-list of what they would like to see restored, and perhaps today this is not such an impossibility as it was yesterday My own nominations would be for the Chattar Manzil and the adjoining Farhat Baksh, when the present incumbents leave, for the interior of the Lal Baradari to be brought back to its former glory, and for the replanting of the garden between the Gulistan-i-Iram and the Darshan Vilas

Rosie Llewellyn-Jones
June 2001

PREFACE

In 1972 I visited Lucknow for a week during a degree course in Urdu at London University. Attracted there by reading Maulana Sharar's *Guzashta Laknau*, his romanticized picture made the nawabi city appeal to me as a place worth seeing for a few days Little of the city he described so nostalgically remained, though the battered palaces and the ruined Residency site hinted at a town of more solid importance than he had drawn Oddly, no serious guide books were available to the casual tourist and those found concentrated almost solely on the siege of the city in 1857, as though the town had only briefly sprung into existence and faded from the map during a single year True, there was mention of earlier nawabi buildings like the Great Imambara and brief references to the extraordinary Indo-European palaces of the eccentric Frenchman Claude Martin, but nothing of real worth to satisfy the mind and explain the origins and demise of so many fine buildings in and around the city. Returning to London I sought out the guide books I could not find in India, only to realize that what I wanted did not exist So curiosity impelled me to begin my own researches in 1974

There was no lack of descriptions of the city by western writers, beginning with the commentary of Joseph Tieffenthaler, a Jesuit priest, in 1766, but followed over the next two hundred years by such a torrent of criticism of the architecture and social mores of Lucknow (one nineteenth-century writer solemnly compared it to Sodom and Gomorrah) that at times it seemed impossible to reconcile the two Lucknows—the battered and melancholic old city that exists today and the glittering, wicked one lost forever after the British annexation of Oudh in 1856.

How could mere buildings excite such vituperation from writers, politicians and architects? Why was such a dreadful

revenge visited on speechless monuments of brick and stucco when the British East India Company marched in as victors in 1858? Gradually I perceived that the answer lay in the fact that Lucknow's buildings were the outward symbol of what the British imagined to be wrong with the city and what the nawabs believed to be right and beautiful. Simply stated, this premise became honed and refined during the course of research until I arrived at the term 'political architecture' to describe urban buildings erected during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries by both Indian rulers (the nawabs) and putative rulers (the Company)

Though only one town was examined, similar studies of Indian towns during this period would undoubtedly exhibit many of the same motives for the development of a colonial city. But by a happy chance Lucknow was an almost perfect microcosm of a city in transition during that period of British intervention. It was a flourishing medieval city It received a tremendous impetus with the arrival from Iran of the nawabi family, which brought vigorous new ideas and culture at the exact time when they had enough political freedom and unlimited wealth to impose their values on the city It also provided a prime example of British interference in such a city before total colonial control was assumed A hundred years earlier and Lucknow would have been no more than a medieval curiosity like Jaunpur A hundred years later the nawabi dynasty could not have existed It is the interplay between the nawabs and the Company, each jostling to impose their own world view on Lucknow, which continues to fascinate

The British contribution itself was made up of three separate elements which are closely examined in this book—the need for a military base (at first nominally under the nawabs' command), a civic and administrative centre for the expanding activities of the British Resident (again originally under the nawabs' auspices) and the eclectic talents of the European adventurers who rightly judged Lucknow to be a richly exploitable city The ascension and decline of all these elements (except that of British civic administration after 1856), which can be traced in the city's buildings over the last two hundred years, as well as the gradual usurption of nawabi authority by the British and consequent slipping away of real power from

the Indian rulers, demonstrated by the city's buildings, would have provided sufficient material for a book. But two other important facets emerged that are perhaps the most intriguing of all. Given the furious though ultimately unsuccessful attempts of the nawabs to slough off British interference in the city's affairs, why did they at the same time wish to flatter and impress the west with their own interpretations of 'classical' European architecture, so that by the mid-nineteenth century Lucknow often reminded Europeans of handsome western cities like Oxford, Dresden or Leningrad, albeit with an 'Oriental' touch? In some cases, as will be shown, the nawabs had been blackmailed and coerced into creating such buildings, often to the direct advantage of the East India Company, who subsequently used them for their own purposes. But there were many other 'classical' structures erected entirely spontaneously by the nawabs, who would co-opt Company engineers for their construction. The nawabs' motives are carefully considered in this book, but if one was to engage in the fruitless task of apportioning blame for the demise of the city as an indigenous organism one would have to indict the nawabs almost as much as the British for their vacillating, half-hearted attempt to keep the city purely Indian. It was as if the nawabs had said 'we can create our own vision of a nineteenth century European city more splendid than the Company officials could imagine or execute' And they did Unhampered by spatial considerations or social concerns they neglected the old medieval city of Lucknow to produce a series of handsome palaces, religious buildings, gardens and broad streets along the banks of the river Gomti. But ironically their beautification of Lucknow (as they perceived it) attracted some of the bitterest criticism from European commentators and led ultimately to the semi-ruinous state of much of the southern Gomti bank today.

The nawabi exuberance of exploiting newly discovered 'classical' European architecture to create an Indo-European style produced chiefly sneers from western visitors who believed that the nawabs had simply tried to imitate European buildings and failed because they did not understand the rules of Palladian architecture With little or no hindsight of the complicated network which had led to the production of such

buildings, it seemed to the critics one further example of the nawabs' superficial 'westernization' and extravagance, adding another argument to the belief that the problem of Oudh could only be resolved by annexation and sensible management of the province by British rule

It was an unhappy coincidence that one of the most protracted sieges of the 1857 uprising took place in Lucknow. With perfect justification the British were then able to demolish large tracts of building when they regained control in 1858 in order to make the city defensible for themselves, and to express their contempt for the creators of Lucknow—whom they unjustly blamed for the dreadful loss of British life during the uprising. It is surprising that a number of nawabi buildings still survive in Lucknow at all today Only from a study of photographs and drawings made before the Company sappers moved in with dynamite can an idea of nawabi Lucknow be gained. Much has also been lost or irretrievably altered since Independence. This book endeavours to rebuild the city before 1856, to people it with both the Indians and the Europeans who created it, to examine the motives and dreams of its builders, and to reflect on the political strategy that used architecture as its ammunition.

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CHAPTER ONE

THE 'THREE' CITIES OF LUCKNOW

As the Mughal emperor Aurangzeb lay dying in 1707, a Persian nobleman from Nishapur arrived in India. His name was Saadat Khan, although he was sometimes known as Burhan-ul-Mulk, and he was to found the nawabi dynasty of Oudh. Saadat Khan had come from a Shi'a family in Persia whose fortunes had declined, and when he learnt that Aurangzeb's successor to the Mughal throne was a Shi'a he decided to leave his native land and seek employment at the Delhi court

Although quickly accepted at the court Saadat Khan was slow to achieve promotion in the Mughal hierarchy and it was not until 1719 that he found himself *faujdar* (superintendent) of a district in Agra. But having achieved this position he quickly established a reputation for suppressing lawlessness and the ability to put down rebel zamindars or landlords who were reluctant to make revenue payments to the Mughal emperor. It was Saadat Khan's job to collect the revenue payments and so successful was he that three years later he was appointed Governor of the province of Oudh in north-western India Oudh was described at this time as being full of 'semi-independent feudal barons of varying degrees of strength and political importance',[1] each 'baron' having his own army and civil establishments as well as exercising judicial rights over his subjects, his authority only being limited by the presence of rivals. It was symptomatic of the barons' semi-autonomous rule that on taking up his new position of Governor, Saadat Khan literally had to fight his way into the city of Lucknow, aided by a party of local noblemen who had come to his defence

Once inside the city Saadat Khan established his headquarters, an important psychological move, for a governor with no base in his own province would not have impressed the many petty and warring chiefs from whom he had to collect the revenue to remit back to the Mughal emperor at Delhi Saadat Khan's policy of firmness paid off, and not only was he able to collect the revenue due but he was able to leave a deputy in his place when summoned to the Delhi court, without fear that his governorship would be usurped in his absence

Saadat Khan chose as his deputy his nephew, Safdar Jang, who had come from the family home in Persia at his uncle's request Having arrived in Oudh, Safdar Jang consolidated his position by marrying Saadat Khan's daughter and this strengthened his claim as deputy and successor to Saadat Khan, although the post of Governor of a province in the Mughal empire had not previously been considered hereditary for the obvious reason that dynasties would spring up and splinter the central government

Saadat Khan, however, made it his business to become virtually independent of the Mughal emperor and to establish his own dynasty in the province—an object he achieved without much difficulty or exertion. For a time he was involved in petty skirmishes with local chiefs and also undertook excursions for the Mughal emperor against the Marathas and the Jats, two semi-autonomous groups that took advantage of the decline in central government. But the break with Delhi is dated from 1728 when the Mughal emperor tried to transfer Saadat Khan to Agra, only to have his order disobeyed, and from that time on there was no further attempt made to dislodge the Governor from the province he had made his own

After the death of Saadat Khan in 1739 without an heir, Safdar Jang naturally assumed the position of Governor of Oudh and was able to attend the Delhi court safe in the knowledge that his position in the province was now unassailable. The relationship between the Governors of Oudh, or 'nawabs', and the Delhi court, was a tenuous one. While the title 'nawab' is derived from the Persian word for 'deputy', implying recognition of the ultimate sovereignty of the Mughal emperors, in fact the Oudh nawabs only obeyed royal orders when it suited their convenience On Safdar Jang's death in 1754 his son

Shuja-ud-daula was confirmed by the Mughal emperor in all the posts held by his father, thus cementing the hereditary right of the family to the governorship of Oudh By this time too the idea that revenues collected from Oudh should be submitted to the emperor had changed and the province of Oudh became wealthy at the expense of the Delhi court

Shuja-ud-daula prospered and by 1761 he had become powerful enough to attract the attention of the British who were pushing into the heart of India from the bases where they had originally settled as traders of the East India Company The Company, a commercial concern, combined business with territorial expansion and irresistible political manoeuvring. The first contact between Shuja-ud-daula and officials of the Company was made when the nawab asked for British aid 'to settle the affairs of the Empire'[2] (an indication of the nawab's status in the political spectrum) and Lushington, a Company official, was sent to the Oudh court to spy out the land Also in Lucknow at this time was the shadowy figure of Father Wendell, a priest, but unofficially another spy Not only did Shuja-ud-daula attract British attention, but he had become important enough for a considerable number of French mercenaries to join him. These mercenaries, under their French leaders Madec and Gentil, had defected from the British army, for they were not completely reconciled to the idea of the British gaining control in India Neither was Shuja-ud-daula, and in a reversal of his earlier policy he issued an ultimatum to the British that they should either confine themselves to trade or be prepared to fight. The British chose the latter course and defeated Shuja-ud-daula, French mercenaries and all, at the battle of Buxar in 1764, thus consolidating their position in northern India

The defeated Shuja-ud-daula was then declared a rebel by the British, and to add to his humiliation the victors persuaded the Mughal emperor to dismiss the nawab as Governor of Oudh. To symbolize his fall the British marched detachments of their own troops into Lucknow and Faizabad (the city that had grown up around the camp of Saadat Khan, the first nawab). Shuja-ud-daula's flag was torn down, his *kotwal* (town officer) beaten up, and his palace occupied by Major Carnac, a Company official, who held his own durbars there

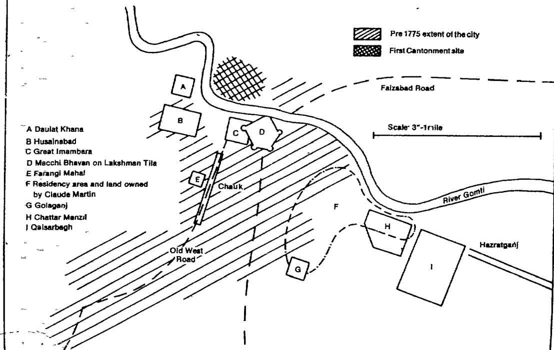
The unhappy Shuja-ud-daula attempted to rally sympathetic groups to fight, but was unsuccessful and reluctantly surrendered himself to the British and acknowledged them as his masters The British, having won this acknowledgment, now became magnanimous towards the defeated nawab. They sensed that it would be more advantageous to reinstate the nawab in Oudh than to have him fomenting rebellions with other disaffected groups like the Marathas The situation was still volatile enough in northern India for the British not to be completely certain which native rulers it was most expedient to have as friends and which as enemies But in promoting Shuja-ud-daula they rightly calculated that the nawab, properly handled, would prove more profitable to them as Governor of Oudh than would a puppet governor of their own choosing It should not be forgotten that the Company was, after all, in India to make profits, and although its commercial interests tend to be overshadowed by political exploits it never lost sight of its original objectives. The first treaty signed between the Company and Shuja-ud-daula was of enormous financial benefit to the British and was to become the basis for many further extortions during the eighty-one years of nawabi rule. Known as the Allahabad Treaty, it restored Oudh to the nawab, except for the areas of Kora and Allahabad which were given to the Mughal emperor; it ensured that the Company could carry on duty-free trade throughout the province, and it fined the nawab Rs 50,000 to meet the Company's expenses during their recent war with the nawab In addition the latter agreed to pay the expenses of the Company's troops stationed in Oudh which were to assist in defensive wars he might undertake if his dominions were threatened.[3] Although this first treaty was not observed to the letter (for example trading did not become easier in Oudh until 1788),[4] it is vital for an understanding of the British presence in Oudh because it explains the three main elements of British infiltration into the province, namely the soldiers and military paraphernalia for the defence of the province; the presence of determined traders; and the beginning of the financial dependence of the nawabs on the British.

In 1773 Shuja-ud-daula and the Company signed a further treaty in which Kora and Allahabad were sold back to the

nawab for fifty lakhs (another financial burden), payment by the nawab for Company troops was increased, and the nawab agreed to receive a person of trust, nominated by Warren Hastings, to reside near him—the first British Resident to the Oudh court.[5] Two years after the signing of this treaty Shuja-ud-daula died and one of his many children, Asaf-ud-daula, succeded to the *musnud* of Oudh.[6] Politically, relations between the new nawab and the Mughal court were effectively non-existent. The stability of emperors after Aurangzeb became increasingly more precarious, and the British manipulated them like puppets. The casual way in which they first bestowed the districts of Kora and Allahabad on the emperor, later taking back their 'gift' and selling it to Shuja-ud-daula, typifies their treatment of the later Mughals, The nawabs too had abandoned any pretence of serving their former royal masters, although it was not until 1819 that they formally renounced their allegiance to the Delhi court, and then it was only in order to assume the title of 'King' bestowed on them by the British (though all members of the new 'royal' family continued to use the title 'Mughal' in their names until annexation in 1856).[7]

It is not necessary to relate the many political manoeuvres that occurred between the beginning of Asaf-ud-daula's reign and the deposition by the British of the last nawab, Wajid Ali Shah, in 1856. Suffice it to say that I concur with the anonymous author who described relations between the British and the nawabs as 'a fatal friendship' [8] But during this brief period of 'friendship' Lucknow flourished to an unique degree and was considered, without exaggeration, 'the last example of the old pomp and refinement of Hindustan, and the memento of earlier times'.[9]

What kind of a city was Lucknow? The traveller, approaching it through the flat and monotonous landscape of Oudh (now Uttar Pradesh), would not have found anything remarkable in its appearance Straddling the river Gomti, the town offered only two small hills of note, both on the south bank, although the terrain within the city was uneven. The first settlers, who were Brahmins, chose one of these hills on which to build a shrine which remained until Aurangzeb's day, when it was replaced with a mosque at the emperor's


GENERAL PLAN OF THE CITY
SHOWING AREAS OF DEVELOPMENT BEFORE 1857
Pre 1775 extent of the city
First Cantonment site
Faizabad Road
Scale 3"-1mile
A
B
C
D
E
F
G
H
I
A Daulat Khana
B Husainabad
C Great Imambara
D Macchi Bhavan on Lakshman Tila
E Farangi Mahal
F Residency area and land owned
by Claude Martin
G Golaganj
H Chattar Manzil
I Qaisarbagh
Chauk
Old West
Road
River Gomti
Hazratganj

command To the south-west of this mosque runs the Chauk or main market place, the earliest street to be developed, and a pious traveller would doubtless have visited the tomb of Shah Mina near the Chauk This celebrated Muslim mystic settled in Lucknow about 1450 and his tomb became a place of pilgrimage. Also near the Chauk were two family tombs of the Sheikzadas, the powerful land-owning families of medieval Oudh whom Shuja-ud-daula had been at such pains to subdue. The Sheikzadas owned the land east of the Chauk up to the Lakshman Tila, the site of Aurangzeb's mosque. In 1540, during the troubled reign of Humayun, the Mughal emperor is supposed to have camped near the Chauk, implying that the southern limits of the early city were bounded by the Akbari gate, which replaced an earlier gate. There is no doubt that the city was walled in medieval times, though the demolition of the walls has gone unrecorded.

To the west of the Chauk stands a fine Mughal tomb, that of Husain Ali, a commander in Akbar's army who died about 1600 The square tomb, of conventional form, is notable for the traces of fine stucco work it still carries, the earliest example of Lucknow stucco that was to become widely used later

One of the most curious areas of pre-nawabi Lucknow that would have intrigued an early traveller stood directly to the east of the Chauk and was known as the Farangi Mahal or Frankish (European) quarter. During the seventeenth century the East India Company decided to send two 'factors' or employees to live in Lucknow and buy bales of 'dereabauds', a kind of muslin which was made in the Hasanganj area of Lucknow on the north bank of the Gomti.[10] At the time, Lucknow was considered by the Company as part of the Surat presidency and goods were sent to Surat on the west coast via Agra or Ahmedabad. By 1647 a 'house had been hired at Lucknow for the Company's occasions' and the factories at Lucknow needed strengthening [11] The staff was increased and in 1650 Rs 70,000 were sent to the factors there to buy goods Bales of indigo and 'plenty of sugar' were also being sent to Surat and by then the dereabauds were being cured or bleached in the Lucknow factory.

The Farangi Mahal still exists today, a fantastic mixture of old and new walls and houses jammed promiscuously

together, covering a large area It is still possible to make out some kind of square high-walled courtyard with pre-nawabi houses inside and one of the main gateways to the courtyards fell down only a few years ago In 1651 further enlargement of the cloth investment was ordered at Lucknow but by the next year the factors were complaining of 'want of assistance' and of transport from Lucknow being 'scarce and dear' [12] In 1653 the Company ordered the factory to be dissolved as being 'very remote and chargeable' but it survived until at least 1655 and the Company house was still there too [13] During Aurangzeb's reign the Farangi Mahal was given by him to a religious leader, the mullah Nazam Aladin Sahalvi, and there is no further mention of the British or their trade during the remainder of the seventeenth century [14] Curiously enough the Company officials who began making contact with the nawabs a hundred years later seemed completely unaware of the early British traders of Lucknow and there was no attempt to set up a further British factory in the Farangi Mahal area nor, as far as I can tell, any more trade in dereabauds—though from the large sum of money invested in 1650 it was a factory of some good size and employing a number of local people

When Saadat Khan forced entry into Lucknow he established his headquarters in the Panch Mahalla, a series of buildings belonging to the Sheikzadas of Lucknow, and sharing the Lakshman Tila with Aurangzeb's mosque. At first Saadat Khan rented the Panch Mahalla at a monthly cost of Rs 565, but he soon came to regard the buildings as his own and carried out alterations and improvements.[15] The 'five palaces' which gave the site its name appear to have been merged together at an early date, so that from the north bank of the Gomti it seemed that one large building stood on the hill, 'like a chateau, surrounded by walls and with high towers'. Approaching the building itself the traveller would arrive first at a 'great doorway and a vast forecourt in front of a tall battlemented wall supported by arcades, where the tambour players would sound the drums. Shuja-ud-daula had had much of the battlements and the apartments demolished and rebuilt in an even grander style'.[16]

Saadat Khan also developed various *ganjes* on both sides of the Chauk, a feature common to most northern Indian towns

but one which has not previously been closely examined A typical ganj is described by an eighteenth century traveller to Oudh as 'the particular name to distinguish an enclosure, be it of masonry, of earth, or simple wooden planks, in which one finds housing and the stalls in which are sold the necessities for travellers, their steeds and their beasts of burden It is just like a caravanserai. They are constructed either from a charitable idea, or from interest, for one hires or leases them out, for security is the greatest in these nooks, than in an encampment totally exposed, not only [do] the travellers prefer to sleep there, but many families have established themselves there I have seen them full of people, and those that would pass for large towns'[17] It adds a lot to the understanding of pre-industrial towns if a series of such ganjes can be visualized, clustered together and forming the nucleus of the town In Lucknow these ganjes were developed off the Chauk, the backbone of Lucknow, and struck out at right angles A Lucknow writer, P C Mookherji, described the town ganj as a square built round a crossroads, with two main gates and two smaller ones at the end of each road. There are often bazaar shops with lines of verandahs fronting the main road and private houses at the rear The walls are pierced on all four sides and there are bastions at the four corners. There is often a tank nearby[18] Mookherji also thought that the *nullahs* or stream beds running through the old part of Lucknow formed natural divisions between the ganjes, which are now raised quite considerably above street level Many early visitors to Lucknow have commented on the irregular nature of the town, 'the ground is so uneven that one cannot walk about in this city except by detours, climbing up here, going down there,'[19] and to the west of the Chauk even today buildings stand on small clumps of land divided during the monsoon by streams running down the nullahs between them

The majority of Lucknow's ganjes were let out to families and shopkeepers, although in some cases shopkeepers would rent land from the nawabs or ministers who owned the ganjes and build small houses at their own expense It was necessary, however, to obtain the approval of the owner of the ganj before building started.[20] Ganjes were often named after the owners or the occupations that were carried on in them, so

that one finds in Lucknow Saadat Ganj founded by Saadat Khan, Tikait Ganj founded by Tikait Rai (Asaf-ud-daula's chief minister), Loha Ganj (the iron-workers' area) and Gola Ganj where an early arsenal was established [21] Often the original pattern of the ganj has been broken down until all that remains is the name and the central crossroads. Encroachment and illegal building are the main reasons for the breakdown, and there is a story still current in Lucknow (though sadly unproven) that Asaf-ud-daula, conscious of this, would march forth every day with a band of workers armed with picks and shovels and wherever he found a building out of line, would have it demolished If a court official who acted as a 'town inspector' and made regular tours of the city is substituted for the nawab then the story is not so far-fetched as would at first appear.

By 1765 Lucknow was a town of considerable size and was described by a resident Jesuit priest thus 'the length of this town from Recabganj in the south to Isaganj in the north is a mile and a half [this was all on the south bank of the Gomti] the breadth from Chodaganj in the east to the west is a mile or more The town is not walled like Adjudea [Ajoydea] and Bangla [Faizabad] There are a great number of brick houses, but the majority are of lime or mortar, covered with tiles, standing on little mounds of barren land, here and there. The greatest part of the town extends towards the east, and covers an elevated place, the smallest part is in a gorge The streets are narrow and stinking, because the inhabitants habitually throw all their refuse into the streets ' [22] Apart from the Panch Mahalla, the author (Tieffenthaler) continues, 'you can also see buildings showing beautiful, even magnificent architecture, here and there in the town, but these are few in number. The market place [the Chauk] is narrow and has nothing remarkable about it. The houses of the merchants are of brick, tall and solidly built' He goes on to describe the Gomti which could be forded during the summer and notes that the north bank had 'houses and other buildings along it'. He also drew the earliest known map of the city, in which the huge gateway to the Panch Mahalla is shown, as is Aurangzeb's mosque on the Lakshman Tila

Tieffenthaler was impressed by the large number of brick

houses in Lucknow—which other early European visitors do not mention. The Comte de Modave, for example, wrote in February 1775, 'Laknau is a large and nasty town ... unremarkable except for one building ... the palace of the nabab on the river bank [the Panch Mahalla]. It is a great building composed of many different parts without any order, which do not correspond to each other. The mosques are small and have nothing splendid about them ... Laknau after all does not merit consideration save by its commerce which is quite extensive'.[23] Later in 1782 William Hodges, an English artist, was to come to similar conclusions: 'The city is extensive but meanly built, the houses are chiefly mud and walls covered with thatch and many consist entirely of mats and bamboos, very few indeed, of the houses of the natives are built with brick, the streets are crooked, narrow and the worst I have seen in India'.[24] The discrepancies in descriptions would seem to arise from the fact that both Hodges and Modave, who were only travelling through Lucknow, based their opinions on the area round the Panch Mahalla, the 'official' quarters of Lucknow, rather than on the more prosperous and longer established areas round the Chauk like the Farangi Mahal and the Asfrafabad Serai which housed the bullion market. All visitors are, however, unanimous on the dirt and squalor in the streets.

There are no population figures for Lucknow before 1775 when Asaf-ud-daula made the town his permanent capital, and there are no reliable estimates until 1901, although several people volunteered guesses on the number of inhabitants. The earliest estimate of 1798, when Lucknow was said to contain half a million people (500,000), is an unrealistically high figure.[25] The second figure, an estimated population of 300,000 in 1800, is probably more accurate and would have included people attracted to the splendid court of Lucknow during the twenty-five years earlier.[26] When the last nawab was deposed in 1856 the population fell quite drastically and stabilized at about 256,000 in 1901.[27] Assuming that roughly the same number of people who had been connected with the court left Lucknow after 1856 as had originally settled in the city, i.e. about 50,000, and given that the figure of 300,000 in 1800 is accurate, a pre-nawabi estimate of about 250,000

would make sense. Lucknow was considered a large town in the 1760's, with a stable population relatively unaffected by the later advent of the court, and it is not unreasonable to suggest that when the court was exiled in 1856 the population of the city would again settle down to approximately pre-nawabi figures. In this century the population rose to about 500,000 in 1951,[28] by which time the city had expanded considerably towards the east and north, which is why the 1798 figure of 500,000 is unreasonably high, since the town was physically much smaller at that time.

It would certainly be wrong to assume (as some writers have done) that Lucknow was merely a cluster of villages along the south bank of the Gomti which were welded together to form a corporate whole by Asaf-ud-daula and his successors.[29] By 1775, at the start of Asaf-ud-daula's rule, the city had a good record for exports of sugar, indigo and cloth to England and Afghanistan, a centre for commerce with a bullion market, and a reputation for the working of copper, which was gilded, engraved and painted and formed one of the town's biggest industries It would also be wrong to overemphasize the impact of the nawabi court on the original city of Lucknow, despite the rise in population Naturally the old town was affected by the arrival of the court in many ways, from the increase in prostitutes to the makers of silver and gold lace and the perfumiers. The nawabi fascination with European artifacts also filtered through to the old city, a good example being the introduction of lithographic presses which were quickly taken up by businessmen in and around the Chauk. In 1831, eighteen years after an Englishman, Mr Archer, had been employed on the King's lithographic press, there were at least seventeen presses in Lucknow which sent books all over India, and employed a considerable number of workers.[30]

But it would be a mistake to imagine that the old city underwent a complete change after 1775. Both the old city and the new areas that grew up round the court to the east of the Chauk had a high degree of independence. Neither was essential for the continuation of the other and the nawabi palaces and religious complexes could just as well have been constructed in another town like Faizabad or Cawnpore. Wherever the nawabi court settled it would have attracted the same

crowd of adventurers and artists. Similarly the old city would doubtless have continued to thrive, though possibly at a slower pace, had the nawabi court not settled to the east. The town was self-sufficient before 1775 and there is no reason to believe that it would have declined during the nineteenth century. The rich and complex life of old Lucknow went on in much the same way, the *shroffs* (moneylenders) continued to flourish, the Mint which had been long established, continued to strike coins—albeit with the nawabs' heads instead of the Mughal emperors' on them—staple industries like tobacco-growing, sugar-refining and spinning and weaving continued, social life revolved around the mosques, the *madrassas* and the bazaars. Perhaps most important evidence of all, the physical characteristics of the area remained the same, and to quote an Irish journalist, the native city was 'an aggregate of houses perforated by tortuous paths, so that a plan of it would resemble a section of worm-eaten wood'.[31] The tortuous paths continued to be peopled by beggars, both local and those who came in from the surrounding villages. Their wretched lives were hardly affected by the rich court in the 'new' part of the city, except that when they became ill or near death on the streets they might be taken (if they were lucky) to the King's Hospital, supervised by European doctors, or to the Poor House (both in the old city). Those who were chosen for the Poor House then found they had to bribe the officials there to get bedding, food and sustenance which had been donated for them.[32]

Occasionally there would be minor upheavals in the old city when new groups of people moved in, either hoping for work at the court or because conditions in their own area had become bad. A report of 1828 mentions 'Mewatties' and different kinds of Sunnis, including 'Afghans, Uljas, Afreedees and Turkey Moghuls who are in the Service of the State', but these newcomers tended to settle on the outskirts of the old city where they set up their own colonies. The Mewatties, for example, lived on the south-western fringe of Lucknow near Talkatora.[33]

It was inevitable, however, that the 'new' part of Lucknow to the east—the royal area with its palace complexes (rather than simple palaces)—would become the most celebrated part

of the city It was the most widely discussed, and the magnet that attracted poets, painters, writers, musicians and artists from all over India and beyond. The fame of the Oudh court rapidly spread beyond the boundaries of the sub-continent, drawing to its centre a motley and curious crowd of foreigners, European and Middle-Eastern, all of whom hoped to share in the new-found prosperity manifested in the brilliant, glittering city that was described in stark contrast to the old city of Lucknow. Ozias Humphry, a British artist, wrote in 1785, 'I am assured by Mr Macpherson [the Governor of Bengal] that a residence of three or four months at Lucknow with Nabob Vizier [Asaf-ud-daula] will not fail to give me the fortune I came to seek in India, viz. 10,000 pounds—of this I am assured by those who are well acquainted with the state of affairs in these parts'.[34] The fact that the artist received nothing like the amount he expected did nothing to deter others from seeking their fortune in Lucknow

After Asaf-ud-daula's transfer from Faizabad to Lucknow the business of dealing with the revenue and tax collections from the province all centred on Lucknow The main treasury was here, as were the main judicial courts, and important prisoners would be sent for trial to the capital. Similarly, the business of government took place here, the ambassadors and notables from foreign countries would be presented in Lucknow to the nawabs. The headquarters of the army was also here, the highest army officials living in the palace complexes All these different functions, judicial, financial, governmental, military and diplomatic were centred on the palace complexes and there were different buildings within the complex allocated to them. In addition, each complex housed a great number of servants, not only domestics but also skilled craftspeople concerned with the upkeep of the royal buildings and gardens. There were servants who ministered to the panoply of state, the royal coachmen, the personal bodyguards, the people in charge of the royal tents and hunting equipment, the women of the *zenana*, and many others Artists would also be housed in the complexes and some of the most famous religious buildings of the Shi'a faith in India were here, making this area a place of pilgrimage for the spiritual as well as the worldly [35]

But whereas the court and the city functioned as two

separate entities, the third factor that went to make up the city after 1775, the British Residency, depended entirely on the fact of the nawabi court being established in Lucknow. Although the officials of the East India Company were very much in a minority in the city compared with the free-booting European adventurers and mercenaries, the security of their position and the vast wealth to be gained legally or illegally ensured that the Resident and his staff lived in conditions that were luxurious compared with those of most other Europeans in Lucknow.

CHAPTER TWO

THE EUROPEANS OF LUCKNOW

Europeans who lived in Lucknow between 1775 and 1856 can be divided into four categories—firstly the military men who were part of the East India Company's battalions stationed in and around Lucknow as a peace-keeping force paid for by the nawabs, secondly the civilian officials of the Company who included the Resident, his assistant, the Residency surgeon and chaplain, writers and other staff, thirdly those Europeans who were employed by the nawabs in various capacities; and lastly Europeans who were classed as 'Persons not in the Company's Service', i.e. freelancers who included soldiers, artists, traders, indigo planters and shopkeepers Occasionally a European changed categories by changing occupation, like John Munro Sinclair, who originally worked as a civil architect for the Company in the Western Provinces but who, in 1822, resigned from the Company in order to take up employment as civil engineer and 'general mechanic' to the nawab[1], or Felix Quieros who was working as a junior clerk in the Residency Office in 1855 but whose family had originally come to Lucknow from Calcutta to act as stewards and overseers for the estate of a rich European, Claude Martin These last two categories of Europeans appear the most interesting since their presence in Lucknow was due mainly to their own efforts and initiative, unlike the military and officials of the Company who were posted there Why did such Europeans choose to settle in Lucknow and subject themselves to the often whimsical behaviour of the nawabs and frequent condemnation from the 'official' British, and what did they do when they got there?

The earliest reference to Europeans in Lucknow (discounting the seventeenth-century traders who settled in the Farangi Mahal area) is to the soldiers of fortune who were attracted to the rising star of Shuja-ud-daula in the middle of the eighteenth century Madec and Gentil have already been mentioned as mercenaries employed by the nawab to train his Indian troops in the new European manner, and there is a report of Monsieur Law's corps, consisting of 250 Frenchmen, who escaped from Chandernagore after its capture by Clive in 1756 and served under Shuja-ud-daula for a year, finally suffering defeat and capture by the Company's troops led by Major Carnac Colonel Pedron, another Frenchman, served for some time under the nawab in a military capacity, and the notorious Somru—Walter Reinhardt—a European mercenary, served for four years, having trained battalions of infantry for the nawab.[2] Shuja-ud-daula's European mercenaries, however, were not notably successful in defending their new master against the Company's troops. Somru, for example, fled after his battalions were defeated in the battle of Buxar in 1764, and morale among the remaining mercenaries understandably ebbed By 1774 when the Comte de Modave visited the nawab's court at Faizabad he found the French soldiers there so undisciplined as to be useless in any conflict—'This bizarre or rather, scandalous mixture would have spoilt the best arrangements in the world'.[3]

M Gentil, former mercenary, had stayed with Shuja-ud-daula after the defeat at Buxar in the capacity of 'an advisor' and was responsible for introducing many French people to the court.[4] Gentil was 'surrounded by French adventurers' more or less under his patronage, and his *Memoires sur l'Indoustan* published in 1822 is dedicated to 'Choudjâ-a-ad-Doulah, constament l'ami et le protecteur des français' Also at the Faizabad court was M. Antoine Polier, another close friend of the nawab's, who had originally been the Company's chief engineer in Calcutta but was now appointed as 'Architect to the Court of Shuja-ud-daula'.[5] It seems likely that in this capacity Polier was the unnamed Frenchman who designed the fort at Faizabad, and since he later moved with the court to Lucknow he may well have influenced early European-style buildings in

the city, though to what degree it is impossible to say unless further records come to light

At the same time as these early mercenaries and courtiers were settling in Oudh, European traders were moving up-country. One of the first was M. Cannonge who came from Mirzapore to Faizabad in 1768 with goods to sell, including broadcloths, the property of another Frenchman M Cannonge intended to visit M Gentil in Faizabad and his journey by boat up the Ganges is recorded because he needed two passes, a '*dastuck*' or 'permission' from Mr Verelst, Governor of Bengal, and a '*perwanah*' (pass) from Shuja-ud-daula [6]

But the most celebrated European in Lucknow, and the one to whom Europeanized building there probably owes its greatest debt, was Claude Martin, a Frenchman who combined the functions of trader, military adventurer and architect Martin enlisted in the French army and was fighting for his country in India at an early age He was captured by the East India Company's troops and decided to change sides, quickly working his way up to a position of trust in the Company, although he never gave up his French nationality By 1766 he was promoted to Captain and was selected by Warren Hastings as a surveyor of roads in Bihar. After various military exploits for the Company he was appointed a Surveyor in Oudh, and this was the start of his connection with Lucknow.[7] In 1776, at the beginning of Asaf-ud-daula's rule when the Company was bringing pressure to bear on the new nawab to put his affairs in order, the British Resident John Bristow recommended that the nawab 'establish a grand Arsenal under Captain Martin . . . because the Nawab's stores and ammunition are in so bad a state that he would find it extremely difficult to furnish any large Body of Troops going on Service This measure would be a considerable saving to His Excellency because on the present footing his Arsenal is a great Expense and of little service'.[8] Although Asaf-ud-daula was 'hitherto entirely averse' to the idea, he was persuaded to accept Martin as Superintendent of the Arsenal and Martin held this appointment until 1787. He was thus working both for the nawab, receiving his salary direct from him, and for the Company, rising to the position of Major

General in 1796.[9] At the same time his relations with the nawab quickly changed from that of employee to one of confidante and advisor. He was accepted at court and became interested in all the intrigues and manoeuvring that went on there, without becoming directly involved. At the same time he retained close links with the Company in Calcutta and wrote on intimate terms to Warren Hastings.[10] He trod the delicate tightrope between the nawab's court and the Resident's office without ever seeming to lose the trust of either party, and at times was a link between the two—so much so that his views were solicited by both sides. In his role as the nawab's friend he, more than any other European, was responsible for directing the tastes of Asaf-ud-daula and his successor, Saadat Ali Khan, towards European architecture. He designed some of Lucknow's best buildings for them and made it his job to obtain furniture, ornaments and trinkets from Europe.

Martin was not, of course, acting from altruistic motives in obtaining such goods—this is where he takes on the persona of trader, the least attractive of his many facets. He made a huge fortune at the expense of the nawab and other Indians and was roundly condemned, even by his contemporaries, for exploiting the nawab at a time when it was considered perfectly acceptable for Europeans to go to India to make their fortunes. 'His influence at the Court of Lucknow became very considerable, not only with the vizir [Asaf-ud-daula] but with his ministers. and that influence was the source of the immense fortune which he amassed', explained Viscount Valentia in *Voyages and Travels to India*, adding, 'A more infamous or despicable character than the late General Martin [*sic*] never existed . . The late Nawaub's [Asaf-ud-daula] idiotical propensities were another fruitful source of profit to him, he purchased different articles in Europe and sold them at 100 per cent, 200 per cent or 300 per cent, lending him at the same time to pay himself at 3 per cent per month'.[11] At one time Asaf-ud-daula owed £250,000 to Martin.[12]

Not all of Martin's immense wealth came directly from the nawab's craze for European artifacts. He bought a great deal of land in and around Lucknow, including the site later known as the Residency complex, and here he either built or bought houses already standing which he rented out to other Euro-

peans and Indians On his death in 1800 his estate was valued at almost £40,000 in property and rent alone, and this was only in Lucknow he also owned property and indigo farms throughout Oudh and Bengal At least eight prominent citizens of Lucknow owed him sums of money, and nine other Europeans, including one of the acting British Residents, were written off as bad or doubtful debtors The more one examines Martin's financial affairs, the more one is led to conclude that among the comparatively small and tight-knit group of Europeans in Lucknow, Martin was the central figure around which many of the financial, speculative, business and political affairs of the European community revolved.

No other European matched Martin in his spectacular rise to riches and fame, although several others, in particular G.M. Prendergast, Frederick Arnott and the Orr family, did very well for themselves as merchants, land owners and suppliers of European goods to the nawabs and other Indians in Lucknow But it is necessary not to be dazzled by such brilliant entrepreneurs as Martin, Orr, etc. in order to gain a complete picture of European life in the city as lived by the less spectacular inhabitants there

A list compiled mainly from the *Bengal Directory* (also known as the *Calcutta Annual Register*), first published in 1814, shows Europeans resident in the Upper Provinces, including Lucknow, and gives their occupations.

A high proportion of Europeans were engaged in trade, although there is no evidence that Lucknow possessed a particular quarter given over to shops run by and for Europeans or Indians with European tastes There were however several 'Europe Shops', as they were called, run from the private houses of Europeans. The owners of such houses were referred to as merchants and traders as well as shopkeepers, since they usually bought goods for resale direct rather than through a middleman, and because they would sell goods on commission, and in some cases lend money too. The earliest shop noted in Lucknow belonged to a Jewish merchant called Charles Isaacs, and in 1790 an inventory of goods he was selling included '7 or 8 chests of fine tea, 9 or 10 chests of Europe preserved fruits, Europe Pickles, Europe Cheeses and Brandy

European Occupations between 1775 and 1856	*Numbers employed*
ADC or bodyguard to the nawabs	6
Almoner of the Poor House	1
Armament maker	3
Astronomer or Observatory Assistant	4
Baker	1
Barber and valet de chambre to the nawabs	2
Boot, shoe and harness maker	1
Botanist	1
Builders, engineers and architects	13
Chamberlain to the nawabs	1
Coach makers	2
Coachmen to the nawabs	4
Coffin maker	1
Cook	1
Court librarians	2
Court painters	5
Courtiers to the nawabs	4
Craftsmen	1
Doctors, surgeons and apothecaries	18
Dog keeper	1
English teacher to the nawabs	1
Factory owner	1
Farrier	1
Female relatives (wives, daughters, sisters, mistresses)	35
Fire workers	2
Gardener	1
Indigo or cloth trade workers	7
Interpreter in the nawabs' service	1
Ironsmith	1
Jewellers, goldsmiths	2
Jockey	1
Juggler	1
Livery stable keepers or grooms	6
Mechanic to the nawabs	1
Musicians and piano tuners	15
Nawabs' military forces	35
Nawabs' service, in an unspecified position	30
Painters (not at court)	3
Pensioners of the nawabs	11
People with several jobs	9

Postilion	1
Roman Catholic priests and 'church superintendents'	3
School teachers	16
Servants or assistants to other Europeans	9
Steward to Claude Martin's estate	2
Stewards for the nawabs	2
Superintendent of Boats	1
Superintendent of Canal	1
Superintendent of the City Hospital	4
Superintendent of the nawabs' Litho Press	1
Superintendent of the nawabs' Stud	2
Traders, shop-keepers, merchants	39
Unknown occupation	50
Watchmaker	1
Writer in the nawabs' service	1
Young children	6

and other wines without number', and pieces of 'White Cloth, Broad Cloth, silk and sweetmeats'. There were also eight pieces of China velvet and three of embroidery which had been given to Isaacs to sell on commission.[13] It is not known where Isaacs' shop was situated but the remains of another house used as a shop still exist in the Residency area. This is the Begum Kothi, which served as a shop for at least twenty years, being sold to two merchants and inherited by a third The convenience of a Europe shop in the middle of the Residency area can well be imagined, and ownership of the property was hotly disputed at one point.

European shopkeepers in Lucknow obtained their stock normally from goods imported into Calcutta, which were then sent up-river to Cawnpore From there the goods were originally sent in *hackeries* (covered carriages), although one shopkeeper in 1817 found this method 'expensive and inconvenient' and sought permission to bring goods in boats up the Gomti [14] Such goods had often been especially requested by customers, so shopkeepers were in effect acting as agents, and printed catalogues with prices from which customers could make their choice were circulated up-country Lists of goods available by this method were extremely comprehensive, including such indispensables as milk-chocolate in 1793, cucumber-slicers, mousetraps, guns and naturally the latest

European fashions.[15] At the start of the nineteenth century regular companies were set up, often in Calcutta, to promote this 'mail order' business and one of the last shopkeepers in Lucknow before 1857 was a Mr Dias who had set up business in 1840 as the agent for the Inland Transit Company He estimated that he earned between Rs 180–200 a month in commission as an agent, plus the profits from the straightforward buying and selling of goods in the city'[16] Shopkeepers would also buy goods without specific customers in mind, usually from auctions of the property of deceased Europeans. Goods which had been obtained originally from Europe like furniture, silver, crockery, linen, wines and spirits, and even hair powder in one case, found a ready market on the death of owners who frequently died intestate, insolvent and without recognized heirs—such was the precariousness of life among the early Europeans

A number of doctors, surgeons and apothecaries lived in the city and were employed both by the Company and by the nawabs. They were not expected to live in court and pursued their own profession for the Company while being 'on call' for the nawabs. Dr William Stevenson, who in 1828 was requested by the nawab Nasir-ud-din Haider 'to attend the Sick poor' of Lucknow, was at that time Junior Surgeon to the 14th Regiment of the Company's troops, stationed in the Mariaon Cantonment.[17] Dr Stevenson's name had been suggested to the nawab by Dr George Baillie, surgeon to Nasir-ud-din Haider and brother to a former British Resident at the court, John Baillie. In 1831 Stevenson was on the nawab's payroll as Assistant Surgeon, earning Rs 1,500 per month, and a year later was in charge of the City Hospital at the same salary Four years later Dr Stevenson requested an assistant to help him 'in the general duties of the Residency, but especially in the diffusion of vaccination while the season is favourable',[18] and he is last mentioned in 1840 when he wrote one of the half-yearly reports issued from the City Hospital In addition to the Rs 1,500 per month which Stevenson received from the nawab he got an additional allowance of Rs 500 per month for a dispensary which he superintended in Lucknow, and Rs 740 per month from the Residency treasury, Rs 680 of which was for the vaccine establishment in his charge.[19]

Another source of employment for Europeans was in the nawabs' military service. Although by the treaty of 1801 Saadat Ali Khan had been made to cut his army drastically, he was still able to maintain a small force, a token perhaps of the early Europeans who had worked as mercenaries for his father, Shuja-ud-daula. A number of these Europeans or Anglo-Indians served successive nawabs for a considerable amount of time (for forty-three years in one case), although in 1856 the nawabs' regiments were transferred to the East India Company with, one is told, 'an anxious desire to serve their new masters with alacrity and fidelity', true mercenaries in fact.[20] Those Europeans who retired in the nawabs' service and chose to remain in Lucknow received pensions from the court One such person was William Bird who had taken service with Saadat Ali Khan in 1812 and worked for successive nawabs as a huntsman. He later became a livery stable-keeper and was pensioned off in 1832. He survived until 1848, receiving a regular pension, and his second wife also got a pension which she supplemented by earnings from a small shop in the city

A particular European enterprise was the manufacture of small arms and the supplying of military equipment in Lucknow. Although the Company had forbidden the selling of arms by Britons to native powers, Frederick Maitland Arnott had a thriving business which he claimed 'was known in the Alleys and Bazars [of Lucknow] and no one prevented it'.[21] On his precipitous flight from Lucknow when finally challenged by the Resident, a list of his possessions was found to include a large brass gun, bags of scarlet cloths, '32 Kummer Bunds, grape shot and tent pieces'. Arnott claimed that Asaf-ud-daula had commissioned weapons and uniforms, and the Resident, G. Cherry, admitted in 1795 that 'it had been much the practice prior to my arrival here for the Europeans Residing here to make Arms and Military Stores, which were sold to the Vizier and wherever purchasers could be found. .the late Mr. Pott left many Iron shot'.[22] Another European, George Sangster, employed a number of Indians in his foundry which was in the compound or yard of his house, and on his death in 1792 'the tools and books of his Trade' were bequeathed to his son, who wanted to carry on 'the business of

the Foundry for his Excellency the Vizier'[23] Arnott's flight and the Resident's enforcement of the Company's prohibition put an end to this lucrative and extensive trade among the European community.[24]

The small number of women and children recorded cannot properly reflect the number that were present in Lucknow as dependants. Because women did not as a rule follow occupations, it was not considered necessary by the Company to record them and only two women, Mrs Lacy [25] and Mrs Pogoes Carapret,[26] are mentioned with their husbands as being employed by the nawab Ghazi-ud-din-Haider in an unspecified position. Two women kept Europe shops in Lucknow: Mrs Bird, the widow of William Bird, and Mrs Whearty, also a widow, who employed two Hindus as her *munshi* (clerk) and *sircar* (superintendent) [27] A third woman, Mrs Sago, whose husband had been in the nawab's service, was headmistress of a small school in the Residency compound which had been set up by John Low, the British Resident, and Mrs Sago taught there for many years.[28] A very few women are recorded because they were the mistresses of Europeans or Indians, like Mukuderah Oolea Walters, Mrs Whearty's daughter Mukuderah Oolea, born a Christian, converted to Islam when she became the mistress of the nawab Nasir-ud-din-Haider, and her mother, after the death of her second husband, became the mistress of Buksh Ali Khan, superintendent of one of the nawab's palaces.[29] By and large, however, women were not considered worthy of mention unless they acted in a troublesome or provocative manner, and Indian women who married British men and who should therefore have been regarded as British citizens, were usually mentioned in disparaging terms.

The lack of information on European children in Lucknow is regrettable but by no means uncommon in similar pre-1857 studies. The infant mortality rate was distressingly high and children or babies were often only mentioned after particularly harrowing deaths Annual returns of births, marriages and deaths were only sent to Calcutta for one year (1828) and virtually all pre-1857 inscriptions have vanished from the Lucknow graveyards; and baptism and burial records were destroyed in the 1857 siege. In May 1857 the Company's

priest, the Rev Polehampton, wanted to enlarge Mrs Sago's school for the 'daughters and young sons of the poorer classes of Europeans in the City, who are now to be numbered by hundreds' and who were mostly the children of uncovenanted servants of the Company This figure had increased considerably after annexation, when the Company brought in many officials to deal with the new administration of the city and province, and cannot be seen as representative of pre-annexation Lucknow [30]

The most notable feature in the list of European names is that in several cases members of the same family are found working in Lucknow over quite a long period of time The Braganca family was first recorded in 1805 when a Braganca seized by force the church and graveyard owned by Catholic priests in Lucknow [31] Two members of the same family were subsequently recorded as piano-tuners and repairers of musical instruments, employed by successive nawabs between 1834 and 1855, while two other members received a court pension between 1837 and 1856 Similarly the Orr family had eight members variously employed in the city. James Orr arrived in 1779 and eight years later is recorded as working for the Company's accountant, John Wombwell, at a salary of Rs 2,000 per month At the same time James Orr also owned several cloth factories in Oudh and lived in a house in the Residency area. In 1795 James was joined by his brother Alexander[32] and in 1800 Robert and Alexander Orr are recorded as 'merchants and traders' also working for the nawab, and there is a William Orr in an unspecified position at court. In 1836 John Orr was in one of the nawab's regiments and Patrick and Adolphus Orr held similar positions Another family called Catania were recorded as having nine members present in Lucknow, three working briefly for the nawab about 1831, four more employed as musicians, merchants and schoolmasters, and two more received pensions from the nawabs until annexation. The Quieros family, too, whose founder member Joseph Quieros senior arrived from Calcutta in 1786, included members who worked in various capacities in the city and stayed on during the annexation and 1857 The last member to be buried in Lucknow was Edward Quieros, late of the Oudh Police, who died in 1900

Because the relationship between family members is seldom stated, it is not sufficiently clear how often brothers or other male relatives were invited to Lucknow to share the prosperity of the original adventurer, or whether the sons of European settlers found work in the city as they grew older. Certainly there was considerable stability and security for Europeans in the city, especially for those employed by the nawabs, as long as they remained in favour at court. Despite political uncertainties over the future of Oudh, the constant friction between the court and the Residency and the yearly riots in the town, Lucknow was still a very attractive place for Europeans who settled there and prospered. The average length of residence in Lucknow for Europeans was fourteen years, which argues for a good measure of stability in the city There was a good deal of intermarriage between the European community, and in some cases orphaned European children were brought up by members of that community who were not related by blood ties but who, one supposes did it out of kindness The community could also be moved by a common cause, as in the case of James Walters who arrived in the city penniless in 1818 with eight young children He had hoped to find employment, as his brother George had done before him, but was unable to do so. The European citizens clubbed together to set up a charitable fund for the children, this was administered by the Resident.[33]

The many interconnecting links between members of the European community are shown in a variety of ways, through bequests made to friends in wills, through marriage, through trade and moneylending, through association in crime and business (sometimes with a very thin dividing line between the two), and through property disputes, which were common. The widespread notion that most Europeans in Lucknow not in the Company's service were a group of 'get-rich-quick' adventurers, was a powerful idea, despite many indications to the contrary. This idea was assiduously fostered by official complaints, usually from the Resident reporting to the Company in Calcutta, from newspaper reports and magazines, and from the writings of travellers who seldom spent more than a few days in the city. One writer who spent no time at all in Lucknow nevertheless managed to produce a

most damaging book which contained all the assumptions about the European community which readers in Britain had come to expect The book was *The Private Life of an Eastern King* (1855), which is now assumed from internal evidence to have been dictated to the author, William Knighton, by Nawab Nasir-ud-din-Haider's English librarian, Mr E. Cropley.

The book shows a weak and debauched ruler surrounded by European sycophants of the worst kind, constantly egging him on to bigger and better follies while they lined their own pockets at his expense. A contemporary newspaper account of 1837 relating the same story wrote, 'The barber, Derusett, has retired from the service of the King [of Oudh] taking with him his Majesty's deep regret, and several lacs of rupees. The rest of the reptile tribe, the jeweller, the coachman etc. etc. will migrate when they have nothing left to consume' [34] Though Knighton's book was not published until 1855, the events it relates took place in 1837. The book enjoyed great notoriety and was praised by the *Calcutta Review* which added a strong plea for the annexation of Oudh (this took place the following year).[35] It is hardly coincidental that the publication of this book, so long delayed, should have occurred at this particular time, when the annexation question was being hotly discussed again There are few less edifying spectacles than British writers condemning Europeans in the nawabs' service while failing to comment on the much greater political chicanery that went on between the British government and the Lucknow court. Of course there were Europeans who did exploit the nawabs, beginning with Claude Martin in the 1770's, but to believe that this constituted practically the sole occupation of non-official Europeans in Lucknow is simply not true. Most were too busy working to earn a living and bringing up their families to engage in dangerous games at court, even supposing they had been admitted through the barrier of pomp and protocol to the nawabi presence. A white face did not automatically mean a passport to the court any more than it was a guarantee of entry to the Residency And those Europeans who were employed by the court often remained there for long periods, enjoying good salaries with pensions for themselves and their dependants, often more handsome than the Company could provide for its retired emplo[illegible]

The Company's attitudes towards the non-official Europeans is worth examining in some detail since its uneasiness and at times downright hostility to them runs through the whole of the period The official attitudes to 'Persons not in the Company's Service' seem compounded of the familiar elements of nineteenth-century chauvinism, common in Britain and certainly not to be wondered at in India A heading in the East India Parliamentary Papers for the 1840's reads succinctly, '*Foreigners* (Persons not being British Subjects) Removal of', and while the Company seldom went quite as far as to banish other Europeans, it often considered them a problem, especially if they had entered into alliances with Indian men or women. Britons who had formed such relationships were considered even more depraved, presumably on the grounds that they should have known better, and the more liberal days when it had been acceptable for British men to have one or two Indian wives were almost forgotten by the beginning of the nineteenth century—apart from a few rather embarrassing reminders like the court artist George Duncan Beechey, who with his three Indian wives lived until 1852 and became something of a tourist attraction in Lucknow.

The Company's objections to the non-British unofficial residents of the city were not based on any logical grounds. Since the Company had 'persuaded' Asaf-ud-daula to expel his French advisors from his court[36] there had never been any hint that Europeans in Oudh might have political ambitions there Any threats that there might have been to the stability of the nawabs' rule and the increasing British presence came from Indian sources, not European Nevertheless, as the Company tightened its grip on Oudh, so did its chauvinistic attitudes to other Europeans increase, especially in a community like Lucknow where gossip appears to have been one of the chief pastimes. By the 1857 uprising the British were found expressing polite surprise at the bravery and courage of other Europeans trapped in the Residency area during the siege, as though these attributes were a peculiarly British characteristic

The Company also objected to the unofficial Europeans on the curious grounds that many of them were of the 'lower classes', i.e shopkeepers, tradesmen and small businessmen The

poorer Europeans', as they were termed, were not expected to behave in a wholly rational manner: they were given to violent disputes, illicit relationships, large families which they could not always support, and petty bickerings in which they often expected the Resident to intervene. In short they were expected to behave in a scandalous way and while the majority of them led respectable, quiet and hard working lives, there were the exceptions who fulfilled all the Company's expectations It is interesting to chart the lives of two such families, both for their picaresque details and for the official reactions to them, which are quite undisturbed by any feelings of understanding or responsibility other than financial

The origin of the Walters family in India was quite in keeping with the prevailing mores of the end of the eighteenth century, before the long night of Victorian morality descended. Asaf-ud-daula had in 1776 requested that a Dr Hopkins Walters, a Company doctor, attend him in place of a previous British doctor.[37] Dr Walters did so, settled in Lucknow and married an Indian woman. Two children were born, James and George Hopkins Walters, and in 1780 the doctor took them back to England while his wife remained in India Unfortunately the father died on the voyage and both boys were brought up by two friends of the late doctor. George Walters returned to India after having served as a soldier in England, with the intention of setting up a Europe shop in Calcutta. A disastrous fire there destroyed all his goods and his bungalow, so he moved up-country to Cawnpore and later borrowed money from an Indian banker to set up a shop in Lucknow.[38] After being granted permission to do so by the Company, albeit somewhat grudgingly, he then (according to official reports by the Resident) seduced the eldest daughter of a British merchant, John Culloden, who had already been married to a Mr Whearty and widowed at an early age. Her father had settled on her his shop in the Residency area, the Begum Kothi, and George Walters, after causing 'a disgracefull affray' during the auction of Mr Whearty's goods after his death, married her and moved into her house and shop 'to the detriment of the other Legatees', namely the rest of John Culloden's children.[39] It was unfortunate, wrote the Resident in 1812, that 'a person of Mr. Walters' character' was allowed to stay in

Lucknow, but if he was compelled to leave, his wife would then become destitute [40] George Walters eventually solved the Resident's dilemma by dying when he was about forty years old, having run a successful business and avoided further clashes with the Company.

The other notorious family in Lucknow in the eyes of the officials was called, appropriately enough, Rotton. The founder member, Richard W Rotton, had been a mercenary in the Maratha army, and on leaving in 1803 was granted a pension from the Company: the latter had arranged to recompense Britons on condition that they would no longer fight for a native power.[41] Richard Rotton had also been receiving Rs 2,000 per month from Asaf-ud-daula for unspecified services, but the Governor General Cornwallis had put a stop to that, telling Rotton that he could not receive such a sum and remain in Lucknow.[42] (It was a measure of the Company's power that they were able to intervene to such an extent in the private arrangements between the nawab and one of his employees) Richard Rotton chose to give up the nawabi salary and remained in Lucknow until his death in 1815

His son, Felix Rotton, born about 1795, served in a military capacity under successive nawabs for twenty years, married several Indian women and had about twenty-two children who were 'complete natives in every sense of the word', according to official records. Felix Rotton was supposed to have converted to Islam and during the Mutiny of 1857 fought for some months, with his sons, against the beleaguered British The opprobrium heaped on him for this not unreasonable action can well be imagined, and the tone of pained surprise in official records still makes for rich reading after 125 years 'Mr Rotton seems voluntarily to have remained with the Rebels till July last, [i e. July 1857] to be the father of rebels and to labour under the strongest presumption of disloyalty'. He did nothing to help the British 'although the descendant of a European himself, all his sons capable of bearing arms were hostile to us and he is answerable for the sons he begot'.

Felix Rotton, on surrendering to the British forces in 1858, claimed he had meant to go into the Residency entrenchment but was asleep when Indian troops entered the city The official investigators dismissed this claim as rubbish and took the

trouble to establish that there was a 'heavy cannonade' at the time when Felix Rotton said he was sleeping The sons, despite the fact of their European descent, were seen during the siege of Lucknow with the rebels, together with some other 'renegade Christians' [43] Possibly the sons' behaviour had been somewhat tempered by the memory of the scanty pension awarded to another branch of their family by the Company. Richard Rotton's brother, John, who served in the Company's forces stationed at Faizabad, was murdered by his son Edgar after he attempted to molest one of his daughters. The son fled to Lucknow where he was sympathetically received by the British Resident and awarded a pension of Rs 100 a month since he was a dependant of a man who had served the Company However, the Rs 100 was to be divided up between eleven members of the family and was 'the sole means of their support',[44] a figure which cannot compare very well with the Rs 2,000 per month received by their uncle Richard Rotton from Asaf-ud-daula, until the Company put a stop to it

Many more examples could be related of the official attitudes towards the 'unofficial' Europeans in Lucknow, of pained indignation because the 'lower classes' were unfortunately unable to act like gentlemen when suddenly called upon to do so, of the horror which mixed marriages provoked, and of the patronizing attitudes towards the children of such marriages But enough has been written to show that the European community in the city should not and cannot be seen as a corporate whole; they were, rather, many little factions crossing and recrossing each others' paths but with considerable gulfs of incomprehension between them

From the measures that the Company adopted towards the unofficial Europeans in Lucknow it is a short step to examining the active steps that were employed to keep out such people, or if that failed, to restrict them as much as possible. The first attempt came early in 1775, shortly after Asaf-ud-daula's succession to the musnud, when the Resident John Bristow was told unequivocally by the Governor General, Warren Hastings, that the nawab 'must make his Election between the French and the English as he cannot be in Amity with one of these Nations without bearing an Enmity to the other' [45] At this time it was estimated that there were about 150 non-

official Europeans in Oudh and about thirty-five working for Asaf-ud-daula. When the nawab raised objections to the summary dismissal of a number of his employees he was threatened with the withdrawal of Company troops, leaving him undefended apart from his own undisciplined troops, who would have been led by the bizarre mixture of Frenchmen noted by the Comte de Modave a year earlier.

By 1786 a list made of Europeans in Lucknow numbered twenty-eight.[46] As well as official Europeans like the Resident, Colonel Harper, his accountant John Wombwell, and military officers stationed in the city, it also included two artists, the painters John Zoffani and Thomas Longcroft, the architect Colonel Polier and five men unconnected with the Company, one of whom, Louis Carvalho was certainly pursuing his own business as a trader. Seven years later, in 1793, the Company again tried to limit the number of Europeans at the nawab's court, which seems to confirm that the measures of 1775 had not been successful. This time Asaf-ud-daula was allowed to employ craftsmen, carpenters 'and repairers of his Musical Clocks', but no 'Gentlemen except Colonel Martin'[47] The next year the Governor General, in reply to a query from the Resident at Lucknow, said that no European was to reside in Oudh without Cornwallis' written permission, and that anyone who did so would not receive protection from the Company[48] This meant in effect that unofficial Europeans residing without permission would be subject to Indian jurisdiction in case of trouble or civil disputes instead of coming under the judicial auspices of the Resident, as was normally the case.

Three years later the next Governor General, Sir John Shore, wrote to the Resident saying, 'To whatever degree the Commercial Benefits of the Vizier's Country may be extended from the Trade carried on by Europeans in Oude, I cannot but be of the Opinion that they are more than Counterbalanced by the Political Evils resulting from the Establishment of Europeans there'.[49] Lord Wellesley who replaced Sir John Shore as Governor General was similarly perturbed by the European presence in Oudh and he wrote in 1798 that their presence was 'a mischief which requires no comment My resolution is fixed to dislodge every European, excepting the

Company's servants, from Oude'.[50] But the Governor General was just as unsuccessful in pursuing his resolution as others had been before him, and many new names appear in the list of non-official residents by the end of the eighteenth century The only tangible result of Wellesley's pronouncement was a treaty drawn up between the new nawab, Saadat Ali Khan, and the Company, which stated that the nawab 'is bound to obtain the permission of the British Government previously to his entertaining Europeans of any description', but even this treaty proved unenforceable in practice.

By 1823 attempts to restrict Europeans appear to have been abandoned for good and shopkeepers, merchants, school-teachers and craftsmen could all apply to the Company for a pass which would allow them to reside in the city The Company was still concerned, however, with Europeans employed directly by the nawab, and a note by the Governor General, Lord Hastings, that 'no British Subject be permitted in future to enter into the Service of native Princes without the previous permission and Sanction of the British Government' was put to the nawab Ghazi-ud-din-Haider by the Resident in Lucknow.[51] This edict of Lord Hastings was meant to apply throughout India where the Company had a measure of power, and inspite of the nawab's arguments that he was an exceptional case he was, after 1823, obliged to seek written permission for Europeans he employed The nawab did however win a concession from the Company in that he was to continue paying his European employees direct instead of their salaries being paid into the Residency treasury and then being passed on to them by the Resident. The nawab argued that such a move would 'lower him in the Eyes of his Servants and Subjects' and would be 'an encroachment on the internal management of his affairs', and the measure was quickly dropped.

From 1823, annual lists of Europeans working for the nawabs were compiled together with their monthly salaries, and in some cases their occupations, and applications for Company passes for Europeans offered work by the nawabs are also noted Europeans who were offered such jobs had usually done a fair amount of soliciting for the coveted posts, and jobs were normally offered on the recommendation of someone already at court or someone in the Company. A list

of 1837 names twelve Europeans employed by Nawab Nasir-ud-din-Haider, and in ten cases gives the name of the person who recommended them.[52] Four men, Carnegie—a silversmith and jeweller, Sago—the Chamberlain, Casanova—a painter, and Sinclair—a Civil Engineer, were recommended by the nawab's chief minister Hakim Mehndi, and on this minister's fall from grace in 1832 Carnegie and Sago were both dismissed, showing how closely some jobs were tied to the position of the patron who had solicited for them. Three men, including the notorious barber Derussett (the anti-hero of Knighton's book), had been recommended to the nawab by Residents in Lucknow; one man was recommended both by a well-known European merchant and the Governor General, Lord Bentinck, and the last, J D. Lock, was the son of a painter employed by a former nawab whose mother had personally solicited Nasir-ud-din-Haider to give her son work on his father's death.

No mention was ever made of bribes or gifts to people at court in return for their patronage and recommendations but it would be naive to suppose that money and goods did not change hands A job at court could prove very lucrative as the salaries show (Rs 1,000 per month for Casanova the painter, for example), as well as providing a pension in retirement, and of course the chance to promote other Europeans in turn The disadvantages were that one's patron could fall out of favour, or that the nawab would find fault, justified or not, with an employee, which invariably led to instant dismissal and often the loss of earned salary since salaries were usually paid in arrears Several sad cases are recorded of Europeans who had sold their houses and left good jobs (sometimes in Europe) to come to Lucknow and work for the nawabs, only to be dismissed after a short while; or in the case of Seddon, the proposed principal of a college which was not set up, never to start work at all.[53]

Antoine De L'Etang, who had originally worked in the Royal Stables in Paris before the French Revolution, was offered a job at the Lucknow court by a 'Gentleman of a most respectable Character' and gave up his job for the Company in Calcutta to take up the new position in Lucknow. He borrowed Rs 10,000 to pay the fares of his wife and four daughters

from Europe to India and borrowed another Rs 3,000 for furniture, house expenses and servants, all on the strength of his wages of Rs 2,000 per month from Saadat Ali Khan (A house was provided for him by the nawab). After just over a year in Lucknow a furious correspondence ensued between De L'Etang and the nawab over the former's alleged mistreatment of the nawab's horses Recriminations and accusations flew between both parties 'Figure to yourself' wrote the nawab, 'how much vexation it must give to a man who is very fond of horses'. The result was that De L'Etang was dismissed and only received his salary after prolonged correspondence. The Governor General interceded for him but could not obtain any money as compensation and De L'Etang, after many pleading letters, was finally offered a job in the Company, though not, one imagines at Rs 2,000 per month.

What restrictions did the nawabs themselves put on Europeans, other than outright expulsions as with De L'Etang? Asaf-ud-daula had appeared reluctant to place constraints on Europeans until forced to do so by the Company shortly after his succession in 1775 It has been shown that some Europeans did manage to slip through the Company's net and even to have dealings with Asaf-ud-daula, but it is not until 1788 that the first independent statement by the nawab was issued when he put out a notice through the Resident, E Otto Ives, saying that he 'does not think proper to consent to their [the Europeans] erecting houses or other buildings in his Dominions, and that they must therefore consider themselves as prohibited from doing so'.[54] The Governor General said in reply to this announcement (which was not of course adhered to) that had he known the nawab did not want Europeans to erect houses in Oudh he, the Governor, would not have granted their request 'as it is a matter of *perfect indifference to the interest of* this Government.' Two points emerge from this rather strange statement—the implication that the Governor General could grant Europeans permission to build houses in the nawab's dominions without apparently getting the nawab's consent, and secondly the deliberate lie that the presence of non-official Europeans was not a matter for concern to the Company when, as has been shown, they made prolonged attempts to restrict such people

A year later in July 1789 Ives reported to the Governor General that the nawab 'has declared it to be his determination not to allow in future of any European merchants coming to reside in his country, but to confine their commercial intercourse to the medium of *Gomastahs*' (middlemen in trade). The reasons for the nawabi statement, said Ives, was the 'disgust he [the nawab] has conceived against those who are already here'. The nawab also objected to the fact that European merchants could approach him through the Resident with their grievances, something which native merchants could not do.[55] The Governor General's reply to this announcement stated that it was the Company's intention to protect the nawab from 'improper interference' by Europeans but that he, the Governor General, could not agree to a total prohibition on Europeans. The nawab, he wrote, could specify where he wanted Europeans to live but he must not prohibit them once they had a pass from the Governor General. They could however be recalled for 'improper behaviour'. But this seemingly categorical statement that it was the Company who could choose which Europeans entered Oudh, independent of the nawab's wishes, is contradicted by a report from Sir John Shore, the Governor General, who wrote in 1795: 'The Rule for permitting Europeans to proceed to Lucknow renders it necessary that the Leave of the Vizier, communicated thro' the Resident should have been previously obtained'.[56]

Whether Europeans wishing to settle in Lucknow took advantage of the confused pass system by playing off the Governor General's announcements against the nawab's is not clear At one point the nawab was reported as having said he would not object to Europeans in Oudh 'provided they confined their residence to Lucknow'.[57] But this order proved as unworkable as those of the Company. All that emerges is the fact that in theory Europeans needed a Company pass and a nawabi pass in the eighteenth century, but in practice a number of Europeans arrived who were sanctioned by neither party. It was possible for them to evade surveillance and both enter and leave Oudh with comparative ease There are few accounts in records examined of Europeans being deported once they had reached and settled in Lucknow, either by the nawabs or by the Company, though one cannot judge the

amount of pressure which might have been applied to undesirable people in the city In 1802 the new nawab, Saadat Ali Khan, again attempted to restrict non-official Europeans from settling in the city and evicted a Mr Carvalho from a house which the latter had long occupied, as well as tried to prevent another old resident, Mr Paull, from re-establishing himself in the city. The Resident, Scott, wrote· 'I believe his Excellency's [the nawab's] desire of totally eradicating from his dominions all European ascendancy, influence and inspection supersede every other consideration', and Scott suggested that the reasons for this not unnatural desire were simply that the nawab wished to engage in trade himself, or to give the monopoly of trade to his great friend Gore Ousely and *his* friends [58] Scott was not by any means an unbiased reporter, for there was tremendous personal dislike between him and the nawab, and after many interventions by the latter Scott was replaced by Gore Ousely who was Acting Resident for several years No further attempts by the nawabs to restrict non-Company Europeans are noted, and the system of double passes was phased out early in the nineteenth century, Europeans who bothered to apply for passes now needing only one from the Company

In retrospect, had the early nawabs' actions been consistent with their words and had Asaf-ud-daula and Saadat Ali Khan maintained a steadfast opposition to Europeans in Lucknow, if not Oudh, then the number of non-official Europeans would probably have been much smaller than it was. But these same rulers who voiced their objections through the Residents about Europeans in their city were at the same time not only actively encouraging some Europeans to settle in Lucknow but were giving them expensive houses as well—the nawab Asaf-ud-daula 'gave me the House, Gardens, and Buildings formerly the Residence of Colonel Mordaunt at Lucknow', wrote Robert Beecher in 1814. It was 'an House upon a large scale with Baths and every comfort—two large Bungalows and a Bowley [*baoli*, a kind of well] calculated to raise a great quantity of Water and an Extensive Garden planted with the choicest Trees. My idea of the value of the property is Rupees 50,000 [about £5,000]'.[59] Similarly there was Mr Henry Clark's house which was erected on ground 'purchased from

General Martin's Executors by the late Vizier Saadat Ali Khan who immediately bestowed it in perpetuity on this Well-wisher' and gave him Rs 30,000 in addition towards the cost of the house.[60] But this same nawab was, according to Viscount Valentia, trying to buy back houses built by Europeans along the banks of the Gomti on land he had previously granted, in order to place some kind of restriction on land and houses owned by foreigners. 'These [houses] were private property and were purchaseable by any person without his Highness's consent. As the change of inhabitants is rapid, they have been on the market since his succession, and he has taken care to secure them all'.[61]

It was this vacillating and half-hearted policy, giving with one hand and taking back with the other, that was the nawabs' ultimate undoing. They were not consistent in their policy on European traders in Oudh—while generally deprecating their activities they nonetheless continued to buy goods from them in excessive amounts, and though voicing disapproval of Europeans in Lucknow still continued to be the second largest employer (after the Company) for such people in the city Had they firmly resisted the temptation of trading in European goods and of employing Europeans at court they might well have avoided some of the unwelcome attentions showered on them by the Company and might even have been allowed to muddle through until post-Mutiny days. But with hindsight it seems obvious that the half-hearted measures taken by the nawabs to limit the number of Europeans in Lucknow and Oudh were worse than useless—the real damage was not in the number, nor the quality, nor the professions of the Europeans, but in the fact that they were there at all.

CHAPTER THREE

EUROPEAN DREAMS AND INDIAN FANTASIES

What kind of houses existed in Lucknow before European ideas on building began to change the city's face for ever? It is necessary to consider this question thoroughly, for without an impression of the pre-European city it is neither easy to judge the enormous impact which western architecture made nor to appreciate the considerable changes carried out in the city by Europeans and by Indians who became enamoured of the new style

Although Lucknow had a larger Hindu than Muslim population during nawabi rule (as indeed it does today), Muslim influence became disproportionately greater in many of the arts, including architecture, and brick-built Hindu houses of the nawabi period closely resemble those of Muslims Strictly speaking, there should have been a marked difference between Hindu and Muslim houses since the former neither required a purdah section for women nor a specific building for religious worship, as wealthy Muslim households did. But the overall plan of the well-to-do houses of both communities are so similar that a Muslim house may be taken as fairly representative of indigenous Lucknow building

Such a house consists of two courtyards, side by side. The larger one, the *mardana* or men's quarter, opens on to the street through a narrow gateway, and the zenana or women's quarter can only be entered from the men's courtyard. Around each side of both courtyards are rooms, often with a small verandah that helps to shade the rooms from the sun and allows the inhabitants to enjoy the open air while being partially protected by the verandah roof The rooms round the

courtyards seldom have any windows in the far walls other than small high grilles for ventilation, and it is unusual to find interconnecting doors between the rooms except in the larger and grander houses. Of course there are variations depending upon the inclination and, more important, the purse of the owner, but the basic pattern remains remarkably consistent P C. Mookherji, who lived in Lucknow and wrote an outstanding book on the city, has an important chapter on domestic architecture in which he describes the house of a rich Muslim following the pattern mentioned above [1] The gate opening on to the street will have a guard house, either on one side of the gate if it is one-storied, or in more elaborate buildings in a room over the main gateway. This can also house the *naubat khana*, a room with a balcony from which kettle drums and other musical instruments are sounded to mark the passing of the hours or the arrival of an important guest Inside the first gateway may be a small courtyard around which are the servants' quarters, which in turn lead through another gateway directly opposite the first one into the mardana, a large and airy courtyard surrounded by cells or rooms. To one side but still flush with the line of rooms will be an *imambara*, a religious building connected with ceremonies of the Shi'a sect of Islam, or if the owner is a Sunni (as are the majority of Muslims) there will be a small *masjid* or mosque for the family's private worship. Near the imambara or masjid will be a large sitting room which is often like a hall divided by arches and columns, and usually facing the main gateway To the side of this room will be the apartments of the divan, the manager of the house and the estate, since most owners of a house this size will undoubtedly have lands or a village outside the city. Further on will be the rooms of the *maulvi* who would instruct the boys of the family The upper storey of the mardana would consist of more airy rooms and pavilions, used during both winter and summer In the hot season *tattis* or reed curtains made of *khus-khus* grass would be hung in the doors or archways. Water sprinkled frequently over these curtains, which give off a pleasant smell when wet, would help cool the room by evaporation. In the winter the tattis would be replaced by thick padded curtains, carpets spread on the floor, and small charcoal braziers or *sigris* used for heating. The steps to the up-

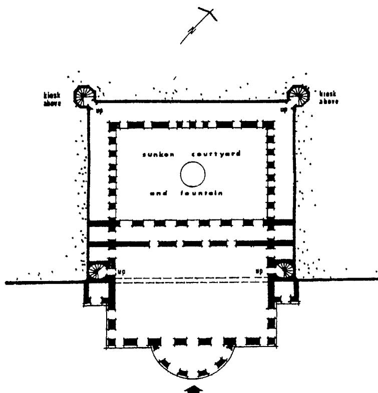
per storeys would, in the majority of cases, be on the outside of the building and would lead right up to the flat roof enclosed by a low parapet

The zenana which leads off the men's quarters may have a wall directly in front of the gateway, or even two gateways linked by a passage to preclude any accidental sighting of the women from the men's quarters Three sides of the zenana will consist of small living rooms while the fourth will house the kitchen and store-rooms There are no outside openings in the walls of the zenana, and even the roof will have a high solid parapet with small grilles let in at intervals Traditionally the height of a zenana wall had to be such that a man standing on the back of an elephant could not see over the walls,[2] and in Lucknow at least no distinguished visitor, foreign or otherwise, was allowed to ascend a minaret or tower of a religious building without previous public notice having been given so that the women could conceal themselves.

Now consider a typically European-style house in the city, for example the Dilkusha which was built about 1800 by Gore Ousely, friend of Saadat Ali Khan and one time Acting British Resident. The immediate difference between the traditional house and the Dilkusha is that there are no interior courtyards and that one is presented with a solid block of masonry containing all the rooms with their different functions gathered together Photographs of the Dilkusha show that the house expanded upwards rather than outwards and that the doors and windows were an essential element in the decoration of the facade. There is an imposing staircase leading to the main door with its highly ornamental portico There is no apparent shading from the sun other than the wooden venetian blinds at the glazed windows, and though it is not visible from photographs the very un-Indian towers at the corners of the building contain circular staircases, so it is not necessary to go outside the house in order to climb to the upper floors or the roof. All this is in such direct contrast with the traditional Indian house that it might seem at first that a synthesis between the two styles was impossible, and indeed many Lucknow buildings of nawabi times that sought to bridge the gap failed miserably by merely incorporating unimportant European decorations into an unchanged Indian house. But a successful

synthesis of styles was achieved in a surprisingly large number of houses in and around the city, and achieved with care, with wit, and occasionally with great dignity and splendour. Consider for example the Indo-European house of Barowen (also spelt Baronne) now known as Musa Bagh. Completed in 1803/4 for the nawab Saadat Ali Khan and probably based on plans by Claude Martin, it lies three miles due west of Lucknow. Traces of a nawabi brick road remain, leading in a line from the city palaces to Barowen but the usual method of approach was by river, the Gomti previously running nearer to the house than it does at present As early as 1831 the road was considered 'almost impassable'[3] and it is this inaccessibility that has preserved so much of the building. Only the villagers from the nearby village of Barowen who dig out chunks of masonry to dam their fields for irrigation purposes and a few half-hearted treasure seekers disturb the ruins of this magnificent building.[4] There is only one known drawing of Barowen from the river side, executed in 1814 by Smith who accompanied Lady Nugent on a tour of northern India Barowen had then been standing for ten years and Smith's drawing shows the grandeur of the architect's concept, though it is not until one walks over the site that one appreciates the sublety and understanding of the architect. The high wall in Smith's drawing that effectively divides the back and front of Barowen also marks the artificial hill which the architect utilized, for although the house is three storeys at the front and rises grandly from a flat plain, behind the wall there are only two storeys above ground and a large sunken courtyard which is reached by descending the spiral steps in the octagonal kiosks at the far corners of the building. The reason for the sunken courtyard was that the surrounding earth cooled the small rooms and the verandah here, while the front portion of the house made an impressive winter residence. The house is so constructed that it was possible to enter through the handsome semi-circular portico on the river side and to walk straight through the building into the sunken courtyard without descending any steps, as the courtyard floor is exactly level with the ground floor.

It is this perfect synthesis of a European house in the grand tradition with the practical Indian additions of a large open



Ground Floor Plan

BAROWEN (Musa Bagh)

courtyard surrounded on three sides by small rooms—and the little airy pavilions on the roof—that make this one of the most satisfying buildings in Lucknow. No one who sees it, even in its ruined condition, could fail to speculate on the enrichment to architecture had this intelligent compromise been followed more often, but Barowen stands as an almost unique example of what might have been. A visitor in 1824 says that there 'was a well-judged union of the comfort of the English with the splendour and magnificence of the Asiatic style throughout its numerous and extensive apartments',[5] and an examination of the remaining ruins bears witness to the extremely high quality of the workmanship. There were delicate stucco friezes both on the interior and exterior walls, and a judicious use of sandstone for the brackets supporting the cornice round the two top floors and the plinths of the groups of columns. Two of the most interesting decorations are the stucco 'sun-burst' designs inside the domes of the octagonal kiosks, where the 'rays' spread down the domes and the face of the sun is the circular opening in the top of the dome, and the witty imitation of rolled up tatties or blinds over each arch in the courtyard, which are lovingly reproduced in stucco even to the string holding up the blind and the frill of material over each arch. Traces of red and white decoration still remain over some of these arches after more than a century of neglect.

Whatever the original motives behind their construction, these houses, and others like them, seem to have been little used except as places to which European visitors were taken during their conducted tours of Lucknow. It cannot be claimed that these country houses added much to the beautification of Lucknow as they were some way outside the city, nor were they designed for the edification of the population, because unlike Europeanized buildings inside Lucknow they were never accessible to the general public.

Now it is obvious that the change in style between these Indo-European houses and traditional buildings would lead to a reappraisal of the land surrounding them. The native house presents a rather forbidding and bleak appearance to a pedestrian in a typical Indian street. Obviously the zenana portion of such a house is not built to look inviting, but then neither is the mardana. Often the only decoration at all on a street of Indian

houses is over the gateway set in a high wall. There is no hint of what kind of building is behind the gate, and seldom any clue to the identity or status of the owner. It is still a very common experience in the older part of Lucknow to walk along narrow and filthy alleys where the sunlight never falls because of the proximity of high walls on either side, and then suddenly to enter an insignificant gateway into a large and splendid courtyard with highly decorated rooms, pleasant gardens and even fountains The whole place is very clean because the sweepers sweep all the refuse out into the street —this is not regarded as belonging in any way to the owners of the house. In fact an Indian street seems to be regarded merely as the space between houses, a kind of no-man's land along which one walks gingerly, handkerchief held to one's nose, until the safety and cleanliness of a house is reached.

There is little reason to believe that Lucknow's old streets have changed drastically over the past two hundred years, from the time when Tieffenthaler and Hodges were complaining bitterly about their narrowness and filth. Now looking again at the Dilkusha, or any of the numerous European-style buildings of Lucknow, it is obvious that the architects designed these houses specifically to present a striking front to the passer-by. Such houses must be seen in their entirety from the street, they cannot be appreciated from behind high walls. Every detail of their facades is intended to draw the eye and since one needs to be able to stand back some distance to admire these houses, they are not surrounded by narrow dark alleys, but by gardens, or at least wide streets. The houses become 'public property,' at least visually, and thereby the streets also are public streets, not merely spaces between houses. So the building of European-style houses meant not just a change in external decoration, nor the shifting of a few rooms and corridors, but in fact a reappraisal of the whole milieu in which the new houses were built. There is no doubt that the nawabs and their wealthy subjects who imitated them were making a conscious and deliberate decision when they asked Europeans in Lucknow to design such houses for them

Asaf-ud-daula was particularly fond of the new style houses and at the start of his reign in 1775 asked the British Resident at the Lucknow court to 'procure him the plan of a house after

the European taste' This was drawn up for him and subsequently executed by Captain Marsack who was in charge of one of the nawab's battalions stationed at Lucknow [6] His successor Saadat Ali Khan, during whose time some of the greatest Lucknow houses were built, was responsible for making Hazratganj (in the newer, eastern part of the city), one of the most splendid streets. With its handsome European-style houses on each side of a broad road it led Bishop Heber to exclaim in 1825 that 'Lucknow has more resemblance to some of the smaller European capitals (Dresden for instance), than anything which I have seen in India'.[7] So the distinct change in the pattern of Lucknow's streets, away from the narrow nullahs and ganjes of the old city and towards the more 'Europeanized' eastern part was, in no small way, attributable to the new taste of European-style housing

Among the vernacular buildings those dwellings should be considered which were neither brick-built traditional Indian houses nor the Europeanized houses of the nawabs and rich Indians or Europeans—the bungalows. As the name implies, the idea of building small, single storey houses with thatched roofs and small verandahs formed from the overhanging thatch originated in Bengal The advantages of bungalows in India are fairly obvious. They can be quickly erected using materials readily to hand—leaves and straw for the roof, sun-dried bricks or wattle and daub for the walls, with bamboo or wood supports for the eaves and the doors. The raised platform on which such bungalows usually stand can be made from beaten earth, with rubble for firmness, or planks. The peculiar shape of the roof, which has been frequently reproduced in Mughal buildings of stone, ensures good drainage during the monsoon.[8]

William Hodges' description of Lucknow houses in 1782 gave an impression of a poor town—'The city is extensive, but meanly built· the houses are chiefly mud walls, covered with thatch, and many consist entirely of mats and bamboos and are thatched with leaves of the cocoa nut, very few indeed of the houses of the natives are built with brick' [9] In fact Hodges was describing bungalows, and the hitherto odd statement that one of the nawabs lived in 'his private mud-house' where the Qaisarbagh tombs now stand becomes more explicable [10]

Living in a bungalow was not considered shameful or a sign of poverty, as Hodges had assumed, rather it was recognized as a simple and obvious expedient Because of lack of time, lack of elaborate building materials or skilled craftspeople, one lived in bungalows as a temporary measure, or during certain seasons of the year, especially the campaigning season Modave has a good description of a bungalow at Faizabad which grew up simply because it was the military base for operations by earlier nawabs, when it was called 'Bangla' in recognition of this:

> It is a pavilion of bamboo covered with thatch or leaves from trees which one constructs in haste for some special occasion, like a marriage, a big fete, a meeting place during the hunt, or simply a meeting place It is magnificently adorned with hangings, with beautiful chintzes and with mirrors or lustres etc. People dance and play and eat there The *soubas* [subahs, or Governors] of Lucknow had one of these banglas put up thirty years ago, in the place that is now Fezabad The site on the banks of the river Gogra pleased them It became a rendezvous for the Hunt, which gradually became a large town, something quite easy in the Indies where one does not build except of earth, and where five or six months can suffice to construct a town [11]

Since a bungalow by its very nature is a rather ephemeral building, in its most basic form it tends to be neglected in descriptions of Indian towns. But it must not be forgotten that the majority of inhabitants of eighteenth-century Lucknow lived in bungalows rather than stuccoed houses

One must now ask why the majority of Europeans chose to build in the European manner rather than to adapt or inhabit what already existed Although there were perfectly good Indian houses, most early European settlers seem to have ignored indigenous building with the same perversity that kept them in clothes more suited to a chilly northern climate than the subcontinent 'When the English first visited India, they adopted a mode of building by no means consistent with common sense, and displaying a total ignorance of the most simple of nature's laws', wrote Captain Thomas Williamson in 1810. Houses built between 1750 and 1770 were constructed 'more like ovens, than like the habitations of enlightened beings. The doors were very small, the windows still less, in proportion, while the roofs were carried up many feet above

both',[12] and in town houses in Calcutta during the middle of the century families passed uncomfortably hot days in rooms on the first floors until they realized that the ground floors which were being used as storage rooms, or even stables, were much cooler. Common sense prevailed to some degree and later town houses were built with taller ground floor apartments, with storage rooms on the smaller upper floors. But the point to be noted here is that these later, more sensible, modifications were made to 'European' houses; there was no attempt to Indianize the houses at all. Why then were European-style houses, with all their faults, preferred?

The answer seems to be two-fold—a feeling of superiority engendered by the possession of such houses, and the homesickness in an alien culture which could to some extent be ameliorated by the attempt to reproduce the familiar. Of course what might be considered familiar by some people was often a long way beyond the grasp of the ordinary European at home, but because of the cheapness of labour and materials in India, even relatively humble Europeans could aspire to something much grander than was possible in their own country All the evidence shows that it was considerably cheaper to build such houses in India, even when Indian workpeople had to be instructed in European methods. In India the average price for a large detached house in its own grounds at the end of the eighteenth century was about £4,000, while a house of similar pretensions with the same amount of land in England was changing hands at the astronomical price of £85,000.[13] It was estimated that in 1778 an English house, Barrington Hall, Herts, not dissimilar in its ground plan to Claude Martin's town house, the Farhad Baksh, would cost £14,500 to build and was to consist of a brick core faced with stone dug locally [14] The Farhad Baksh, also built with a brick core but faced with stucco was, on the other hand, sold in 1800 to Joseph Quieros, Martin's Spanish steward, for a mere £4,000 [15] Even Beecher's 'House upon a large scale' with its outbuildings and extensive garden was only valued at £5,000 in 1814, and because this particular valuation was made in an effort to obtain compensation for the seizure of the estate, it was the highest value that Beecher thought he could put on the property. A single marble chimney-piece in an English country-house[16]

cost more than the stables erected in Lucknow at about the same time[17] (£98.8s. compared with £63). A complete bungalow with glass windows, tiled roofs and outbuildings could be built in India for only £500 in 1810[18] while the Gothic church in the Lucknow Residency area cost only £540 in 1837, with a further £70 spent on the gates, the walls, the railings and the outbuildings.[19]

Why was it so cheap to build in India? Obviously wages for Indian workpeople were very low—a master mason received less than 6d. a day,[20] but the price for materials was also extremely cheap—as was the land. 100,000 nawabi bricks cost only £3 2s.6d,[21] compared to £90 for the same quantity of purchased bricks in England[22] Indian bricks were considered so cheap that they were used for road building. Stone, however, was expensive and difficult to obtain in Lucknow Both marble and red sandstone had to be brought from Agra, Jaipur or even further west and in 1795, 3,050 marble slabs of unspecified size were valued at £1,000 in Lucknow,[23] one fourth of the price of a large house there. This helps to explain why the art of imitating stone by using stucco was developed to such a very high degree. Where an elaborately carved marble fireplace would have been erected in a large English house, Indian builders achieved a similar effect with highly polished stucco built up over a brick core at a fraction of the price.

Although Europeans in India built themselves fine houses while marvelling at the small cost of materials and the low wages of the native builders, they never made any correlation between these wages and the wretchedness of the native workmen and women. The dirt and squalor of the old part of Lucknow was frequently commented on but with no attempt at an analysis of why there should be so much visible poverty in a brilliant and splendid town such as this No one thought fit to remark that a society in which Saadat Ali Khan paid his English engineer McLeod £150 per month in 1812[24] while a master mason earned 15s a month to construct the buildings that McLeod designed was not a particularly healthy society.

The Europeans were not always happy with the work that the native workers did so cheaply for them either Thomas Williamson, writing about stucco decorations of rooms in the Upper Provinces in 1810, says: 'These mouldings [*sic*] etc. are

all done by means of trowels shaped for the purpose, and not by moulds, or stamps ' The native workman will do them with 'great ingenuity, consummate patience and often great delicacy, but, with respect to design, taste, composition, perspective, consistency, and harmony he will prove himself to be completely ignoramus.'[25] Almost forty years later Colesworthy Grant wrote quite seriously—'Home English readers may not be familiar with the fact of the almost non-existence of the fine arts in this country—engraving, for other than cards, name-plates and small maps, being unknown '[26]

While not denying that Indians possessed a range of skills, it was consistently denied that they had any taste and that therefore they had to be supervised by Europeans A further manifestation of this devaluing of Indian work was the persistent idea that Claude Martin had imported Italian workmen to build his houses, particularly Constantia, to the south-east of Lucknow Europeans found it difficult to believe that the beautiful stucco work inside the house and the statues on the parapets had been done by native craftsmen. In fact Constantia was only half completed on Martin's death when he left his designs and plans to be executed by 'my faithful servant Mutchoo' and his brother 'Chota Qadir who both are very well acquainted how and in what mode I carry on these Buildings as well in buying material as in paying the workmen '[27] There is no evidence that Martin used European labour at all in any of his buildings, on the contrary there is every indication that local people worked under Martin's sole supervision and after his death under the direction of the two servants whom Martin had trained to read and interpret his plans But it was part of the myth that anything out of the ordinary must have been done by Europeans, just as unfounded rumours today suggest that the Taj Mahal must have been built by Italians

A very few commentators in Britain did remark on the scornful attitudes of their fellow countrymen towards India The Hon F J. Shore wrote in 1835—'First and foremost stands the fixed creed of the English, that everything of English origin, or appertaining to ourselves, must be superior to everything connected with the natives ' Such an attitude, when carried to its perfectly logical conclusion, Shore complained, produced the syllogism—'Oude is a native govern-

ment, – ergo, it is very inferior to the British rule.'[28] Shore's protest went unheeded, for a decade later a writer in the *Calcutta Review* had to make the same point again 'It is too much the fashion to undervalue what is Indian That which is noticeable in itself is not to be noticed because it is Indian '[29] Both are reasonable and just comments, but such attempts to hold the balance were quite swamped in the general belief that Indian things were automatically second rate. It is also of course a common human failing to undervalue what one obtains too cheaply.

The initial sense of wonder experienced by seventeenth-century Europeans in India quickly gave way to an innate sense of superiority often embodied in their large and pompous buildings Consider for a moment the instructions issued by Lord Ongley to his architect in 1770—'I require a mansion worthy of the position I occupy with regard to my tenantry, and worthy of the landskip [*sic*] in which I have chosen to place it First let it be convenient, next let it be elegant without ostentation, impressive without Italian or Gothick heaviness, desirable without exciting the envy of the covetous, yet calculated to impress the mean-spirited '[30] This was to be a house in England, but the sentiments when transposed to an Indian setting are entirely apt Undoubtedly many Europeans in India saw the functions of their own buildings not only as places to live in, but as monuments designed to impress the humble native, his less humble Indian master, and other Europeans with less taste or money. Lord Wellesley, in attempting to justify the expense of the new government house in Calcutta, said that his English critics 'ought to remember that India is a country of splendour, of extravagance and of outward appearances, that the Head of a mighty Empire ought to conform himself to the prejudices of the country he rules over, that the British, in particular, ought to emulate the splendid works of the Princes of the House of Timour' [the Mughals] [31] In Lucknow too, this idea of educating by bricks and mortar is perfectly expressed in a description of the Farhad Baksh, which not only 'gave many proofs of his [Claude Martin's] own superior talents and ingenuity, to the great delight of the intelligent traveller and neighbouring natives', but also the building and its contents 'have not a little contributed to impress the less

informed of the natives of that remote part of the country with just ideas of the superiority of European taste and knowledge'.[32]

It is no coincidence either that the style in which the majority of Europeans chose to build in India was the neo-Classical, Graeco-Roman revival which became increasingly popular in Europe in the last part of the eighteenth century. Many travellers in India during this period have declared that 'European' towns and individual houses reminded them forcibly of Greece and Rome,[33] and the intention of the designers and builders of such houses was that the 'intelligent traveller' would make the obvious correlation between those buildings which had once impressed barbaric races under Roman rule and similar buildings now used by the British who found themselves, as they imagined, masters of a pagan and unruly people. It is no exaggeration to say that European architecture was held to have a 'civilizing' effect on the 'poor Indian, whose untutored mind Sees God in clouds or hears him in the wind'.[34] Too many descriptions of 'European' buildings in India have expressed this idea, either consciously or unconsciously, for it to be dismissed as a minor by-product of colonial thinking. By 1849 the idea of superiority in every sphere was so integral a part of European thinking that the following statement could pass not only uncriticized but be actively applauded—'The mission of the European to India was not *to find* a highly principled, educated and enlightened people, but to aid in *making* them so.'[35] And how better to begin the task of carrying the white man's burden than by building a suitable house for him to reside in.

But the most potent factor that led Europeans to try to re-create a familiar world in an unfamiliar environment was that of homesickness. This intangible but powerful emotion should never be underrated in dealing with European attitudes in India. It seemed to affect everyone in some degree, from the rich and successful to the ordinary English soldier—who could hardly have led an easy life at home. Widespread among the British abroad was the feeling of being exiled from everything decent and good and the idea that time spent in India was an onerous duty that would be duly rewarded on one's home leave. The fact that quite often the 'exiles' returned with their health seriously impaired and were seldom able to afford the

standard of living at home to which they had become accustomed while in India was usually glossed over in emotive but poignant passages like the following, written in 1845

> We are wanderers, and not voluntary wanderers, and even the most fortunate—what is their sense of home? The merchant or the presidency civilian, or the staff-officer—the only fixtures of which Indian society can boast—may choose his own residence within a circle of half a dozen miles, but when he thinks of home, he sees the masts of the tall passenger ships, which make a forest of the Hoogly, or stud the ocean which washes the beaches of Madras or Bombay, and beyond this a snug English house, with its shrubbery and trim garden-walks, and its sunny fruit walls luscious with the ruddy peach and ruddier nectarine. An Indian home is but a lodging house, or way-side inn, in which the exile kills time, as best he can until it is permitted to him to proceed on the last stage of his journey homewards [36]

The sense of impermanence was all the more strong since both civilian and military officers were usually transferred every three years on average, from one rented bungalow to another, so that they had little chance to put down roots in any one area of India, even had they wished to

Even the European who had appeared to settle down in India (i e those outside the Company's service) and had bought or built a large house was not immune to similar emotions of homesickness Claude Martin who died leaving an immense fortune and huge estates did not feel happy in Lucknow and longed for the intellectual stimulation of Europe where 'a man of a Modest Independancy has a thousand Diversions if he Chuse to pursue arts, Sciences, phisicks or philosophy or visit Play Concert or Show ' Though Martin had a large circle of European friends both in Lucknow and Calcutta he felt the hardest thing for the exiled European in India was 'loosing [*sic*] a friend, constantly, as well as by the fatal strokes of Death, or Going home'. His letters express well the feeling of insularity among Europeans, even those who spent long periods of time in India and who would have been expected to have had more contact with Indians than the Company's officials Martin writes of his friends still remaining in India, but hastily qualifies this by explaining, 'I dont mean among the Black peoples .sincerity, friendship, Gratitude are words not known

in their Dictionary. You will say, how Could [I] live among such lot of Peoples? In reply I have lived very little among them really! theirs Companys I alway avoided . . I have been respected and that is all I wanted from the Natives.'[37]

Such attitudes had many implications for both Indians and Europeans, but in the latters' case it tended to lead to petty and silly manifestations of homesickness and a denigration of all things Indian. One wonders at the assurance of a race which imported mouse-traps, not to mention cucumber-slicers, to India, 'but such is the *perversity of human nature* that here nothing is fit to touch but what is British—but they go still further, and every thing must be made by some particular hand in London from a carriage to a farthing biscuit ... in short everything is reckoned mere trash unless it comes from England.'[38]

Visitors to the Lucknow Resident's 'palace' in the cantonment to the north of the city were astonished but delighted at the sight of a herd of English cattle which Mordaunt Ricketts, the Resident, had had sent out about 1827.[39] These English cows reminded one traveller, Emma Roberts, of happy associations and 'pastoral recollections' in English meads[40] and had the same effect on another traveller, reminding him of 'sweet home ... but I looked in vain for the rosyfaced and elbowed dairy maids of Derbyshire, whose functions were ill-sustained by mustachioed and half naked natives.'[41] Indian reality had a distressing way of intruding into the British way of life abroad. A further attempt to create a familiar atmosphere by building an 'English village' near the Dilkusha, the large country house to the south-east of the city, was apparently a failure. A visitor in 1827 found only the ruins of some mud huts on the site and commented bitterly, 'Heaven knows, the spire, the elms and hedgerows, and white-washed honeysuckled walls, were all left to the imagination; and even in the extreme of credulity, if such an idea could have existed, the furious hot winds would have parched it immediately.'[42] Homesickness was felt and induced in every sphere, from the lack of intellectual stimulation, the bleakness of an Indian kitchen without the familiar dresser, stove and oven, and the absence of pleasant country walks where English children could pick wild flowers in safety without being leapt upon by

'snakes, envenomed caterpillars, and ants half an inch in length.'[43]

Many Europeans made no attempt.to come to terms with their unfamiliar and, as they hoped, temporary surroundings, though long periods of service without leave often meant years abroad, if not death, in India. Others tried to rationalize or explain the exotic phenomena they saw by constant reference to more familiar things Bishop Heber's writings on India are a particularly good example of this. He seemed unable to see Indian scenes without being constantly reminded of something nearer home Calcutta reminded him of St Petersburg and Moscow, and when he got to Lucknow he described Hazratganj as 'wider than the High Street at Oxford, but having some distant resemblance to it in the colour of its buildings and the general form and Gothic style of the greater part of them.' The Rumi Darwaza and the Great Imambara on the other hand reminded him of Eaton, the Earl of Grosvenor's seat in Cheshire,[44] and his drawing of it (from memory) shows how Heber has completely changed the gateway in an attempt to make the exotic more explicable. The Indian towers on each side of the gateway now appear like European medieval towers with battlements along the top The Indian arches have been narrowed and elongated to appear like arrow slits and the whole of the 'cobra-head' design round the main arch has been lost, while the two small kiosks on columns become 'look out' battlemented towers.

A European writer claimed as early as 1816 that Lucknow 'will forcibly bring to the recollection of an Englishman those cities of his native land; the same streets, fine houses, and meadows fertilized by the Goomty'.[45] Europeans, and especially the British, were desperately anxious to convince themselves that parts of India were like Britain· even a place as exotic as Lucknow could be familiarized (with a certain amount of licence) to resemble home, and later in the century when the British were able to build what *they* chose—as in Simla—they recreated areas which were practically indistinguishable from the real thing. Although it could be argued that Heber and others were trying to describe to those in Britain points of reference to help them understand India, this is disproved by other artists in the late eighteenth century like the Daniells and

William Hodges who made no attempt to patronize the spectators' intelligence, but presented what they saw in all its alien and sometimes inexplicable splendour

To sum up, it must be emphasized that whenever a 'European' building was erected in Lucknow for any or all of the motives discussed above, it was another tangible reminder to the citizens that a strange and powerful race was settling in their city, influencing their rulers and introducing different ideas And these new ideas, unfortunately, invariably seemed to lead to a denigration of Indian ways. 'Englishmen . . it is certain will find fault with every system of Government or politics which may not accord with the English model', wrote Nawab Wajid Ali Shah after his deposition by the British in 1856 [46] Had that realization come to earlier nawabs there may well have been a total ban on Europeans settling in Lucknow at all, apart perhaps from a segregated Residency area, and the history of Lucknow, architecturally as well as politically, might well have been very different

But what were the motives of the nawabs who also chose to build in the European style? Apart from the political pressures I suggest there were four reasons that prompted them to build European-style houses for themselves—the prestige that such buildings brought them, a wish to imitate the elite of Europe, an immense curiosity with the artifacts produced by the west together with the financial means to gratify this interest, and lastly a yielding to the persuasions of Europeans in India who were anxious to sell things to the nawabs

There was a considerable amount of Europeanization at the courts of the early nawabs in Lucknow, exhibited in dress, in entertainments, in furnishings and trinkets, and especially in architecture—though not, it seems in the private and domestic lives of the nawabs and their noblemen. Because the descriptions of court life are all by Europeans it was natural that they would note the things which were most familiar, rather than incomprehensible rituals and customs—just as most writers describing the architecture of the city sought what they conceived to be familiar points of reference

As early as 1786 Ozias Humphry, the artist, who was dining with Husain Reza Khan, Asaf-ud-daula's chief minister, remarked,—'if I looked no further than the Tea table, I could

persuade myself I was in London', to which the minister gallantly replied· 'For some years their Interest had been so connected and Interwoven with the English that they endeavoured in all matters that they could with propriety to accommodate themselves to these Manners '[47] Asaf-ud-daula had in fact proved so accommodating towards the British that he lavished enormous sums of money on all kinds of knick-knacks that were brought to his notice, 'from mirrors and lustres costing two or three thousand pounds each to worthless little paintings and paper lanterns. Between 1787 and 1797 it was estimated that he had spent about one million pounds sterling on European articles, most of which he seems to have received duty free through various agencies in Calcutta or private individuals commissioned to buy goods for him.[48] Visitors who saw the Aina Khana where Asaf-ud-daula kept his treasures described it as a mixture of museum and lumber room, 'full of European articles of every kind' with 'clocks and watches by Cox & Co of London and other persons' and 'a valuable chronometer, or one which had been sold as such, [which] would be suspended next to a common watch of the most ordinary description, and which indeed, had possibly cost the Nabob as much as the chronometer.'[49]

It was the price that Asaf-ud-daula paid for his treasures that alarmed many who, while criticizing him for his extreme childishness and his wish to 'procure every thing that was singular, or that he heard praised,'[50] nevertheless blamed the Europeans in Lucknow for pandering to the nawab's eclectic tastes Claude Martin was especially singled out for blame in obtaining goods for the nawab from Europe which he sold at a handsome profit, but he was certainly not alone in this. Several traders in Lucknow bought goods which they hoped to sell to the nawab or his wealthy noblemen, including James Paull who had '192 china toys and 62 tumbling boys' valued at £400 specially sent up from Calcutta,[51] and Thomas Daniell the celebrated artist brought with him some snuff boxes and knives which a friend had asked him to sell, and which the nawab bought.[52] Even the British Residents were not above selling curiosities to the nawabs at vastly inflated prices, a practice which though condemned continued for a considerable time. Whether Asaf-ud-daula saw himself as a serious col-

lector and a patron of the arts in the grand European manner or whether he merely found it impossible to refuse European goods urged on him by greedy men is difficult to say One suspects he intended the former, but generally became renowned for the latter Certainly his court attracted an unusual number of British artists who expected the patronage of the nawab, even though they were frequently disappointed at the prices they eventually received for their paintings William Hodges, Ozias Humphry, William and Thomas Daniell, John Zoffani, Banks, Thomas Longcroft and Renaldi all passed through the court between 1775 and 1797 and Charles Smith, George Place and George Duncan Beechey were resident painters in Lucknow [53]

Saadat Ali Khan, Asaf-ud-daula's brother and successor, also had a strong predilection for European things, probably fostered by the early education bestowed on him with 'much care' by Madame Galliez, a French lady from Chandernagore[54] and by his 'exile' spent in Calcutta after he was implicated in the murder of one of his brother's favourites in Lucknow An Englishwoman who knew Saadat Ali Khan well said he was 'certainly not a Mussulman [Muslim] at heart, for I have frequently heard him ridicule their prejudices he had unconsciously imbibed many English ideas . . he understood the English language perfectly, and wrote it correctly but could not pronounce the words' [55] This nawab frequently wore European dress, including an English admiral's uniform, and two suits of 'canonicals' which he had had made for him in Calcutta as well as 'two Wiggs of every denomination according to the English fashion',[56] and he enjoyed entertaining visitors in a western way 'The dinner was French, with plenty of wine' in 'an English apartment, a band in English regimentals, playing English tunes, a room lighted by magnificent girandoles [branched candle-brackets] English tables, chairs, and looking glasses, an English service of plate, English knives, forks, spoons, wine glasses, decanters and cut glass vases—how could these convey any idea that we were seated in the court of an Asiatic prince?'[57] asked Viscount Valentia, who was obviously impressed. Outside the court Saadat Ali Khan pursued his English addictions, even sending for an English huntsman from Calcutta and appearing in Eng-

lish riding dress Valentia noticed that the nawab was 'highly gratified by any comparison between himself and the Prince of Wales' (later George IV), and the father of a close friend of the nawab's, Pelegrine Treves, was an acquaintance of the English prince.

Ghazi-ud-din Haider, the next nawab, continued this partiality for 'collecting European and especially English commodities of all sorts and descriptions',[58] including an English coach rather like the Lord Mayor's coach with a Muslim coachman 'in a livery of the latest London fashion',[59] and this nawab's minister, Hakim Mehndi, had a house at Fatehgarh which was 'magnificently furnished in the European style with a profusion of pier-glasses, mirrors, French organs and fancy clocks of the most costly description' as well as 'coo-coo clocks, musical boxes etc for which the natives entertain a great passion'.[60] There was little change during the next nawab's time Nasir-ud-din Haider, the subject of Knighton's book, also appeared in the garb of an English curate and had an English mistress too Even now (1835) Europeans were still playing on the nawab's weakness for European trinkets, and the Hon F. Shore was present when the British resident induced the nawab to 'buy a French toy at a most exorbitant price The Resident himself exhibited the toy', reported Shore in disgust, and 'recommended the purchase' [61] But the death of Nasir-ud-din Haider in 1837 marked a distinct change in the nawabs' attitudes towards European goods Though the last three nawabs before annexation continued to build in a style that was heavily influenced by the west, there are far fewer accounts of purchases of European articles and far less entertaining of visitors in the European manner. Both the next two nawabs, Muhammad Ali Shah who was an old and sick man when he became ruler in 1837, and his successor Amjad Ali Shah, showed a marked preference for indigenous rather than foreign articles, and the last nawab, Wajid Ali Shah, made no attempt to revive former festivities and was seldom seen by Europeans, preferring to remain in his Qaisarbagh palace (although two Indian paintings show that his rooms were furnished with English chaise-longues and European chandeliers and curtains.)[62]

It is clear that there was at first a distinct bias towards the

west and it is not surprising to find a considerable number of 'European' buildings erected by the nawabs in Lucknow European furniture, mirrors, paintings and all the bric-a-brac that was bought in Lucknow looked better in a suitable European building, though in contrast to the pressure to buy such furnishings there does not appear to have been any pressure to build extravagant 'country houses' in which to display western acquisitions· in fact the idea of such houses seems to have sprung unprompted from the nawabs themselves These houses were in the European style, since similar houses were not found among indigenous buildings in India, and indeed are seldom found even now.

The British conception of a county house is that of a large, free-standing house in its own grounds, often at a considerable distance from the nearest town, and where the owner would spend a good deal of time, the house being maintained during his absence by servants This idea is quite foreign to India, where a lonely house or a house near a small village must either be fortified or self-supporting (which means a type of farmhouse) or a hunting lodge, often nothing more than a small square hut with a high parapet round the roof with embrasures for guns The nearest approximation to the British 'country house' near Lucknow is probably the palace of Mahmudabad, owned by an eminent Muslim family, about fifty miles northeast of the city. This is a very large house with a series of courtyards, a separate zenana portion and extensive stables and gardens, but is a palace which could be defended in times of attack and was originally called Mahmudabad Qila A fair-sized village surrounds this palace and there are no extensive landscaped parks or fields which were so much a part of British country houses

But just as the nawabs' propensities for European articles seem based on a superficial understanding and appreciation of Europe (Asaf-ud-daula's collection of worthless trinkets interspersed with valuable *objets d'art*, and Saadat Ali Khan dressed in his 'canonicals') so does their building of 'country houses' stop short of any real understanding of the *raison d'etre* behind similar houses in Britain Similarly, most European architects who designed houses for the nawabs or who sold houses already built lacked an understanding of the role such

houses could play in India. P C Mookherji grasped this point precisely when he wrote, 'It is easy to give a foreign turn to the ideas of a nation, in matters of luxury and the creations of fancy, not so as regards affairs of necessity and utility and religion ' In Lucknow, he wrote, 'its luxury was anglicized, in other respects it was as oriental as before' [63] The nawabs realized that a country house was to be something showy and impressive, but having gone that far they were at a loss to know what to use these houses for While wealthy British owners would spend a considerable amount of time in their country houses, the nawabs spent most of their time in the city palaces, where the most elaborate western furnishings were housed All of their 'country houses' were built in and around Lucknow—the most isolated is only three miles to the west of the city—and this means that such houses became town houses although they were built in a style more suitable for a large British estate than for the outskirts of an Indian city. Because these houses were built so near Lucknow it was not necessary for the nawabs to transport their retinue of servants and furniture to these houses when they visited them Guests in these houses either 'camped' in the large rooms, which were certainly not fully furnished, or stayed only during the day, returning to the comfort of the Residency or the city palaces for the night [64] The houses were not used as places for lavish entertainment—all such recorded festivities took place in the public rooms of the city palaces Neither were they used as hunting-lodges, though they have sometimes been referred to as such. Hunting expeditions did go out from Lucknow, but they were not centred on such houses, being more in the nature of a 'royal progress' through extensive tracts of land, taking several weeks During these expeditions the nawabs and their nobles would live in large and splendid tents, a reminder that their predecessors had been fighting men who shunned town life and held their court in tented 'cities' which could be speedily taken down when necessary, or they lived in hastily erected bungalows which were expendable as the party moved on

The nawabs' country houses could not be used as a base from which to supervise large estates either, as was the case in Britain, for although the nawabs in one sense 'owned' the

whole of Oudh and the revenue which came from it, in another they owned no more than the sites of the palaces, houses, imambaras, etc and small amounts of land round these buildings Barowen, one of the larger country houses, had only a large walled garden behind it, which though originally set out in formal patterns speedily became overgrown and wild, so that visitors did not venture outside the house [65] It is not surprising that many of these houses should have been little used even during nawabi times since their function was not understood, and that having been built they were something of a white elephant Some of these houses remained empty or tended only by caretakers, while others were given to relatives of the wives of the nawabs. The late Mohammad Ahmed Taqi, an eminent historian who lived in Lucknow and who studied the nawabi period extensively, believed that architecture for the nawabs was a hobby in exactly the same way that kite-flying, pigeon fancying and elephant fighting were [66] This attitude, together with the large amounts of money,[67] cheap labour and materials that were available, would appear to be the main motive for the erection of many of Lucknow's non-functional buildings

CHAPTER FOUR

NAWABI BUILDINGS ERECTED FOR THE BRITISH

Apart from palaces and state buildings, any city where life is lived in a reasonably civilized fashion needs other public buildings in order to be a viable entity. Places of worship, jails, court-houses, shops, gardens, well, tanks and serais all make up the structure of an Indian town and are considered functional buildings since they benefit the majority of the townspeople But Lucknow was peculiar in that it contained a second strata of functional buildings which were erected by the nawabs in response to strong persuasion by the East India Company and its Indian collaborators. These included the Observatory, the hospitals, the Poor House, the canal, the Iron Bridge and the new Cawnpore road. The majority of these latter buildings were erected for the convenience of the British, and that some of them also benefited the Indian inhabitants of Lucknow should be seen more as a secondary benefit rather than the prime reason for their existence. The various arguments advanced by the Company so that their motives should appear altruistic provide some choice examples of British hypocrisy in Lucknow.

The prime example is that of the Observatory or Tara Wali Kothi, a large building with extensive grounds set on a small hill between the south bank of the Gomti and Hazratganj, the long main street in the newer, eastern part of the city. The Observatory was a low, two storied building with a semi-basement and two large central halls It was designed in a plain neo-classical style. On the flat roof of the main building was a small circular room with a metallic hemispherical dome, with shutters round it that could be removed The whole of this

room and dome revolved on six large iron wheels operated by pulleys so that the giant telescopes in this circular room could be manoeuvred into any position. The main telescope was mounted on a massive unsupported masonry pillar, nearly sixty feet in height, which ran right up through both storeys of the buildings; other instruments were mounted on stone pillars [1] The halls beneath the dome could be completely darkened by shutters which ran in vertical grooves cut into the walls, and these shutters descended into the basement when not in use There was a great amount of equipment within the Observatory, including four telescopes, barometers, thermometers, magnetometers and various 'electrical and galvanick machines'[2] which were made 'after the models of those formerly in use at the Royal Observatory, Greenwich.'[3]

Where did the idea for such an institution come from? The first official intimation was in two letters sent to the British Government in Calcutta in October 1831 from Nawab Nasir-ud-din Haider to the Governor General and from the Assistant Resident at Lucknow, J Paton. The nawab's letter, with its high-sounding phrases, read 'As my mind is always bent on promoting divers enlightened arts and sciences which are replete with good and possess salutary advantages to the wise and to the public at large, it is my wish to establish an observatory in the metropolis of Lucknow and to appoint for its superintendence and establishment Captain Herbert '[4] Paton's letter in vague and equally grandiose terms said that the observatory was to be established 'for the advancement of that noble science by new discoveries' and 'for the diffusion of its principles amongst the inhabitants of India' [5] So far there is nothing remarkable about these rather pompous but apparently straightforward letters What is interesting, however, is to set alongside them a few pages of the diary kept by Captain James Herbert, the man referred to in the nawab's letter. The first entry, dated September 1831, read—'The King of Oude and his new minister Hakim Mendi the richest man in India, are represented to be both of them very desirous of establishing an Observatory at Lakhnau not only as a means of establishing a series of observations of the heavenly bodies but more particularly as a school for the young courtiers in which some knowledge of Astronomy and general Physics might be

taught It is the Assistant Resident [Paton] who has the merit of having confirmed the King and his minister in so good a resolution.'[6]

The nawab's proposal was not therefore made entirely unprompted, indeed the tone of the royal letter suggests most strongly that it was dictated to the nawab by someone who knew exactly the right terminology and phrases that would make an impression in Calcutta. The nawab's letter, which was dated 28 October, had been preceded on 7 October by one from Paton wherein the Assistant Resident reports that over breakfast with the nawab, 'I took the opportunity of encouraging various projects in contemplation, especially the erection of the cast iron bridge over the Goomti with which I said His Majesty's name would be associated in after years.'[7] The nawab took no further action over the bridge at that time, but Paton's advice, it will be noted, always encouraged royal attention to schemes which would benefit the Company and its servants. This was not the first time that Paton had dropped an encouraging word in the nawabi ear A letter of his dated August 1831 described how during an evening drive with the ruler 'His Majesty conversed upon the architectural improvements in progress in the Palace, and I took the opportunity, in passing, to suggest the completion of the street leading from the adawlut [Court of Justice] towards the Residency' [8]

Why was Paton so enthusiastic about the founding of an Observatory at Lucknow? Did he really believe, as he wrote, that it would advance 'that noble science [astronomy] by new discoveries' or was it that the British government in India hoped to begin a series of astronomical observations and it would be extremely convenient to have a well-equipped observatory at Lucknow, especially one they did not have to pay for?[9] And why was Hakim Mehndi, the chief minister, bent on encouraging the nawab to set up an expensive observatory? In order to answer this question, or at least to postulate a convincing theory, it is necessary to look at the career of this man who had fallen in and out of favour with the nawabs several times during the previous twenty years. Originally rising to power as chief minister under Saadat Ali Khan, Hakim Mehndi was dismissed by Saadat Ali Khan's successor, and pursued 'very extensive mercantile concerns at

Futtyghur'[10] where he amassed a great fortune. In 1830, when finally recalled by Nasir-ud-din Haider to become chief minister again, Hakim Mehndi was probably, as Captain Herbert wrote, one of the richest men in India.

But on his reappointment Hakim Mehndi sought vigorously to cut down nawabi expenditure in Lucknow as part of a general programme of retrenchment throughout the whole province. The salaries of some Europeans at court were curtailed drastically and the minister stated publicly that it was his job 'to check the extravagant expenses of the Palace expenditures'[11] All these economies delighted the Company, which was constantly urging thrift on the nawabs in order that its own enormous demands upon them could be met. But if Hakim Mehndi was so solicitous over nawabi expenditure, why was he at the same time urging expensive schemes on Nasir-ud-din Haider? The observatory was only one scheme promoted by Hakim Mehndi. others included a college, a hospital, a canal, and the erection of the Iron Bridge The reason would seem to be that Hakim Mehndi, like other ministers before him, was involved in the dangerous game of playing off the Resident (and thus the Company) against the nawab, while promoting his own interests as much as possible Viewed more closely all the projects suggested by the minister, without exception, may seem to have been calculated to impress and please the Company The college proposed by Hakim Mehndi, which was never realized, was to be 'a means for improving the social condition of the natives of Oude, and thus by the introduction of sound information lead them to form a juster estimate of [the British] character'.[12] The hospital, which was built and where Hakim Mehndi was a trustee,[13] was an obvious blessing The canal, (half-finished), was to be 'a work of great advantage to the Country',[14] and the Iron Bridge was one of the Company's pet schemes.

There is a touching little vignette, again by the garrulous Paton, in which he shows the old minister towards the close of his life saying 'my aim is to do good while I live, and to leave behind me traces of my labours, amongst which I wish to number the endowment of colleges, the erection of a bridge and the foundations of an hospital'[15] Nice sentiments indeed, and ones which accord so well with Paton's own ideas that one

strongly suspects they were calculated to have just that effect Of course there was an element of the minister genuinely wanting to be remembered in practical ways by the erection of buildings, but by far the most important element was his wish to ingratiate himself with the British, who, he thought, were less fickle masters than the nawabs Unfortunately when Nasir-ud-din Haider dismissed Hakim Mehndi in 1832 in favour of another wealthy minister, Roshan-ud-daula, the Resident proved powerless to do anything about the old man's dismissal But this does not weaken the case made out What mattered was that Hakim Mehndi had had before him the example of his rival Agha Mir, who, having urged his master Ghazi-ud-din Haider to make a considerable loan to the Company,[16] won for himself the protection of the Company—to the extent that he was able to seek refuge in the British Residency from the furious Nasir-ud-din Haider and was finally escorted to the safety of British territory in Cawnpore by a Company cavalry regiment [17] Hakim Mehndi had no reason to expect less, especially after his assiduous cultivation of Paton, but he had miscalculated the influence of the Assistant Resident and the Company, whose championship of the corrupt Agha Mir had caused the greatest scandal and concern. The Company was not going to risk more scandal by being seen to support another chief minister against the nawab. The old man was exiled again, though on the death of Nasir-ud-din Haider in 1837 he briefly held office for three months under Muhammad Ali Shah, until his own death in December 1837.

The building of the Observatory began in 1832. Captain Herbert was by now living in Lucknow, in a house selected for him by Hakim Mehndi to whom Herbert had submitted plans for the Observatory 'One of them being a lower storey, was approved of and orders given to Buctour Sing [Raja Bukhtawar Singh][18] to commence on it immediately'.[19] In the autumn of that year, however, Hakim Mehndi fell from grace and shortly afterwards Herbert died. But unlike the minister's other project, to move the Residency quarters to the Dilkusha park, south of Lucknow[20] the Observatory was not abandoned—although it was not until February 1835 that a note came from Nasir-ud-din Haider asking Sir William Ben-

tinck, the Governor General (who strongly advocated the Observatory) to appoint another British astronomer in place of Captain Herbert.[21] A highly critical minute by Bentinck was attached to the nawab's request, which spoke of 'a corrupt Court, where it is so necessary to exercise the strictest supervision and vigilance over every European of whatever description to guard against the inconvenient consequences of intrigue and interference', and where 'this weak prince [Nasir-ud-din Haider] thinks of little in the appointment of an Astronomer but the presumed augmentation of his own State and dignity which he hopes to acquire by it'.[22] Nevertheless Bentinck hoped at that stage that the Observatory would be completed as soon as possible and that when fully operational it would lead to 'the advancement of Science'.[23] Bentinck's strictures on the nawab were obviously prompted by a report from the Lucknow Resident, Col John Low, who wrote 'all that my silly King thinks of is that it adds to his dignity to *have an astronomer* and to have an English engineer for the Court but he is indifferent whether that officer will do the dutys [*sic*] of the office or merely attend his Court'.[24] Despite the nawab's frivolous attitude, the Company was still anxious to have the Observatory opened and working as soon as possible, and within six weeks of the nawab's request Bentinck had appointed Lieut Col. R. Wilcox 'to superintend the erection of the Observatory in Lucknow'.[25]

By April 1835 Wilcox had already taken up his job, though he was to meet numerous delays before the completion of the Observatory almost five years later. One such setback was that on the death of Nasir-ud-din Haider in 1837 and the accession of Muhammad Ali Shah, the latter nawab endeavoured to stop the whole project and to dismiss Wilcox because he could not afford the scheme. But the Resident would have none of this and told the new nawab that the Observatory was 'the only thing in His Majesty's dominions which attracted the attention of Europeans [*sic*] and it would therefore be a pity for such an institution, the only one of the sort in Hindostan, to be broken up during the reign of so just a Sovereign as His Majesty'.[26] These lies and shameless cajoleries succeeded. The project limped ahead again with Wilcox meeting severe difficulties on site, and also being severely rebuked by the Com-

pany in Calcutta for letting these delays occur.

Meteorological observations which had been carried out in a separate building were discontinued and when the Company complained from Calcutta, Wilcox pleaded pressure of work, for he had been 'much occupied in making drawings for their guidance and in superintending the workmen'[27] Another drawback was that Wilcox *was* merely the superintendent of the site, as the Resident explained, and that 'as the building is being erected by contract it is quite out of his [Wilcox's] power to do more than urge the Contractor to complete his engagements without delay'.[28] Wilcox reiterated this—'I am not charged with the execution and. . .I have no control beyond that of merely directing what is to be done, and of furnishing plans '[29] The answer from Calcutta was extremely sharp, the Governor General threatening to sack Wilcox and hand the whole project over to another British officer working at that time on other buildings in Lucknow.

The following year, 1841, Calcutta was still urging speed on Wilcox and in his defence the Resident John Low wrote about his difficulties, saying that Wilcox 'has been subjected to very frequent and vexatious disappointments, by repeated failures in the promises of the Native Builder (who has many other occupations besides that of constructing the Observatory)' and at times the 'Builder has declared that he could not get funds to go on with from the Durbar, and at other times the King himself has rather capriciously put a stop to the work', while on site 'many large beams procured from a great distance expressly for the Observatory. . .have been suddenly carried away and applied to other purposes ' The same thing happened to the scaffolding, which Wilcox got erected after 'much solicitation' only to have it taken down and used for other buildings in the city which the nawab was more anxious to see completed. It was not, Low explained, that the nawab did not want the Observatory finished; 'far from it· he is proud of having *the name* of encouraging Science and is flattered at the notion of having a Royal Observatory at Lucknow which there is not at any other Native Capital on this side of India· but on the other hand he evidently considers the construction of the building to be an affair *of his own* . .he does not think it quite fair that *any-one* should interfere in this matter'.[30] As the

nawab was bearing the entire cost of Col. Wilcox's salary, the building and the expensive instruments within it, one could well believe that he rightly considered it 'an affair of his own'

By the end of 1841 Wilcox had completed the building in spite of setbacks and delays, and until his death eight years later he regularly submitted half-yearly reports to the British government in Calcutta. There were minor irritations still The astronomy classes were discontinued through lack of interest and application on the part of the 'young courtiers' and there were numerous delays in the printing of works from the Observatory because the printing presses used were busy producing official forms for the nawab's Revenue Department and 'books patronised by the Nawab'[31] instead of more serious works like Lord Brougham's translated *Treatise* on astronomy The Governor General was still talking hopefully about the benefits of the Observatory, and he requested copies of translations of the astronomical works produced to be forwarded 'to Egypt and else where, where the merit of such works will be duly prized' [32] But in fact *The Lucknow Almanack*, which seems to be the last volume produced by the Observatory, is a strange amalgam of the ascensions and declinations of the sun and the planets in 1849, horoscopes cast for the Residents of the 'English Company Bahadur,' and a 'summary of the condition of the Kingdom of London' [*sic*]—including lists of English Kings from AD 1660 onwards, with their potted biographies Possibly this might have gone down well in Egypt, but it is a far cry from the advance of the 'noble science of astronomy by new discoveries' which had been set as the original objective of the Observatory

Work continued after Wilcox's death in October 1848 until August of the following year under the two senior assistants, Kala Churn and Gunga Persaud. But on the publication of Kamal-ud-din's book on the *History of Oude*[33] Wajid Ali Shah abruptly shut down the Observatory and all private printing and lithographic presses in Lucknow. The reason for this move was that Kamal-ud-din's work had omitted to 'flatter the King'[34] and had included an extremely amusing article which showed the nawab in a bad light. Because Kamal-ud-din had worked for Wilcox at the Observatory and had his scurrilous book printed in Lucknow, the nawabi revenge was

to shut down those establishments whose workers had given such offence. William Sleeman, the British Resident at the time, strongly urged that a successor to Wilcox should be appointed but he found that 'a strong disinclination on the part of the Court had been manifested to the nomination of a successor'.[35] Various official reasons were offered by the court for this disinclination, the chief one being the plea of economy—despite Sleeman tartly pointing out that the nawab 'lavished every month more than enough to support a dozen such observatories among persons who have no claim whatever upon his bounty. . or service' [36] Sleeman said the real reason behind the reluctance to appoint a successor to Wilcox was the fact that because the Governor General would want a say in the choice of the next astronomer and would doubtless pick an upright European, there would be no money to be made out of such an appointment by the court If on the other hand an Indian were to get the job, the amount he would have to bribe influential courtiers would be immense, the European principal of La Martiniere School, on applying rather naively to the court for the job of astronomer, was asked how much he would pay the court for the job Sleeman also wrote that a minister (unnamed) wanted the Observatory and gardens attached for himself for the site was 'among the best, and best situated at Lucknow'.[37]

The court's own explanation for the closure of the Observatory was that 'it has produced no advantage whatever either to the state or to the people and learned of Oude', which indeed had more than a grain of truth in it. In 1852, two years after the closure, the Surveyor General of India, Lieut. Col. A S Waugh, sent to the Under Secretary to the British Government in India a letter which was a masterpiece of expediency. The Surveyor General suggested that the valuable instruments in the Observatory, made by Troughton & Simms in about 1833, should be moved to Calcutta to the Mathematical Instrument Makers Department, adding with quite splendid effrontery:

I have assumed that these instruments however valuable *per se* and useful to those skilled in their management, are perfectly worthless to the Lucknow Government and in fact so much lumber occupying a valuable house I suppose therefore that the King would

be very glad to be relieved of them and would transfer them *free of expense* to my Department if it be merely a question of transference free of expense I consider the Lucknow Instruments valuable and perfectly sufficient for a first class Observatory It will be remarked that the question of the removal of these important Astronomical instruments can be made to rest solely on considerations affecting their preservation and the relief of the King's Government from the embarrassment caused by their custody [38]

For sheer nerve this letter is quite unequalled—not only were the nawabs encouraged to set up an observatory, to equip it in a most lavish fashion, and to pay the salary of the astronomer who regularly reported his observations to the Company for their purposes, but they were now being asked to donate the valuable instruments in the building and bear the costs of moving them, the whole business being engineered to make it seem as though the Company were doing the nawab a favour by clearing out 'so much lumber occupying a valuable house' The Surveyor General's letter proved too much for the Governor General, Dalhousie, who said that he 'could not consent to ask for them as a free gift from the King',[39] though it may be wondered whether his refusal was occasioned by a pang of conscience or by a reluctance to be put under an obligation to the nawab by the acceptance of such a gift.

Indeed the tone of British correspondence on the Observatory after its closure was one of pained surprise that the nawab should not be using the equipment on which his predecessors had spent so much money An inventory made of the equipment in 1852 was preceded by the remark that 'Neither he [the nawab] nor any of his people can appreciate or understand the advantages of such observations or be made to take any interest whatever in them'.[40] The last comment on the Observatory, in 1857, when the British having annexed Oudh were compiling inventories of the contents of buildings in Lucknow, brings the wheel full circle Major Strange, an assistant astronomer, stated that Col Wilcox had been appointed astronomer 'only in a spirit of imitation of European governments' and that 'the magnificent instruments, made after the model of those formerly in use at the Royal Observatory at Greenwich [were] thus doomed to an ignoble repose'.[41] The British had managed to convince themselves that the whole idea of the

Observatory had been just a whim of Nasir-ud-din Haider's who was playing at being European by setting up his own Observatory, and that he employed a British astronomer merely as a symbol of his 'westernization' The whole range of subtle pressures brought to bear on the nawab were conveniently forgotten, Paton's behaviour as an 'adviser' ever at hand to whisper a few more flatteries in the royal ear was discounted, Hakim Mehndi's subtle cultivation of the British ignored, and in short the whole exercise was seen as one more proof of nawabi extravagance and stubborn refusal to benefit from superior western technology The same pattern was to be repeated to a greater or lesser extent whenever other functional buildings were erected in Lucknow with British help or encouragement

In the 1830's both Paton and Hakim Mehndi were pressing for the Iron Bridge over the Gomti as a desirable addition to the city Though the history of the bridge, like that of the Observatory, was somewhat chequered, the idea of such a structure appears to have sprung unprompted from Saadat Ali Khan In July 1810 he requested the Governor General's help in sending 'professional Gentlemen' to Lucknow to measure the breadth of the river and to determine the best site, saying: 'For two or three years past I have had it in contemplation to send for an Iron Bridge to be laid over the River Goomti' [42] There was already one bridge over the river, erected by the minister Abdul Mansur Khan in the 1740's, which was a brick built structure, but with a stone facing and coping so that it was always, though erroneously, known as the Stone Bridge It stood in the older, western part of the city, very near the Macchi Bhavan fort Saadat Ali Khan received his 'professional Gentlemen', or rather gentleman, in the shape of the British engineer, Captain Duncan M. McLeod, who surveyed the river and sent his measurements and specifications to John Rennie in England, then engaged in designing Waterloo Bridge and the iron bridge at Southwark Rennie suggested an iron bridge with a single span of two hundred feet for the Gomti, and the Captain made a model and drawings for the nawab, who was highly delighted [43] In 1812 Captain McLeod suggested, for what reason is not known, that the bridge should have three spans, not one, and this was the pattern

finally adopted. The iron superstructure was cast in Britain, despatched to Calcutta, and sent up river to Lucknow, arriving there in August 1816.

But by this time Saadat Ali Khan was dead and his successor Ghazi-ud-din Haider was forced to pay £12,822 for the bridge, a steam engine that had also been ordered, and a further £676 for a British engineer and two British workmen The nawab objected vigorously to the presence of the workmen, which he thought unnecessary as 'persons of that description may be procured at this place'[44] but the Resident, Richard Strachey insisted that the skilled British workmen should put up the bridge However a year later the bridge had still not been erected and the nawab told Strachey that he was abandoning the idea because of the great expense of the foundations (The superstructure, which had come out in separate panels, was to be riveted together with iron bolts and erected on brick piers) 'I have observed that His Excellency [the nawab] never showed much Interest about it', said the Resident dryly and added that the nawab was preparing traditional 'floating bridges' (a series of barges lashed together) which were to be situated directly south of the Badshah Bagh, a pleasure garden on the north bank of the Gomti [45] The sections of the Iron Bridge lay on the banks of the Gomti for thirty years before being erected in 1846 and the British workmen who were under contract to the nawab for a year were employed in other projects Two unsuccessful attempts were made to persuade successive nawabs to erect the bridge, in 1823 and again in 1828.

On the first occasion the Governor General, Lord Hastings, suggested that the British should take it upon themselves to erect the bridge over the Gomti. This proposal, he wrote, 'was intended to induce His Majesty to allow us to erect in His Majesty's Dominions this Striking Specimen of British Art and Skill, an undertaking which from Superstitious Motives it was understood His Majesty had himself abandoned, and Consequently the Materials of the Bridge being unemployed, and likely to be soon buried in the Sands'.[46] The 'superstitious motives' were reiterated, however, by the nawab, who while replying to this proposal wrote that it was 'the Opinion universally entertained by Musulmen that to complete a work

commenced by their Predecessors was Namobaruck [i e unlucky] that this feeling which precluded the possibility of His Majesty carrying into effect the proposed plan of his Father was equally applicable to the Governor General in Council doing so, he could not therefore allow the Governor to put up the Bridge anywhere within his Dominions' [47] The nawab went on to offer that the bridge be erected elsewhere in India Hastings replied with an astute mixture of flattery and tact that he still believed 'the persuasion that His Majesty's liberality of Sentiment and known patronage of Science and the Arts, [would] induce him to rise Superior to the influence of a prejudice, Originating in the mistaken notions of a less enlightened age and to resolve either to erect the Bridge himself, or to Consent to allow the British Government to undertake the work'.[48] But Hastings' letter could not budge the nawab from his position and the Governor General for his part did not take up the offer that the bridge be erected outside Oudh.

The Company were particularly keen to have the bridge erected on its selected site in Lucknow because the Cantonment at Mariaon to the north was extremely isolated 'The British subsidiary force,' wrote Bishop Heber in 1825, 'is by a strange choice, placed in a cantonment five miles from the town, separated by the broad and rapid stream of the Goomti'.[49] The Iron Bridge when erected would shorten considerably the distance between the British forces and the town, an important military consideration, as well as provide a vital alternative crossing point should the Stone Bridge ever fall into enemy hands or be rendered unfit for use Hastings was said to have offered the Lucknow court three lakhs of rupees to have the bridge erected, but money was not sufficient incentive for Ghazi-ud-din Haider to accept the offer. The nawab's own reasons for not wanting the bridge to be put up are less clear The superstition theory can be discounted because it is known that the nawab was not averse to adding to and altering his father's buildings in the Chattar Manzil palace complex No doubt he was reluctant to see 'this Striking Specimen of British Art and Skill' erected in a prominent place in his own capital where it would serve as a constant irritating reminder of the British presence in Oudh His father Saadat Ali Khan had been at pains to keep the British military force as far away

from the city as possible and the erection of the bridge would to a large extent nullify this policy.

With the accession of a new ruler, Nasir-ud-din Haider, however, the British again began prompting and by 1828 the nawab was requesting the services of 'Lt J. A. Crommelin of the Corps of Engineers'[50] since he wished to 'erect several public Buildings' and 'put up the Iron Bridge strongly recommended by Govt [the British] to his late Majesty'. Nasir-ud-din Haider sang the praises of Lieut. James Crommelin who he had heard was 'a good Man, and a Mathematician', but did not draw attention to the fact that Crommelin was 'a near Connection' of the Resident, Mordaunt Ricketts, who was later named on several corruption charges though he was never prosecuted for want of conclusive evidence.[51] The British officials in Calcutta perhaps suspected nepotism or something shady, for their reply to the nawab is sceptically phrased 'presuming that the King of Oude is really desirous of employing the above officer, and has not made the present application merely in compliance with any solicitation which may have been addressed to him, the Governor General in Council naturally feels disposed to gratify His Majesty's wishes'.[52] The reply also recalled 'the interest which Govt. has so often expressed in the final completion of that work [the erection of the bridge] after the large expense incurred in bringing the materials from England'. Unfortunately at the end of 1828 Lieut. Crommelin who had been appointed by the nawab had to resign from his work in Lucknow because of ill-health brought on, as he wrote, by 'the daily exposure to the sun, without protection attendant upon the nature of the duties here required of me'.[53] The project then languished until 1831 when Paton, as Assistant Resident, borrowed the nawab's steam vessel to entertain its owner with an evening trip on the Gomti. Paton reported that 'the building and alterations going forward led to the subject of the cast iron bridge the erection of which over the Gomti I did not fail to urge as a noble undertaking'.[54] The cynical might well feel here that Paton had arranged the river trip for the express purpose of urging the bridge on the nawab, not hesitating to point out how well it would look spanning the river near the British Residency. Two weeks later Paton had breakfast with the nawab and

again brought up the subject of the bridge. 'I recommended the construction of a substantial road of communication between the Residency and the old bridge, a road which would unite the two bridges when the cast iron structure should be put up It is a splendid bridge and its erection is worthy of all encouragement.'[55]

Hakim Mehndi, it will be recalled was also keen on the erection of the bridge and doubtless was on hand to persuade the nawab on Paton's behalf. With so much pressure on him the nawab consented to the sinking of foundations for the bridge by an English engineer, but for some reason the project was abandoned It is possible that technical problems intervened or it may be that on Hakim Mehndi's fall the idea with which he had been closely associated was shelved Certainly when the minister was trying to move the Residency to the Dilkusha he also planned the building of a splendid palace on the Residency site which was to have 'an avenue of trees from it to the new Iron Bridge' [56] The collapse of Hakim Mehndi's plans meant that the palace was never built, and the avenue never planted, so the bridge was no longer thought appropriate It was not until 1840 that Muhammad Ali Shah, the next nawab, gave £10,000 for the construction of the brick piers, and 1843 when an engineer, Captain Hugh Fraser, began work He completed the bridge two years later after a further large sum had been given by Muhammad Ali Shah's successor, Amjad Ali Shah [57] The bridge was described at its opening as a 'conspicuous ornament to this city and promising to be of the greatest utility to its population' [58] Certainly the bridge made life easier for the British and Dr Login, the Residency surgeon, noted that accommodation in the Cantonment began to be regularly used after the opening of the 'Bridge and the direct road to Cantonments'.[59]

The bridge was demolished a few years ago, although the brick piers on which it stood are still visible

When Hakim Mehndi was talking to Paton of the projects he wanted to see established, he mentioned setting up a college on British lines and about 1836 this was proposed by Nasir-ud-din Haider and was enthusiastically taken up by the British Sir John Hobhouse in particular had urged 'the introduction of useful knowledge among his [the nawab's] subjects'[60]

by means of a college, and the nawab had been persuaded to write to the King of England requesting a suitable principal, whose salary of Rs 1,000 per month had been guaranteed for three years by the British Government in India. Professor Seddon who was teaching oriental languages at King's College, Cambridge applied for the post and was appointed head of the proposed college in 1836.[61]

Unfortunately the professor never got a chance to prove himself, for by the time he arrived in Lucknow Nasir-ud-din Haider was dead, and his successor Muhammad Ali Shah said he could not afford a college, and promptly dismissed Seddon. The Resident John Low interceded on his behalf, but in vain, and the *durbar vakil* (court official) who was present at the meeting 'remarked that the late King [Nasir-ud-din Haider] had applied for a professor merely from motives of vanity and to get a *"name"* in England by making such a request to the late Sovereign of Great Britain and that in his [the vakil's] opinion the late King had not the most distant idea of Establishing a College at Lucknow, even if Mr. Seddon had arrived during His Majesty's lifetime' [62] The pattern of events here is closely paralleled by those in the Observatory case The nawab is persuaded that an expensive project will bring him credit and renown, the British stand to gain with no financial responsibility, and when the project is abandoned the nawab is roundly abused for his frivolousness and accused of 'showing off'

In the case of the Hospital, the third project cherished by Hakim Mehndi, it is less easy to gauge the amount of pressure that was put on Nasir-ud-din Haider But the fact that the Hospital was established in 1831 along with proposals for the Observatory, the erection of the Iron Bridge, the canal which was to link the Gomti with the Ganges, and the building of a new palace on the Residency site, indicate that the same measure of persuasion was applied to the nawab both by the minister and by Paton, as had been in the other projects The Nawab's letter of 1828 to Calcutta in which he requests an English doctor is couched in the same formal language as that in which he applied for an astronomer – 'As my attention is always directed to the welfare and prosperity of my Subjects' he wanted 'an English Doctor, who is well versed in the Science of Physics and Medicines for diseases for the Cure of the Many

Sicknesses with which the bodies of the generality of people in the City of Lucknow as well as the Military, are afflicted.'[63] The need for a hospital could certainly not be denied. The Resident, Mordaunt Ricketts, reported that 'Mortality in Lucknow and its environs has been excessively great of late, from serious diseases, which would have been greatly checked by the Active and Constant attendance of a Medical Man'.[64]

The nawab's proposal was accepted and by 1830 it had been decided that the new Hospital should be under the charge of a doctor currently stationed with a regiment in the Cantonment at Lucknow, Dr Stevenson. Money for the Hospital was to come from the interest on a loan made to the Company by Ghazi-ud-din Haider The original amount on loan was three lakhs of rupees[65] and the interest on the loan, when re-invested in British government securities was Rs 17,244 per year

Although Dr Stevenson got more than this amount alone in salary from the nawab per year (his total salary was Rs 32,880 per annum),[66] the Hospital staff, whose wages came out of the Rs 17,244, received a monthy wage of Rs 138 shared between a dozen of them. The lowest paid, the *chowkidar* or watchman, got three rupees a month. Food and medicines for the three hundred patients at the Hospital also came from the interest on the loan, the sum of Rs 300 per month being expended on staples like *atta, daal*, rice, sago, sugar, milk, salt, wood, ghee, spice and tobacco.

The diseases treated remain distressingly similar throughout the period 1839 to 1850, the commonest illnesses being rheumatism, cutaneous afflictions (skin diseases), fever, syphilis, ulcers and dysentery Both the rheumatism and 'cutaneous afflictions' were 'connected with syphilis complicated with Venereal taint'[67] and these diseases were treated with mercury and iodine of potassium, both standard remedies for many years.

By March 1835 when the Hospital had been established for just under four years, Dr Stevenson requested an Indian assistant 'not only to assist him in the general duties of the Residency but especially in the diffusion of vaccination while the season is favourable',[68] but his request was turned down although the number of patients treated continued to grow Sometime between 1835 and 1840 the Hospital, which had been housed

in a building off the Chauk, was split into two—the *unani* or native section where traditional methods of treatment were used, and the European section The unani section remained in the original building in the Chauk and the European section moved to the Residency area in a two storey building known as the Kings's Hospital The unani section still stands off the Cawnpore road and is still used today as a place where the old and sick live and die The frontage of the building has been demolished and re-built but the two original courtyards are quite unchanged, the main one being a large square of beaten earth surrounded by a verandah and a series of small dark cells. The verandah roof is supported by thick stumpy pillars and there are no traces of decoration Many of the 'miserable objects picked up off the streets in the last stage of disease'[69] were sent, if they recovered in Hospital, to work in the Poor House for a short time as a means of rehabilitation

It is not known how far the nawabs who funded the Hospital and the Poor House were genuinely activated by humanitarian concepts or whether they felt it was their duty to support such enterprises It is part of the Islamic tradition that a portion of income should be devoted to charitable works, and it is probably in this light that the nawabs regarded money given to the Hospital and the Poor House Even so, they came low on the list of priorities and two reports from 1843 and 1844 show that the nawab wanted expenditure to be cut and contained within a fixed sum every month.[70] It is significant that Wajid Ali Shah, in his reply to British charges brought against him at the time of his deposition, did not mention that he had supported hospitals and the Poor House in Lucknow when this was one factor that might have carried some weight among the British and provided a small counterpoint to charges of his sèlfishness and blindness to the sufferings of his countrypeople

Another project strongly urged on Nasir-ud-din Haider by Hakim Mehndi and again superintended by the British was the Canal which was to link the Gomti with the Ganges When the idea had been first mooted in 1831 Hakim Mehndi had chosen two men to start work on the site—the Raja Bukhtawar Singh, superintendent of nawabi buildings, and William Trickett, who had accompanied the Iron Bridge out to Lucknow. Funds

had already been allocated by the nawab, the direction marked out and the ground levelled and cut by 1832 when, for some reason, the minister persuaded the nawab to appoint a European engineer to finish the scheme A meeting was arranged between the Resident, John Low, the minister and the nawab, in which the latter was persuaded by Hakim Mehndi to apply for an 'Engineer Officer from the British Government' [71] Col Davidson was appointed but by the time he arrived Hakim Mehndi had fallen from grace and Davidson was never allowed 'to exercise that degree of control over the construction of the work which was indispensable to its efficient completion' [72] Representations were made to the nawab who had, according to the Resident,

> with his usual caprice lost all feeling of interest in the matter but I imagine that he was ashamed to say so, as he had applied to the British Government for an Engineer, and had affected publicly to be anxious to confer a lasting benefit on his subjects by the construction of so useful a public work So far as the King of Oude's reputation is concerned, the Canal, like the half finished iron bridge. is chiefly remarkable as a conspicuous monument of His Majesty's folly [73]

The entire project was abandoned shortly afterwards 'partly from the ignorance and obstinacy of the Chief Natives employed on the work and partly from their corrupt conduct also, as connected with some of the zemindars through whose estates the Canal should have been cut'[74] and lack of nawabi funds The abandoned project had cost twelve lakhs of rupees and had taken a large tract of land out of cultivation but, Low argued, if the money had not been spent it 'would sooner or later [have been] thrown away chiefly among menial servants and prostitutes about the Palace, whereas a large portion of it has been paid to labourers in the country – a far more deserving class of people' [75] Because of the clumsy construction of the Canal it *held* water which could be used for irrigation in the dry season, and during the rains, people were able to float down it grain, timbers and firewood, thus saving the cost of transporting these by road A postscript to the Canal was written in 1838 after the death of Nasir-ud-din Haider when an anonymous court official criticized his late master by saying that Davidson 'was applied for by the late King ostensibly for the express purpose of constructing the Canal, which his late

Minister said would be a work of great advantage to the Country and yet Major Davidson was never allowed to perform any Service at the Canal, and drew his Salary for four years doing no other duty than that of an Aide-de-campe'[76] This criticism, like that of Low's, conveniently ignored the part that Hakim Mehndi played in the affair and put the whole onus for the failure of the project squarely on Nasir-ud-din Haider. The fact that Davidson's presence was an embarrassment in Lucknow when he arrived after Hakim Mehndi's fall shows how closely this project and others were tied up with individuals at the court, and the fact that the British Resident was prepared to intercede on Davidson's behalf with the nawab shows that the British were not merely interested spectators in the affair The failure of the Canal was thus summed up as one more example of the nawab's 'usual caprice'.

One important area where the British again took an active interest and succeeded in persuading the nawabs to pay for a scheme beneficial to the Company was the new Lucknow to Cawnpore road opened about 1842 The old road ran from the Macchi Bhavan fort, through the Chauk and out of the city in a south-westerly direction, passing through Alamnagar.[77] As long as the buildings of Lucknow were concentrated around the Macchi Bhavan and Chauk areas this route made sense, but as the court and its attendant offices moved east a new, more direct road, was necessary In 1840 it was proposed that the new road should run south from the British area, crossing the new Canal by the Charbagh bridge. A track along this route already existed and there was a *kutcha* road for some thirteen miles beyond the Charbagh bridge towards Cawnpore.[78] Muhammad Ali Shah offered to put up £3,000 for building the road and asked the Company to supply him with a good engineer to superintend the road.[79] Lieut Cunningham was appointed; he was also working on other projects in the city[80] and started work in 1840.

But by August 1841 Lieut Cunningham had run out of money because of a miscalculation in the original estimate. He had only been able to survey the proposed route and make a road '*consisting of earth only* beat down into the proper shape',[81] although he had erected some bridges along the route. The Political Department of the Company in Calcutta, on being

informed that more money was needed, described the new road as being 'an important line of communication' and they trusted that the nawab would find sufficient funds to complete it More money was given and by July 1842 the engineer reported that the road was finished and was much used 'by all European travellers' and some Natives, though other Indians who wished to travel at a more leisurely pace still used the old road 'because there were more villages and bazaars along that route.' The nawab proposed, however, to grant land along the new road to various individuals on which they would erect *serais* (wayside inns or sheltered places) for travellers, so the new road could be fully utilized [82]

Four years later the next nawab, Amjad Ali Shah, was writing to the Company in Calcutta that 'The new road from Lucknow to Cawnpore having become much out of repairs I am desirous that the said road should be repaired and well metalled and that Bridges should be erected and drains dug wherever they may be necessary'.[83] The nawab specifically requested the services of Engineer Fraser (now a Captain) because he had given the nawab 'much satisfaction in the manner in which he erected the Iron Bridge' [84] But by this time Fraser had resumed his job as executive engineer at Cawnpore for the Company and Lieut George Sim, another engineer, was finally appointed The road was now extended for a further section, linking the British Cantonment at Mariaon with the new Cawnpore road that started from the Residency in the town The opening of the Iron Bridge had made this proposed road possible and the importance of a good direct route from the Cantonment through the Residency site in the city and straight to Cawnpore, the nearest large British garrison, can hardly be underestimated. Naturally the nawab was expected to pay for the privilege of facilitating British travel, although money for the upkeep of this road was given 'reluctantly' and Lieut Sim's wages were finally stopped by the nawab.[85]

The reaction from Calcutta was hurt—'The only object the Government of India had in view was to aid in securing to the public the great advantage of such a road, the only piece of metalled and bridged road in all his [the nawab's] dominions'.[86] There is good reason for cynicism at the exchange between the nawab and the Company, for if, as the

British claimed, their object was to aid the public by building a new road, then there were many other roads that would have afforded much greater relief to the public than the one they chose to build Two years after the new Cawnpore road was opened Dr Login's half-yearly report on the city Hospital contained this passage· 'It can be a matter of astonishment to no-one who has frequently passed through the crowded narrow and filthy lanes of this city in the months of August or September, that upwards of 1,000 deaths should occur in the city, in one day, during an epidemic as was the case in August 1842',[87] and the doctor further complained that during the rainy season when illness was at its worst it was impossible for patients to travel through the city except in a palanquin (which most patients could not afford) 'in consequence of the filth and mud of the streets after each shower of rain' The doctor's second report for 1844 continued to criticize the filthy streets and added 'there may be. . . cogent reasons, which prevent any attempts to remove so evident a cause of unhealthiness, but so long as the cause is permitted to remain but little comparative good can be accomplished by purely medical means, however zealously and skilfully they may be applied' [88]

Here was a most obvious need for a public amenity that would actually save lives, but perversely the Company chose to ignore their doctor's report and concentrated on building a road to Cawnpore which was 'much used by all European travellers' and some natives The reason is of course clear No more than a handful of Europeans on business, like Doctor Login, travelled frequently between the old and the new areas of Lucknow, while there was a constant traffic between the Cantonment, the Residency and Cawnpore (By 1848 for example there was a mail coach which ran between Lucknow and Cawnpore twice daily, taking eight hours for a single journey and 'seven when the road is completed'.)[89] Not only did the new road make life easier for Europeans but it also meant that in an emergency troops could be moved quickly from Cawnpore to Lucknow and between the Residency and the isolated Cantonment The British did not foresee that when the emergency came in 1857 the Cantonment would be completely gutted in a night, nor that the new Cawnpore road between the Charbagh bridge and the Residency would be

held by Indians in a desperate resistance—but this does not weaken the force of the argument As far as the British were concerned the new road, which was finally completed in 1849, opened up the British areas of Lucknow and facilitated communications between them, all at little or no cost to themselves. As for the nawabs, it was these very same reasons which produced their 'reluctance' and general lack of enthusiasm for the new road It is little wonder that Wajid Ali Shah did not welcome the prospect of Europeans travelling freely through his city. and even less wonder that a direct route to the British garrison in Cawnpore, for which his father had paid handsomely, should not fill him with the same joy as it did the British.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE RESIDENT AND THE RESIDENCY

In October 1773 the Governor General, Warren Hastings, reported a conversation he had had with the nawab Shuja-ud-daula about the proposed appointment of a British Resident to the nawab's court, then in Faizabad Hastings asked the nawab

> 'whether it would be agreeable to him that a person in whom I confide should be appointed by me to reside near his Person for the sake of perpetuating and strengthening the good understanding so happily begun, as well as for the Transaction of such Ordinary affairs as might not suit the Formality of a Correspondence by Letter, but which in their Amount are always found to be productive of important Effects '[1]

The nawab replied that 'it would be entirely pleasing to him' and it was agreed that the Governor General should nominate a suitable Resident

In January 1774 Nathaniel Middleton, an associate of Hastings and a merchant, was sent to the Faizabad court with a salary of Rs 1,000 a month (about £100) and captain's double *batta* (a military allowance) as well as travelling expenses [2] Middleton was recalled at the end of 1774 and John Bristow appointed in his place (for what reason is not clear) but this time a secretary was allowed to travel with the Resident, he received Rs 200 a month and double batta as salary [3] The comparatively modest trappings of the first Residents at the nawabi court should not deceive one into thinking this was a position of little importance. As Bristow travelled to Faizabad his position was succinctly defined by Richard Barwell, a Company official and councillor to Hastings, as a 'Weighty Charge which has for its Object the cementing of the Friendship between the

Company and the Vizier [Shuja-ud-daula] and the obtaining of large Sums of Money said to be due from him'[4] 'Friendship' based on such a premise is hardly likely to flourish and eighty-three years later, after the annexation of Oudh, an anonymous writer defined this 'friendship' in a series of questions and answers thus

How did the East India Company acquire their power in Oude? By gradual encroachment and interference effected by means of Residents a Resident being an officer appointed by the Company at the Court of a native Prince, ostensibly to advise him, but really, to promote mismanagement and confusion in his dominions, and thus afford plausible excuses and opportunities for the English taking possession of them The friendship of the English to the Princes of Oude has been a fatal friendship [5]

Thus the position of Resident in Oudh was from its very inception an anomalous one, the position of an unwelcome guest foisted upon a reluctant host (despite Shuja-ud-daula's initial reaction) by a third party, the East India Company The cost of accommodating the Residents throughout the nawabi period rose steadily as the British entourage increased from Bristow's one secretary in 1774 to a great army of officials, clerks, messengers and servants, so that by 1856 the last nawab, Wajid Ali Shah, estimated he was paying Rs 60,000 annually (£6,000) merely for the Residency expenses and 'the comfort and convenience of the British officers' This sum included the upkeep of Residency buildings requested by the Resident, which were estimated separately.[6]

Here I am mainly concerned with the physical manifestations of the Residency in Lucknow, set up in 1775 after the court had moved there from Faizabad, and with the relations between the Resident and the civilian European population in Lucknow, rather than the political dealings of the Residents and the nawabs—an area which has received more attention [7] Nevertheless the frictions between the Residents and the nawabs which were often exacerbated by the extreme proximity of the palaces to the Residency deserve to be fully examined, for did they not reflect in miniature the greater disputes that raged between the nawabs and the Company over the wider political spectrum? The nawabs' continued and well founded complaints against the cost of maintaining the Res-

idency buildings, while at the same time sensing the obligation of 'host' to 'guest,' were equally matched by complaints over the cost of maintaining the Company troops in Oudh, troops which had originally been stationed there to protect the nawabs during the troubled eighteenth century. Similarly the defining and redefining of the Residents' role which continued during the nawabi period, particularly in relation to the supposed jurisdiction over European or Anglo-Indian civilians, reflect the anomalous position of the Residents, who were unsure as to the amount of power they held and could exercise in another man's province. Did an increase in the Residents' jurisdiction mean a decrease in the nawabs'? Constant bickering over such trifles may seem unimportant today when the whole sweep of British relations with Oudh is clear, but these daily aggravations should be examined as important symptoms of the malaise that was to end in annexation

The increase in the Residents' establishments after 1775 and their corresponding increase in status and importance in the city of Lucknow can best be established by examining the few facts available on the Residency site at the end of the eighteenth century The site, which lies to the south of the Gomti and the east of the Macchi Bhavan, covers an area of approximately thirty-three acres. It rests on a plain raised considerably above the surrounding land on the river side and slopes gradually down at the south-western side to mingle with the streets and houses round the Chattar Manzil palace complex developed at the start of the nineteenth century. The term 'Residency' is now used to include all the buildings within this area, though the term appears to be a post-1857 description. the Residency itself is a single building to the north of the site For the sake of convenience the term Residency complex will be used to designate the whole area.

The site was originally owned by the Sheikzadas,[8] but some time during the late 1770's Claude Martin (who had been appointed Superintendent of the nawab's arsenal in 1776) bought a considerable amount of land here, extending east to the site of the later Chattar Manzil, north to the bank of the Gomti and south-west for an unspecified distance over the slope of the complex. The remaining land was bought by the nawabs at an unspecified date.[9] On this large site Martin began

buying and renting houses to members of the Residents' staff, houses which may already have been standing or which may have been commissioned by Martin At the same time Bristow, the second Resident, was presenting a bill to the East India Company in April 1777 'amounting to Rs 5,500 for the Expense of erecting three Bungalows for Offices and his own accommodation, two Bungalows for his Assistants and repairing Buildings at Lucknow during the period of his Residency'.[10] Bristow's staff now included not only a munshi who received Rs 100 a month (in addition to his secretary) but also *jamdars* and *harkaras*.[11] Bristow was, however, at fault in presenting his bill to the Company, for when it was reexamined two years later the Governor General noted· 'It appears that Mr. Bristow was reimbursed by the Company the Expense of erecting Bungalows and repairing Buildings at Lucknow . . which should have been paid by the Nabob, and the Board therefore direct that he [Nathaniel Middleton, reappointed Resident in 1776] demand from the Nabob the amount of such Sums as may have been disbursed on this account '[12] This was the first intimation that the nawabs were expected to pay for the accommodation of their Residents—a fact of which even the Resident was apparently ignorant It was left to Nathaniel Middleton to press for payment of the Rs 5,500.

Middleton also had some problems with the Lucknow buildings for in 1778 he reported to the Governor General that an item in the Residency Treasury accounts for Rs 499 was 'incurred by a Fire which lately happened here and destroyed entirely the Straw Buildings where the Treasure had always been kept as well as every Chest and Package in which the Money was contained'. The money, partly in gold, which was intended to pay for the troops of the Temporary Brigade stationed in Oudh, 'was guarded by Sepoys and lay in the open for many days'. Middleton added that to prevent such an accident in future and to guard such money more securely 'I have taken upon me to direct the Erection of a strong Brick Building to serve as well the purpose of a Treasury as a safe Repository for the Records of my Office, which is at present much wanted, having hitherto had no place but thatched Buildings to keep them in ' As soon as Middleton knew the estimated cost for such a building he promised to forward 'an accurate

Plan and Section of the Work' to Calcutta for approval.[13] This building was subsequently erected and was considered part of the Residency proper in 1838, which suggests that it was not one of the peripheral buildings on the edge of the complex but quite near the Residency [14]

The next year, 1779, Middleton was again requesting money from Calcutta, writing 'I have also been put to a very heavy Expense, in buildings and repairs for my own accommodation and necessary Offices for the extensive business of my Department. These consisting chiefly of Bungalows and thatched Places and having required continual repairs' [15] The Residency complex at this time can be seen as a rather ad hoc arrangement of bungalows with thatched outhouses situated between the trees on the wooded hill The fact that the Treasury was to have plans and elevations drawn up which had to be approved by Calcutta implies that this was the first Company building of any note to be erected on the site, and would indicate that the idea of a Residency had not yet been mooted Unfortunately Middleton's note on the treasury is almost the last mention of buildings in official documents until well into the nineteenth century There is no mention of the construction of the Residency itself, nor the huge and splendid Banqueting Hall nearby, nor indeed scarcely any of the numerous buildings on the site until the proposed erection of a church in 1845 It is true that the Residency records were destroyed in 1857 but the fact that there is no mention in Company documents of any erection of important buildings here strongly suggests that such buildings were put up by the nawabs and leased to the Resident and his staff for a sum so nominal it was not deemed worthy of note [16]

The next evidence available on the site's development is particularly valuable for it is pictorial as well as written. Ozias Humphry (1742–1810), a British artist, spent four-and-a-half months in Lucknow in 1786 sketching notable figures at the nawabi court. Humphry also kept some sketch books where he drew buildings in and around the Residency area as well as some general views of the city.[17] During this period he stayed with John Wombwell, the Company's accountant, in a house which can be positively identified as the one called 'Innes Garrison' during 1857. This house, or rather large bungalow, was

at the northernmost tip of the Residency complex, on a mound overlooking the Gomti. To Humphry it provided a 'comfortable existence . in the violence of this season [May] where House and enclosures bring to one's mind the comforts of England with trees and Lawns forever green whilst all the lands surrounding Lucknow seem like an Arabian desert'. A less pleasant experience happened in the same month when Humphry wrote. 'whilst we were seated at supper upon the Mound before Mr. Wombwell's a wolfe on the opposite side of the river seized a child'.[18]

Humphry's sketch of Wombwell's bungalow shows a pleasant one-storeyed structure with a tiled veranda roof supported by plain wooden columns To one side are two blank brick towers, no higher than the roof of the bungalow, containing the stairwell There is no architectural merit attached to the building and it required no elaborate elevations to be drawn up, being easily constructed from local materials by local workpeople From Wombwell's garden Humphry sketched 'The durgah or burying place of Meer Shuruf ula' and 'the Zinana in Mr Wombwell's garden', an undistinguished low brick building [19] The interest of these last two sketches is not architectural but provides valuable evidence of the mixed character of the Residency site—it was never a clearly defined area made over to the British to be laid out in a formal style suited to the status of the Resident at an important native court It was instead an area which contained some Muslim buildings picturesquely sited among the trees, for Humphry's sketches show the area to have been quite heavily wooded. Only three distinguished and substantial buildings on the Residency site are shown in Humphry's general views of Lucknow. These brick built dwellings rise up above a forest of trees and were at least two-storeyed One appears to stand where the Residency is now situated but there is not enough evidence to claim that it is the same building.

By 1786 the nucleus of the Residency site was well established-an informal mixture of thatched houses, brick built bungalows with flat roofs, Muslim shrines, zenana buildings and a few substantial buildings for the highest Company officials A list for April 1785 gives the Resident's staff, and their monthly salaries as follows:

	Rs per month
Major Palmer, the Resident	19,000
Robert Gregory, Assistant Resident	2,000
John Wombwell, Accountant	no figure given
Col Claude Martin, Arsenal superintendent	3,730
William Blane, Surgeon to the Civil Establishment and the Nawab	5,000
Robert Bruce, Surgeon to the Military Establishment	2,000
Mr Scawen, Auditor General	2,000
Mr Gale, assistant to Auditor	1,000
Mr Grant, assistant to Robert Gregory	2,000
Mr Johnstone, assistant to Robert Gregory	2,000
Sacville Marcus Taylor, Post Master	2,000
James Orr, employed by John Wombwell, (not in the Company)	2,000[20]

The great increase in staff during the eleven years since John Bristow was sent to Lucknow is matched by a corresponding increase in salaries—Rs 19,000 monthly compared with Rs 1,000 monthly for the Resident, for example. Although the salaries of these officials were paid by the Company a list of allowances was made to them by the nawab, though it is neither clear from these records what percentage of these allowances made up their salaries nor whether they were considered as extras It is also not clear if all the officials knew where their allowances came from, a note accompanying the list of salaries states 'the allowances that are granted are to be considered as Allowances from the Company and in Lieu of all others, they are to be paid by the Accountant at Lucknow and charged in the Public Account to the Nabob's Debit'. This secrecy would imply that the Company was trying to appear more generous than it actually was while not being out of pocket [21]

There was no secrecy about who paid for the upkeep of the Residency staff's houses and bungalows though, and the procedure that was to annoy future Residents so much in the nineteenth century was firmly established by 1787 when Col Harper wrote to the Governor General that 'The Vizier's [nawab's] Ministers have constantly provided for the repairs of the habitations of your Resident and other Servants at Luck-

now . . . the whole being conducted under the inspection of a Servant of the Vizier, whose accounts I have examined and checked at the expiration of each Month These combined charges have amounted from June 1785 to March 1787 to something more than Rs 17,000 – 6,000 of which are now in arrears'. The nawab also 'paid the wages of the people employed for the service of most of these Places; such as watchmen, Gardeners, Hircarrahs, and Artificers' [22]

Further information on the site appears in Claude Martin's Will of 1800 Martin had bought a large piece of land here, including part of the Residency site, and rented houses to Europeans like Mr Bellas, an architect from Cawnpore who had been invited to Lucknow by Asaf-ud-daula [23] Martin had also bought the house of the Assistant Resident, Robert Gregory, and two more houses belonging to Europeans in the area In all, Martin owned eleven houses in Lucknow (in addition to his mausoleum palace, Constantia or La Martiniere, an area in Gola Ganj, two gardens, and three extensive tracts of land, two to the south of the city and one on the north bank).[24] One of the Lucknow houses, later known as Farhad Baksh and incorporated into the Chattar Manzil palace, was Martin's town house A considerable amount of land was attached to this house, including a bazaar which was rented out and known as Captain Bazaar

Captain Bazaar was situated between the Farhad Baksh and the most northerly point of the Residency complex where it sweeps down to the river. It was separated from the Gomti only by a small area of low-lying cultivated ground flooded during the monsoon It is tempting to imagine that Martin's bazaar, so conveniently situated next to the houses of the European community, must have provided luxuries and European goods not readily available elsewhere. Apart from the houses rented out by Martin or bought by him in this area were three others belonging to Europeans—the large house of Col. Mordaunt, a close associate of the nawab, which was taken over by him on Mordaunt's death in 1791,[25] the house of Andrew Pringle, a trader in sugar and saltpetre, and the house of Mr James Paull, another trader, and his Indian wife

It is obvious that Martin exercised considerable control over the early European residents in Lucknow, and on his death in September 1800 nineteen Europeans still owed him money,

including more than eight thousand pounds in rent for houses in the Residency area [26] The European community was a close community, both physically from the proximity of their houses and socially, as is evident from relationships and cross-references in contemporary letters There is no doubt that the houses of these Europeans, together with those already erected by earlier Residents or by the nawab for the Residents, formed the basis of the Residency complex which developed piecemeal among existing Muslim and Hindu buildings over the next fifty years

The Resident's relationship with the nawabs was bound to be a strained one for reasons already discussed, but his standing among the Europeans in the city was also open to question, not least because of the activities indulged in by early Residents Until 1788 when a commercial treaty was signed between the nawab and the Governor General, 'trade was mostly in the hands of the army officers attached to the British brigades or of the Resident at Lucknow and his entourage'.[27] Nathaniel Middleton was able to set up his own monopoly to supply saltpetre (which Oudh was rich in) to the Company by offering patronage and protection to two merchants, John Scott and John Hyde, who in turn employed people to help them The 1788 treaty put a stop to the Resident's commercial speculations, not because anyone thought it immoral that he should be engaged thus but because it was thought trade would be more profitable in a free market

The implications of the Residents' trading interests for fifteen or so years offer alarming possibilities of bribery, abuse of power and deals with other Europeans, many of whom had their Lucknow homes in the Residency area. Merchants like James Orr, James Paull, Andrew Pringle, H. J. Clark, George Maitland Prendergast and Claude Martin all had houses here within easy walking distance of each other How much the Residents' commercial enterprises detracted from the political authority which they undoubtedly sought among the Europeans cannot easily be answered, nor indeed the extent to which political power aided commercial concerns An indication might be given by the letter written from the Governor General in 1791 to the Resident, E. Otto Ives, that he was 'determined no European who shews a disposition to insult the

Resident of this Government shall . . be permitted to carry on Commerce or to follow private pursuits of any kind in the Dominions of Oude'.[28] To fall foul of the Resident, for whatever reason, was bound to lead to all kinds of annoyances, restrictions and sometimes acute harassment.[29]

Yet despite the opportunities for corruption and abuse which the Residents possessed, they were still seen by the majority of the European community as protectors and arbitrators in civil and criminal cases. Although a ruling of 1791 stated categorically that the Resident could not interfere with 'persons who are not British subjects who must seek redress from the Nawab's Government'[30] it was found that by 1831 the 'East Indian Christians (people of mixed race, usually Portuguese and Indian) invariably . . . look up to the Resident for protection, and are ready to refuse compliance with a summons from the Nawab's Court. Europeans out of the Company's service, residing in Lucknow, not being servants of the [nawab] always claim the Resident's protection'; and for Europeans *in* the Nawab's service it could lead to an embarrassing situation. 'It would appear expedient', Paton added, 'to make all Europeans at Lucknow, entirely amenable to the Resident's authority when he saw fit to exert it, as regards civil or criminal complaints against them, thus more fully to have them under control and to save that degredation of character which would arise from liability to be summoned before the native courts '[31]

Five years later the Court of Directors of the Company was obliged to make a further ruling because a number of cases had arisen over Anglo-Indians in the nawab's military service. There had been, they admitted, 'an ill-defined but generally *supposed* right of jurisdiction vested in the Office of the Resident over Europeans living at Lucknow,' but it was now to be understood that 'all persons who enter the [nawab's] service are *exclusively* under the jurisdiction of the native Government' and that even British born subjects living in Oudh and not in the Company were under similar jurisdiction· in fact all Europeans engaged in business should be treated as natives of the country.[32] After this directive it appears that British subjects in Oudh who were not in the Company were habitually tried by the nawab's judicial courts, as for example the two

British burglars, Stewart and Anderson, tried in 1852 without reference to the Resident.[33] But the question of trials of such people before the 1836 ruling remains unsolved If British and European people refused to go to the nawab's courts, as Paton claimed, then did the Resident hold his own judicial court? But no records exist of such courts being held in Lucknow, in fact the only criminal case recorded before the 1836 ruling was that of a British subject, Japhet Hill Hill was accused of murdering an Indian in 1791 and sent to Calcutta to be tried by the Supreme Court, set up there under the Company's auspices [34] Neither are there any reports of British subjects being held in a Company jail in Lucknow, the jail in the Residency complex being used exclusively for thugs and dacoits Obviously the European community was not entirely law-abiding There are several recorded cases of murder among Europeans and in a case in 1824 the statement of a self-confessed murderer was taken down, witnessed by two Europeans in the nawab's service and recorded in the Company records, but there is no report of how the murderer was dealt with or by whom [35]

Apart from the Resident's function as an arbitrator, which many people believed him to possess—no matter on what vague grounds—he was also regarded as a stand-in for religious authority and performed baptisms and marriages for the European and Anglo-Indian community in Lucknow before a Residency clergyman was appointed in 1832 [36] On the death of a British or Anglo-Indian inhabitant of Lucknow it was the Resident's job to attach seals to the property of the deceased until the Will of that person was proved or the disposition of the property agreed on, which often involved lengthy letters to the Resident by aggrieved relatives who felt they were being unfairly treated.[37] Some Residents did not hesitate to become involved in domestic disputes among the European community, and in 1835 John Low prided himself on the fact that in several cases he had been able to persuade erring wives to return to their husbands 'with some success'. In a particular case the Resident persuaded an Anglo-Indian woman to return to her British husband, born in India, and an unnamed nawabi minister said of this case that 'Europeans [*sic*] were considered as being chiefly under the jurisdiction of the Resident', showing the confusion existing in both Indian and British minds ab-

out the Resident's extent of power, and the definition of 'Europeans'.[38]

Another of the Resident's functions was to act as a 'filter' between the European community and the nawabi court, and it became customary for Europeans who were petitioning the nawabs for a job or for some real or imaginary grievance to address their petitions to the Resident for forwarding to the nawab. The Resident had the right to veto such petitions, which he frequently did, and one Resident, Col Scott, was accused of prohibiting all such letters to the nawab and of trying to prevent Europeans from visiting the nawabi court at all during his period of office (1799–1802).[39] It was also the Resident's duty to co-ordinate the spies, or 'news-writers' as they were called, who were stationed at various points around the city, including 'one Khuburdar at the King's Deoree' (i e. a news-writer at the nawab's palace gateway) and one in the house of Husein Reza Khan, the nawab's chief minister.[40] There was no secret about the fact that both Residents and nawabs had an extensive network of spies established in the others' quarters, and nawabi ministers had their own spies. Information that could not be obtained by spying was got by bribing the servants of each party. 'There is nothing I believe unusual in bribing the servants of the Resident, except in its detection' wrote one Resident dryly in 1830, and similarly Residents had no scruples about how they obtained their information, which was then sent to Calcutta for analysis and comment[41] To sum up, the Residents enjoyed among the European community immense power and authority, some of which was presumed by the community and not in fact possessed by the Resident, but which nevertheless did not detract seriously from his status. It is no exaggeration to say that from about 1800 onwards there were two courts in Lucknow, that of the nawab and that of the Resident, and both by chance situated so near each other that the inhabitants of each claimed they could overlook the dwellings of the other.

It is interesting to turn back to the Residency site itself, having discovered the confused boundaries of the Resident's authority, to find that in this complex too there were few clear guidelines It was inevitable that conflicts should arise over the Residency site between the Company officials and the

nawabs, for given that the former felt they had an almost divine right to meddle in the internal affairs of Oudh it must have been perpetually galling to know that they only occupied their houses and offices by the grace of the nawabs During the British occupancy of the site both the nawabs and the Residents sought to define and redefine the extent of authority each possessed over the area. Even in the time of the penultimate Resident, William Sleeman, there were difficulties in assessing the amount of control the nawabs had, although nominally they owned all the land on which the buildings stood Sleeman had asked the Company doctor, Login, to write a short account of the area since 1838, when the doctor had arrived in Lucknow It was revealed that when houses in the Residency complex became vacant these were not considered to be at the disposal of the Resident. But he could apply to the nawab to allow them to be occupied by gentlemen attached to the Residency when they were not required by the nawab. An officer did not automatically succeed to a house occupied by his predecessor, and the nawab treated the allocation of a house as a personal favour, although the formality had been neglected owing to frequent changes in the Residency staff Dr Login stated that six houses were considered to be part of the Residency proper—the Residency itself, the Banqueting Hall with its attached houses for officers and servants, the 'Yellow House' built originally for the Residency surgeon but now reserved for visitors, the Treasury and Guard rooms, and the Residency School Seven more houses in the area were occupied by Europeans attached to the Residency and by a Muslim clerk [42]

Wajid Ali Shah wrote after the annexation of Oudh that the nawabs considered it their 'duty to make those attached to the Residency, who were deemed as our guests, as comfortable as we could',[43] but the history of the site shows 'guests' who not only assumed privileges far beyond their status but who also showed a certain tenacity in clinging to their houses when twice asked to vacate the property of their 'host'. The proposed removal of the Residency to a new site is discussed later, but one of the reasons given for not wanting to move reflects again the supposed power of the Resident among the European community If the Resident left, Paton argued in 1831, 'a

great number of the inhabitants of Lucknow who were dependants of the British Government would be deprived of the security which they derive from the immediate presence of the Resident in the city', and, 'those who from the convenience of proximity to the Residency have purchased houses near at hand would suffer loss by the removal of the Residency office to a distance'—although the number of people that enjoyed this vicarious security was left vague. Paton went on: 'there are no specific limits within which the occupants of houses are entitled to the jurisdiction of the Resident. The individuals attached to the Residency have either purchased or rented houses in its neighbourhood promiscuously chosen from amongst the houses of the city'. He then listed seventeen houses which were 'attached to the Residency' and occupied mostly by Indians working in the Persian Department and the Intelligence Department for the Resident.[44]

The advantages that these people derived were never clearly defined except in one curious case which adds more mystery than clarity to the situation. In 1826 Lalji, the Residency superintendent of 'news-writers', asked for a Residency *chaprasi* to be stationed at his house in the complex. This he claimed would allow the Resident 'to interpolate against the Nawab's officers and to give a power and consequence to the Members of that House'.[45] The request was vetoed by the nawab, who had been informed of it by the Resident, because he was afraid it would set a precedent, although from the manner in which the request was phrased it seems obvious that chaprasis were stationed at some of the Residency houses, and that Lalji, seeing them, also wanted some of the 'power and consequence' that was conferred by their presence. Despite nawabi disapproval chaprasis were employed by the Resident and three years later it is recorded that James Martin, Claude Martin's adopted son, who was an auctioneer and lived in the Residency complex, had a chaprasi stationed outside his house.[46] The fact that the Resident, who nominally could not even assign houses to his own officers in the area, could appoint watchmen to 'interpolate against the nawab's officers' again demonstrates the anomalous position that the British enjoyed here before 1856.

In such a situation other anomalies arose too, one of the

most bitter disputes being over who should pay for repairs and new buildings in the complex The custom whereby the nawab paid for such things having been established from 1775, the system was that the nawab's *daroga* presented his bills for the Resident's approval, the sum being then added to the nawab's debt to the Company. A dispute began in September 1829 when the Resident, Maddock, became alarmed both by the excessive bills presented to him and the fact that little work was being done 'The charge for the past month', he wrote, 'was Rs 3,230 and this is the more remarkable as the Residency is totally out of repair' [47] The daroga at the time was Mir Hussein Ali Londoni, who was described as 'an old man enmeshed in greed',[48] a remark confirmed by the Resident's complaints that the large sums of money extracted from the nawab were obviously not being spent on repairs. The fact that Mir Londoni was arrested by the nawab's guards early the following year, with some force, implies that the nawab realized he was being cheated too.[49]

The matter came to a head and by February 1830, the officiating Resident, Lieut. Col. Lockett, who was temporarily replacing Maddocks, wrote curtly to Calcutta that 'all fixed establishments of the Residency of every description under the Nawab's Darogha have been discontinued by me The Resident will not acknowledge any fixed Residency Darogha because of previous abuses in this system'.[50] But what was to replace the old daroga system? Maddock had suggested in September 1829 that the nawab should cease to do any repairs at all in the complex and that the British should have them executed by a public officer of the Company and expenses charged to the Company. But Lockett disagreed and suggested that since the 'Residency Buildings and grounds are the property of the Oude Government they should continue to be repaired and kept in order at the Nawab's expense', although they should first be surveyed and costed by a 'British officer', unless the nawab objected, 'as he probably will' The repairs, Lockett thought, could then 'be superintended in the same manner as the Nawab's other public Buildings by one of his own Daroghas'. The nawab's reply to this, as Lockett had anticipated, was not favourable. The nawabs had always done the repairs and had darogas ever since the British representa-

tive was established in Lucknow and he (the nawab) would not have a British officer doing the surveying [51] The tone of the nawab's letter was so strong that Maddocks, by now back in office, had to write again to Calcutta saying that 'if the Nawab was going to pay for repairs to the Residency the East India Company could hardly insist on executive officers preparing plans and estimates, because the Nawab's head builders would probably not work under estimates prepared by some-one else', and, 'the houses and gardens being the Nawab's it was hardly necessary to dictate to him what number of servants he should maintain for the care of them' [52]

This report was a reversal of Maddock's previous idea that the British should take over repairs of the Residency, and while his new attitude may have been in some measure tempered by the nawab's indignant letter, it should also be seen in the light of a request he had recently made to the nawab for a country house The Residency 'is surrounded by a populous city', which made it hot, and 'I suffer from a dread of excessive heat' Maddock had already chosen a site to the south of the city for his country house and estimated that it would cost about £3,000, which the nawab had offered to pay The response from Calcutta on both points could not have been pleasing to the Resident. The Governor General wanted to do away with the daroga system entirely and laid down that 'petty repairs, such as mending of doors, windows, white-washing and cleaning parts of the premises were to be executed by the Resident himself at the Nawab's expense' while major repairs and alterations were to be superintended by the Resident and carried out by 'the officer or officers instructed with the care and repair of the King's Palaces and other Public Buildings' As for the Resident's proposed country house, the Governor General replied. 'if you require accommodation of that description, the cost thereof had better, on every account, be defrayed from your own personal funds', indicating that officers of the Company were not to put personal considerations above the feeling of obligation that would certainly be incurred if the nawab began making gifts of houses to them.[53]

The dispute over the repairs was finally settled by entrusting the repairs to the nawab's *vakil*, an administrator or factor, under the supervision of the Resident, though the nawab still

paid for all the work. This meant that the British were still under a financial obligation to the nawab; this they tried again to shake off in 1853 when the nawab, Wajid Ali Shah, was urged to let the occupants pay for the repairs to their houses The nawab sidestepped this proposal most adroitly by saying that this would 'detract from his dignity' and that 'the buildings are his own and he must be allowed to keep them in repair for his guests' [54] There was no doubt that both sides appreciated the tactical importance of who paid for the Residency repairs Lord Dalhousie, the Governor General, had himself written in 1854 that 'It is the general desire of the Government to shake itself free from all obligations to the Court of Lucknow in respect of its officers and . . this has been done (except in the case of residences) in all respects ' He added however that 'the relinquishment of the present residences must involve the building of a new Residency',[55] a topic which had caused much controversy already between successive nawabs and Residents

In 1820 the nawab Ghazi-ud-din Haider had written to the Governor General

> Let it not be concealed from your Lordship—the spot selected for the residence of the British representative was originally at some distance from the dwelling houses of the principal People of my family, but when my revered father [Saadat Ali Khan] extended the City to the East, and fixed his residence there, by degrees buildings grew up round the palace till at length they came to be close upon the house of the British representative, in so much that my father intended to have assigned a different house for his residence Since his decease a new gateway has been erected beyond the boundary of the grounds originally attached to the house and there has not remained sufficient space for many necessary transactions

The nawab stated that the Residency overlooked the Farhad Baksh and that when the Residency was vacated he proposed to incorporate it into the enclosure of that building The nawab wanted 'to allot in lieu of them [the Residency buildings] the House and Ground of Beroun [Barowen][56], which the Resident immediately rejected as being too far away, and he added that the gift of Barowen would only compensate for the loss of Bibiapur, given up to Saadat Ali Khan by a former Resident. The Resident further said that 'the Residency was estab-

lished in its present spot for nearly fifty years [i.e. the mid 1770's] and the late Vizier [Saadat Ali Khan] established his residence in the vicinity of the Residency with a full knowledge of its commanding situation. Twenty years have elapsed since the late Vizier and His Majesty have successively resided at Furuh Buksh'. If, however, the nawab insisted on taking over the Residency site he should pay compensation to the people living and working in the area, added the Resident—an odd statement to make if the Residency staff had really seen themselves as guests of the nawab who were allocated houses by him 'as a personal favour'.[57] But the nawab abruptly dropped the subject of a move and the Resident was able to report back to Calcutta that the nawab had 'either abandoned the wish of obtaining the Residency houses and grounds' or that he wished to put off finding a new spot for the Residency to 'some future period' [58]

The second proposal to move the British out of the city came in the autumn of 1831 from nawab Nasir-ud-din Haider who sent an official note to the Resident, Col. John Low:

> As the House in which you live is situated very close to the Palace of Kusur oos Sooleman [in the Farhad Baksh enclosure] and in consequence of its elevated situation, many of my houses are overlooked which for many reasons is inconvenient and troublesome, and as also it is improper for certain reasons that the Residency House should be so near to the Government Houses, in consequence of which his late Majesty [Ghazi-ud-din Haider] addressed the Most Noble the Marquess of Hastings to remove the Residency and His Excellency's acquiescence in this purpose is evident and as moreover from the concourse of the people of the city round the House, and from the public thoroughfare, and the proximity of filth and dirt, you must also feel inconvenience, under these circumstances it is my wish that a Residency House should be built, on my part, in Char Bagh, which, on account of its extensive grounds is a delightful place, and the water and air of which is pure, and near which the Canal from the river Ganges will pass. It is besides not very distant from my Houses and I wish to join the Residency House to the Palace as it is very close, that it may obviate trouble to me, and you may receive pleasure by residing in that extensive and delightful place.[59]

This extract is interesting for two reasons Firstly the nawab appears to overstate his arguments for wanting the Residency site vacated, suggesting four different reasons in almost as

many lines, though the probable reason emerged later in the debate. Secondly the suggestion of the Char Bagh site might well have been prompted by Maddock's suggestion the previous year that a country house paid for by the nawab in this area would be very acceptable.

Col John Low, who had replaced Maddock, had mixed feelings about the proposal to move to Char Bagh: 'The change from a crowded city to the country and surrounding gardens would be most agreeable as regards the question of a dwelling house', but he foresaw difficulties as many people had business both with the Residency office and the nawab's neighbouring court. Lawyers and others who had houses round the Residency would be inconvenienced if the Residency was moved out, and even so, 'the Resident would still need a house in the city as he has to be in touch with the Court'[60] There was also the element of 'protection' assumed by people in the neighbouring houses which would be lost if the Residency moved. As for the real reason for the proposed move the Resident wrote, 'His Majesty doubtless has in view that his rule and authority would appear more complete within his capital by the removal of the British representative to the country'.

However, the Residency doctor was deputed to examine the site at Char Bagh and his report was unfavourable 'on the ground that Europeans living in a situation that is lower than all the surrounding country would almost to a certainty be attacked with fever for several months after the rains each year'.[61] This is a highly unconvincing argument, as a walk over the site shows that Char Bagh is certainly no lower than any other spot south of the city. The nawab on being told that Char Bagh was unhealthy according to the British did not attempt to argue the merits of its pure air and water again, but offered Barowen, which was rejected as being too far away Later 'a spot across the River Goomti, near to the King's race-course' (by the British Cantonment) was offered and also turned down[62] The nawab then suggested, with some desperation, 'any house, even the Dilkoosha, though he wished to keep it for himself with the view of occasionally spending a day there'. The Resident, however, selected three elevated spots in the Dilkusha Park which seemed to be suitable and

plans were made for roads to the proposed new Residency.[63]

Meanwhile Col John Low had written to Calcutta analysing the reasons why the nawab and his ministers wanted the Residency moved, and giving reasons why he himself would not strongly oppose the change The Resident was often bothered by trifles, he explained, especially by Anglo-Indians and Europeans, and he also felt the Resident interfered too much in the court Ricketts, who had been Resident between 1822 and 1830, had lived entirely for the last three years in the Cantonment, and the Hyderabad Resident lived a long way outside the city yet could still intervene when necessary in court [64] The nawab, moreover, planned to erect 'a very large and splendid palace on the present Residency site and to plant an avenue of trees from it to the new Iron Bridge'.[65] The Resident saw 'no harm in the move' and added, 'the proposed new palace . would overlook the whole city of Lucknow and would be finished in such a style (as the Nawab says) that the Palace of the King of Oude would become famous as one of the most spacious and elegant Buildings in all India' [66] But, Low added, the minister Hakim Mehndi wanted the British to go for political reasons, 'leaving to the King and himself, both the name and reality of more complete power in this capital' Hakim Mehndi who was constantly bothered with petty affairs said that both parties in these local disputes sought support from the Resident against the nawab, and if the Resident was 'out there', he, the minister, 'could settle things himself in a few minutes' [67] A year later the nawab was pleased to learn that the Governor General had ordered the Residency House 'should be vacated and made over to my control and that the Resident should reside in some other place'. 'The order', he added 'has much exalted my dignity' [68] But the reason why the proposed move never took place comes not from official records but from a private diary for 1831–2 kept by James Herbert, the Company official appointed to superintend the new Observatory in Lucknow Herbert described the coldness between the nawab and Hakim Mehndi and wrote:

An additional cause of offence [to the nawab] was said to have been the Minister's having authorized the site of the new Resident [*sic*] to be fixed in the Park of Dilkhoosha which the King it is said considers his private residence and therefore strongly objects to being opened

even to the Resident anxious as he is to see him moved. But however this may be it is certain that the first intimation the public had of the insecure ground on which the Minister stood was promulgated on the occasion of fixing the actual extent of the new Residency and putting up flags in the park to mark the boundary preparatory to its being surveyed And one of the first consequences of the Minister's disgrace was the discontinuance of the survey, the removal of the flags and the total abandonment apparently of the question of a new Residency.[69]

This highly interesting statement is confirmed by the fact that after Hakim Mehndi's dismissal there was a severe retrenchment in nawabi spending, and it is likely Nasir-ud-din Haider found himself seriously embarrassed by his promise to provide a new Residency with all its attendant offices, not to mention the grandiose schemes for the new palace he had proposed. There is no further suggestion from any source that the Residency should be moved, and it remains to this day where it was established in 1775.

The site now consists of ruins, many of them substantial, established among trees and rich foliage. All the outbuildings, which made the site something of a maze, its passages and garden walls, have been swept away, together with the numerous native houses to the north, east and south of the hill. The ruins now stand isolated from the streets of Lucknow by broad swathes of grass and a low wall, thus making it difficult to appreciate the scarcely tenable position of the area during its siege for five months in 1857, when the mutineers were able to stand at the windows of neighbouring houses and fire directly into the British buildings.[70]

The tremendous impact on European imaginations that the siege made has unfortunately tended to obscure the earlier history of buildings here and the names now given to private houses within the area show only who lived in them in 1857, e g. Gubbins's Garrison, Anderson's Garrison, Innes' Garrison, and so on. The bungalows where the first Residents lived and worked seem to have disappeared some time before 1800 and the transition to large, solidly built houses by the Residency staff passed quite unremarked. Earlier visitors to the compound usually described the area in generalized terms—'a sort of close, with good looking houses and small gardens

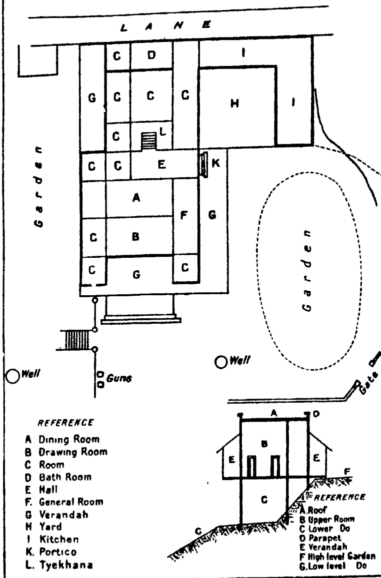
round it and a barrack and guard house at its entrance'[71] (1825), and twenty years later Dr Hoffmeister wrote, 'the street soon widened into a spacious square, a beautiful and verdant lawn and rich wood appeared before us on the other side of a lofty free-stone arch Passing through this gateway, we entered a sort of park, at the further extremity of which are several large yellow rough-cast buildings Flat roofs with massive balustrades, lofty colonnades surround plain quadrangular boxes, and carefully closed jalousies, characterised it as the dwelling of the British Resident' [72] Between the larger private houses set in their small gardens were metalled roads laid down about 1853 at a cost of £400, an unusual feature at this time when there appear to have been only two other metalled roads in the city.[73] After the siege the buildings became the subject of the most intense interest, even to the extent of a model being made of every building in the complex as it had been before,[74] but naturally this interest was directed to recent events, not to the origins of the buildings From maps and plans made after the siege, which itself had radically altered the area, it can be estimated that there were at least eighteen major buildings standing in their own grounds, including ten private houses, and many out-buildings There were also a number of houses belonging to Indians, but not surprisingly considering the emotive subject of the siege, they are not mentioned in any detail The names of the buildings give an indication of the varied nature of activities within the complex and the self-sufficiency of the inhabitants.

There was the sheep house, the slaughter house, the two Sikh squares, the horse square, the post office, the barracks, the brigade mess, the racket court, the native hospital, the school, the Banqueting Hall, the church, two mosques and the Residency Apart from a small museum in an undamaged portion of the Residency, the only other building in use today is one of the mosques, though it is only visited during daylight because of the fear of ghosts Visitors to the area approached it by the main road that led west from Hazratganj, through the clock tower gateway of the palace and the Baillie Guard gateway. Through the gateway to the left stood the new treasury building finished about 1851 at a cost of Rs 16,897, a long one-storeyed structure with a verandah supported by plain double

columns. The Banqueting Hall next to the new treasury was probably the most imposing structure in the whole area, with its state apartments and 'spacious salons, furnished with costly chandeliers, mirrors and silk divans' where the Nawab Amjad Ali Shah would attend dinners and breakfasts.[75] The fine furniture in the hall was complemented by the high quality of the workmanship in the building. A stucco fireplace at first floor level still retains a marble-like finish after nearly one hundred and twenty-five years of exposure to the elements, and a broken fountain in the main entrance hall exhibits a fine example of inlaid marble work in black and white The date of construction is unknown, it has been suggested on no firm grounds that it was erected by Saadat Ali Khan, but this can be disputed by a piece of negative evidence. Richard Strachey, Resident between 1815 and 1817, in a report to Calcutta two years after that nawab's death, justified recent enlargements within the complex, claiming 'the old Residency was quite inadequate to the Entertainment of the Vizier [the nawab] and his Court, as it contains no Room which will accommodate more than half the party on great occasions, when Tents were pitched or Tables spread for the remainder of the Guests in adjoining Apartments'.[76] This statement could certainly not be true if the Banqueting Hall had then been standing with its huge state rooms on the first floor

To the left of the Banqueting Hall lies the house of the Residency surgeon during the siege, Dr Fayrer, and directly behind it is the Begum Kothi which originally belonged to Asaf-ud-daula and was bought from him by Sacville Marcus Taylor, Assistant Resident, postmaster and merchant, who was in Lucknow between 1786 and 1802 [77] The house could not be bought outright from the nawab, presumably because he wished to retain a measure of control over it, and when Taylor sold it in 1802 to George Prendergast he had to obtain the nawab's permission for the sale [78] George Prendergast was also a merchant, with an English assistant, and they carried on 'very extensive dealings' in Lucknow [79] These included the setting up of a 'Europe shop business' in the Begum Kothi A few years later Prendergast sold the house and the business to John Culloden, a previous tenant of Claude Martin's who had occupied a nearby house. Culloden continued to run the shop

PLAN OF DR. FAYRERS HOUSE, LUCKNOW RESIDENCY.



and on his death in 1807 he left the entire property to his wife and children, specifying that the house was to be kept 'for the purpose of bringing up the children under their Mother'.[80] Culloden's daughter and granddaughter were buried within the compound of this house, a second daughter, Shurf-un-Nissa building a mosque and mausoleum for them here It is this small mosque which survives to the present day, and which is interesting in that it is built on the first floor and can only be approached up a narrow flight of steps

To the north-west of the Begum Kothi lay the Residency which gave its name to this whole area. It was described as 'an imposing pile of buildings. . . of three stories Along the west front extended a wide and lofty columnaded verandah The principal entrance was on the east side, under a handsome portico . . a spiral stairs inside two turrets on the north and south sides led to the roof'. There were 'numberless lofty windows, and the roof was protected by an ornamental balustrade in the Italian style' Under the south side of the building were deep *tykhanas*.[81] The building may have been 'an imposing pile' in sheer bulk, but architecturally it was unsatisfactory and disappointing There was no overall style, either Indian or European, which can be perceived, and the two squat towers (one of which remains) contrasted uneasily with the portico and loggia of the west front.

To the north-west of the Residency lay the church, now standing only to a height of two or three feet and surrounded by a cemetery, first used during the siege. It had previously been considered unhealthy to bury the dead in a residential area, but the enormous number of casualties meant that the dead had to be bundled into the ground near the church after night fall, often with no burial service other than a brief prayer [82] There had been a request for a church as early as 1775 by the Rev. Johnson, the Residency chaplain, but it was not until 1837 with the opening of the small church in the Cantonment that Protestants found a permanent place to worship.[83] Those who could not make the long journey to the Cantonment contented themselves with 'a long commodious room properly fitted up by private subscription for the celebration of Divine Service',[84] in a large two-storeyed house owned by the nawab, which stood near the post office This house was

destroyed by fire in April 1844 along with several others in the area, including the buildings that housed the European Library and the Girls' School It was subsequently agreed that the nawab should give the British some land for a proper church and a minister was deputed to pick out a suitable spot, choosing the area to the west of the Residency where the Boys' School (set up by Nasir-ud-din Haider) had been housed, together with the 'compound, buildings, Bricks and wood etc. attached to it' By August 1845 the Resident was able to forward to Calcutta '2 coloured plans of the Church and a subscription list' and to report that the Church which was to be erected would be 'handsome and spacious' [85]

The anticipated opening of the Iron Bridge encouraged the Resident to think that people from the Cantonment would come to the Residency church for the evening service as well as the teachers and pupils from the newly opened college of La Martiniere (Constantia) who as yet had no chaplain But the church also had to be something more than a convenient meeting place for Protestants in Lucknow; as the Resident explained—'surrounded as we are by Muslims and Hindoos with their towering mosques and gilded temples, a Diminutive and unattractive building would prove to be an object of no other than very unfavourable comparison to the non-professors of our holy Faith, [therefore] we determined upon the plan of which a copy is forwarded and we humbly hope that its contemplated original will in some measure answer the objects which in its adoption we had in view' [86] The grammar here may be convoluted but the message is plain.

To the south of the church stood the sheep house and the slaughter house, both of which have vanished completely, and beyond them was the racket court and the house of Martin Gubbins, since 1856 the Financial Commissioner of the province.

Gubbins House (as it was called briefly) was an unusual building for Lucknow, but no information about it is forthcoming, apart from a statement that it was 'built by the king as a concert room and cock-pit'.[87] Which 'King' or nawab is not stated and one can only deduce that it may have been Asaf-ud-daula who was inordinately fond of cockfighting,[88] and that because the house contained an octagon room (an uncommon

feature in European-style houses) it may have been designed by Martin or copied from one of his buildings—as this was a peculiarity of both the Farhad Baksh and Constantia. One could further speculate that it was the house originally belonging to Col. Mordaunt, who was also addicted to cock-fighting To the east of Gubbins House and in the southern quarter of the complex were the military quarters of the Residency, the horse square, the Sikh square, the barracks and the houses of the two celebrated Indian moneylenders, Shah Bihari Lal and Ragbir Diyal.

Because comparatively little remains of the Residency buildings and because there are so few contemporary descriptions it is impossible to judge what architectural effect these buildings had in Lucknow. The British put up few brick buildings in the complex, the majority being erected by the nawabs for the British at unspecified dates and without consultation with Company officials One must conclude that the Residency buildings therefore played little part in influencing Lucknow architecture, being themselves, as far as can be judged, an eclectic mixture of styles.

CHAPTER SIX

THE CANTONMENT

In 1807 the British Cantonment at Lucknow underwent a radical change when it was transferred from the banks of the river Gomti to Mariaon, nearly four miles north of the city.

From being a purely military area that was almost exclusively masculine and where there was no scope for social activities, it became a British enclave that aped the larger Residency compound in the city and a place where the wives and children of officers could live in reasonable comfort, with a range of leisure activities In spite of the change in the nature of the Cantonment, the area was always regarded as being of secondary importance to the Residency compound in the city and was seldom visited by tourists to Lucknow. Although no drawings or photographs of the area exist, the growth of the Cantonment is worth examining not only for the light it throws on European life in Lucknow but also as a further example of the territorial battles between the Company and the nawabs.

The original reasons for the presence of the British Cantonment in Oudh were both political and military One of the keys to Warren Hastings' foreign policy was the maintenance of an alliance with the nawabs of Oudh, both to protect the frontiers of British-controlled India and to reduce the expenses of the Company's army To that end Hastings and Shuja-ud-daula agreed in 1773 that the nawab would bear the cost of maintaining British forces in return for their help in annexing the Rohilla kingdom on the western borders of Oudh, which was successfully accomplished the following year From then on pressure was brought by the British on subsequent nawabs to maintain permanent forces in Oudh, and payments for these forces and the Cantonment needed for them increased

rapidly Although the Rohilla war was the first and last major engagement where British troops were used at the nawab's request, Asaf-ud-daula was forced to make large payments to the Company for troops he did not want and which the Company would not withdraw In 1801 Saadat Ali Khan was forced to cede half his territories as payment for unwanted troops, and under threat of losing the rest of his kingdom agreed to the stationing of 10,000 Company troops on his remaining land So there was a distinct change between the first troops sent in to protect a friendly ruler, Shuja-ud-daula, and the battalions of Saadat Ali Khan's time which were able to dictate terms to their reluctant ally.

As for the composition of the troops themselves and the nature of their housing, paid for by the nawabs, little information is available other than that the Indians in the battalions had with them their own carpenters, which suggests that in common with other sepoy battalions they built their own huts The European officers and soldiers on the other hand were provided for by the nawab and his ministers—who also built 'Artillery Sheds, places for Arms, Powder Magazines, Guard Rooms etc , the whole being conducted under the inspection of a Servant of the Vizier' [1] In 1796 the British Cantonment was situated mainly on the north bank of the Gomti, almost opposite the Daulat Khana complex inhabited by Asaf-ud-daula. This bank was known as the 'English side of the river'[2] and the Gomti was crossed by 'a crazy Bridge of Boats' [3] By 1806 the British Resident Col. John Collins was writing to the Governor General in Calcutta[4] suggesting that a new and larger site should be found for the troops, who needed additional buildings including a 'store room, Hospital, publick Cattle and private stabling'.[5] The estimated size of the enlarged Cantonment area was 1,560 bighas of land, which Saadat Ali Khan considered excessive.[6] It is clear from the nawab's response to the Company's request that it was not so much the position of the Cantonment that worried him as the greater amount of land demanded. The nawab saw any substantial increase in the Cantonment area as a further serious encroachment by the British upon his sovereign state The presence of British troops was something that the nawab could not control, but he felt that by putting physical limits on the amount of land

granted he could perhaps control their number. After much correspondence between the nawab, the Resident and Calcutta, Lieut Col. Thomas—the officer commanding the detachment at Lucknow—was sent out to inspect an area of 'elevated land South of His Excellency's Hunting Lodge called the ABC House, distant from the Eastern end of the pucka Bridge [the Stone Bridge] across the Goomtee, perhaps two miles'[7] In fact the area chosen was, as far as can be determined, slightly to the west of that proposed by Thomas, with the village of Subouli to the right of the Cantonment, though it was nearer three than two miles to the north bank of the river

The Resident, Col Collins was able to report back to the Company in Calcutta in March 1807 that the nawab had agreed at once to the new site, making no objection to its size or position[8] He may have felt that the situation of the site, which was difficult to reach from the city, in some way compensated for the disquiet he felt over the size of the new Cantonment It was not until the opening of the Iron Bridge and the Cantonment road in 1846/7 that the Mariaon Cantonment became somewhat more accessible from the city, when troops no longer had to make the detour to cross the Stone Bridge. The nawab, having agreed to the site, nevertheless laid down stringent conditions for the new Cantonment, which reflect both his fears about British expansion and about the possibility of his own people becoming too friendly with the British troops A list of the conditions was sent to Col Collins in March 1807 together with the nawab's agreement to the new site, and the Resident's acceptance of the conditions are also recorded. The documents are summarized below.[9]

1 Only the British troops and their followers were allowed to reside on the ground allotted for the new Cantonment.

2. No ganj was to be erected within the Cantonment area for *beparies* (*baipari*) traders or merchants, because such an area would have been detrimental to the markets in the city and the nawab would have lost revenue from the duties levied on the city markets

3 There was to be no exemption of duty for the Cantonment except on articles actually required for consumption by British troops Any traders who took such articles out of the Cantonment (i e. unsold food, etc) to other places had to pay duty on their goods sold elsewhere

4 No moneylenders or inhabitants of Lucknow were to reside in the Cantonment without the previous consent and approval of the nawab

5 There was to be no fortified building there, besides the officers' bungalows and the magazine for artillery

6. No delinquents were to be given sanctuary within the Cantonment and any criminals who tried to hide there would be handed over to the nawab

7 The exercising ground was to be distinct from the Cantonment, was to be kept clear and ready for exercising troops, and was not to be built on

8. A ditch was to be dug round the Cantonment to define the limits, and no extension beyond that ditch would be allowed The limits of the Cantonment were also to be marked out distinctly by a durable token.

9 A *khubburder* (*khabardar*) informer, scout, or spy, was to be stationed in the Cantonment to bring news to the nawab, since the Cantonment was on land belonging to the nawab

Clauses seven and eight show clearly that the nawab feared gradual encroachment by the British, and the ditch which he suggested was something of a Canute-like gesture—a futile attempt to limit British interference by a physical barrier. The flags the British had first suggested for defining the Cantonment limits could of course be uprooted and moved, but a ditch was the clearest possible boundary The nawab was equally concerned both to keep the British confined and to make it as difficult as possible for his own people to enter the British zone. It will be seen later how this strict segregation broke down.

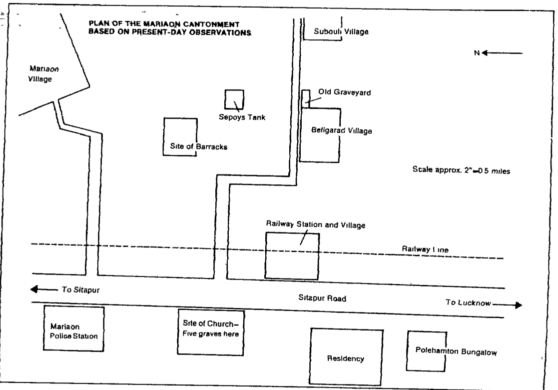
On 8th March 1807 Lieut. Phipps, Adjutant of the 2nd Battalion, 13th Regiment, met Paris Bradshaw, the Assistant Resident at the new site, 'to measure the space given by His Excellency'.[10] Lieut Phipps, who had been left at Lucknow 'for the purpose of constructing new Cantonments',[11] found that as soon as he had measured out the ground the Hindu sepoys of the Company's troops were moved out to the site to avoid communal disturbances at the old Cantonment site The pukka buildings for the officers, the magazine for artillery, tanks, etc were erected in great haste (Lieut Thomas had said as early as 12 February that 'the season favourable for building is passing away'), and by June 1807 before the rains began the

buildings were finished At the end of June the nawab took a ride out to the new Cantonment and told the Resident that he had noticed that the four mile ditch which had been dug round the Cantonment to define its limits was already filled up with sand, and he requested that eight or twelve masonry pillars should be erected as a more permanent boundary [12] To this Paris Bradshaw, the Acting Resident, who had taken over after Col. Collins' sudden death, agreed, and the site was declared completed

No details survive of the actual materials used in construction, nor of the cost of building materials, but comparison with a similar Cantonment shows the kind of workers needed. It included carpenters, bricklayers of both sexes, smiths, sawyers, thatchers, lime makers, lascars, water carriers, buffalo drivers, watchmen, writers, messengers, coolies and miscellaneous boys and women A *sircar* (Indian superintendent or leader) supervised the work, and he was in turn responsible to a European captain of Engineers in charge of the whole site (This would be the position that Lieut Phipps held at Lucknow) The wages of the sircar were the highest among the Indian workers, he got Rs 30 per month (about £1 10s) while the lowest paid workers, the women, got Rs 1.12 annas per month (about 1s 9d). Work on the site included stone breaking, making lime and brick kilns, thatching, weighing and piling firewood, carrying limestone and baking bricks Bamboo and straw was used for thatching, and both iron and wood were used to make the moulds for bricks Bricks were fired in kilns near the site, and stones, broken up by coolies, were burnt in kilns to provide lime for the cement and plaster. Crude scaffolding of bamboo lashed together with rope was erected so the thatchers could reach the roofs [13]

The first description of the completed Cantonment is in October 1819 when Thomas Lumsden, a traveller, visited the area and described it thus—

> the general plan of a cantonment, on this side of India, is to have a good piece of ground for the exercise of the troops in front, with a line of small buildings for depositing the arms in the rear Next to these are the huts of the sepoys and in their rear the bungalows of the officers which are built in the cottage style, very well adapted for the climate, and each having a garden around it, with a range of out offices, consisting of a kitchen, stables and servants houses [14]


PLAN OF THE MARIAON CANTONMENT
BASED ON PRESENT-DAY OBSERVATIONS
Mariaon Village
Subouli Village
N
Old Graveyard
Sepoys Tank
Beligarad Village
Site of Barracks
Scale approx. 2"=0 5 miles
Railway Station and Village
Railway Line
To Sitapur
Sitapur Road
To Lucknow
Mariaon Police Station
Site of Church–
Five graves here
Residency
Polehamton Bungalow

The bungalows of the officers were at this time developing from something more than the simple rectangular thatched or tiled huts that were common in Lucknow By the 1820's the usual plan of a bungalow was to have one large high ceilinged room in the centre and one of 'a comfortable size' on each side, with a small room in each corner The central room was for dining, the side rooms for beds and spare apartments, and the corner rooms for bath rooms, store rooms, etc. The apartments all opened out into each other, and the 'doors' were often made from rushes. (These would be rush curtains, or tatties, which could be rolled up when not in use) One important piece of information about the Lucknow Cantonment is missing, and that is who actually paid for the building of the bungalows and sepoys' huts The Company had sanctioned payment for the ditch round the Cantonment and the masonry pillars, but it is not known whether they paid for the buildings and rented them to the officers and sepoys or whether the troops were expected to pay for their own accommodation, which they could sell when they were transferred elsewhere Civilians living in the Cantonment certainly paid for the building of their houses but the initial arrangements for officers and sepoys' dwellings are unknown. Decent accommodation for British officers in the Lucknow Cantonment became a more important consideration the longer they were established there, and by 1831 one finds the officious Paton (who, it will be remembered had urged the Observatory on Nasir-ud-din Haider) writing in sarcastic vein to the Political Secretary to the Government of India, H. J Prinsep, about some new bungalows recently erected.

I have been informed that the Minister [unnamed] is building bungalows for the British officers lent by our Government to His Majesty [the nawab] but of so diminutive a size as to render it impossible that any British officer of respectability can inhabit them, as they are to contain only one room with a verandah round it Such buildings in fact as are constructed for serjeants in the British provinces I cannot bring myself to believe that these paltry bungalows are intended to be offered to British officers in lieu of their present houses. I am rather disposed to believe that they are intended for the lower servants of His Majesty such as the hair-dresser, coachman etc [15]

This was a clever letter as it allowed Paton to express his in-

dignation at the insult offered to 'British officers of respectability' while at the same time being rude about the nawab's hair-dresser, who was the famous Mr Derussett described in Knighton's book *The Private Life of an Eastern King*.[16] The coachman at that time was a Mr Joseph de Silva, a Portuguese or Indo-Portuguese.[17] It is interesting to note that the nawab's minister was now building diminutive bungalows for the British officers, for this represented a significant change from earlier policy on the Cantonment when the British had known exactly what they wanted to build, and had organized the work themselves Certainly, local Indian workpeople were employed, but it had been the British who were in charge, and Saadat Ali Khan's strict conditions had meant that the Mariaon Cantonment was effectively isolated from the mainstream of Lucknow life

The breakdown of this severe segregation had begun two years before Paton's letter in 1829, when the nawab Nasir-ud-din Haider had bought the bungalow in the Cantonment which had been built for Mordaunt Ricketts.[18] Ricketts had been the British Resident from 1822 to 1830 and during the last three years of his term of office he lived entirely in the Cantonment house [19] A visitor in 1827 wrote, 'in the cool of the day we drove to the country house of the British Resident where he generally resides in preference to the palace in the town' [20] Rickett's country house or bungalow was evidently a fairly large building, for Henry Lawrence described it as being nearly as large as the city Residency building [21] Together with the surrounding farm and dairy, with its imported English cows, it must have presented an exotic appearance to nawabi eyes, and proved irresistible to Nasir-ud-din Haider with his noted predilection for English things.

This house was subsequently known as the 'King's House' or as 'Ricketts Sahib ka Bungalow' and was maintained by subsequent nawabs who considered it beneath their dignity to sell a house purchased by their ancestors.[22] There was, however, a tacit understanding that despite nawabi ownership of this house, it would always be available for the Residents' use, though it never appears to have been utilized much for this purpose after Ricketts' departure. William Sleeman, the penultimate Resident, said: 'I have made use of it occasionally

for a few days at the close of the hot winds and commencement of the Rains, when epidemic diseases prevail in the City from accumulated filth, but even on these occasions I merely dine and sleep in it, returning except on Sundays to the Residency during the day for the transactions of business '[23]

There is no further mention of the farm and dairy which had so delighted English visitors, and later the house was used as a theatre and ball room, showing the substantial nature of the building

Once a precedent had been set by the nawabi purchase of a British house in the Cantonment, the purchase of other buildings followed and a bungalow which had at one time been occupied by a Major Scott was, on his death, 'made over' to the nawab This bungalow was very small and had been empty for some years, but the nawab had it repaired and enlarged and allowed the Rev. Dawson (the Cantonment chaplain) to occupy it. The clergyman reported that he regarded this 'as a personal favour for which he felt greatly obliged' to the nawab.[24] This was the first house in the Cantonment 'made over to Gentlemen about the Residency' and a similar transaction took place over the house built by J.M Sinclair who had originally gone to Lucknow as an engineer and general mechanic to the Court Sinclair had 'built for himself a house in a garden in Cantonment, which he afterwards sold to the King'. The house stood empty for three or four years and became much dilapidated but was then repaired and occupied by Dr Login, the Residency surgeon The nawab, Muhammad Ali Shah, said Dr Login 'wanted me and my family to be as comfortable as possible so he had glass doors fitted to it [the house] to make it habitable during the cold season' [25] When Dr Login and his family left this house it was improved and repaired even further at a cost of Rs 10,450 (£1,045) and allocated to Captain R. W. Bird, the Assistant Resident, in 1848 [26] Three years later William Sleeman, the current Resident, began to object strenuously to the fact that Captain Bird, his Assistant, had been allocated such a fine house instead of the usual bungalow allowed the Assistant in the Cantonment [27] The Captain retaliated by claiming that the nawabs had always provided a house in the Cantonment for the Assistant Resident, just as a town house was provided too, and that both were 'kept in re-

pair, cleaned and otherwise attended to' by the Court officials But Sleeman angrily refuted this, saying Captain Bird was the first Assistant who had ever got a country residence and that the upkeep of the Cantonment house had amounted only to 'common floor cloths [probably *durries*, or cotton carpets] placed by his Majesty's servants, as in all of the King's houses' and the provision of ceiling fans (*punkahs*) and Venetian blinds (*chicks*).[28]

But the reason for Sleeman's anger over what seems a fairly trivial matter becomes more explicable when it is learnt that Captain Bird, who was a keen racing man, only lived in his Cantonment house 'during the training and racing season' in order to be near the race course, just south of the Cantonment Captain Bird claimed that the Lucknow races 'tended to bring together the Native Gentlemen of Lucknow and promote good feeling', but Sleeman said this was not so, on the other hand 'there was a good deal of talk about all Officers being familiar on the Race Course with the Singers and Eunuchs whom the Resident had so often had occasion to denounce to the King as reptiles who were ruining his reputation and his Country'[29] Moreover, one of the eunuchs called Busheer was 'building large stables for his racing horses close by the Cantonment road' Sleeman had written to the nawab complaining about the stables and the races in general but had received an assurance from the nawab saying only that the building of the stables would be halted but nothing about the races being stopped. Sleeman told Bird that he did not consider the latter could 'conduct his duties properly' from the Cantonment and that he should work from the city Residency, and also complained again about the nawab 'fitting up and keeping up that Residence .at a very great cost' for the Captain[30] The next year (1852) Captain Bird still persisted in his involvement with horse racing at the nearby race course in defiance of Sleeman, and the latter in a letter to the Secretary to the Government in Calcutta hinted darkly that he suspected the Captain of conspiring with the Residency Surgeon, Dr Adam Bell, to have Sleeman 'unseated' from his position as Resident (Both Captain Bird and Dr Bell were close friends of the nawab and social occasions like the race course meetings gave them the opportunity to mix with the Court nobles and officials) Slee-

man continued his letter saying that during the thirty years he had been in service, he had never faced such obstacles as he now 'experienced in secret intrigues about this the most corrupt, the most profligate, and I believe the most incompetent of Indian Courts.'[31]

It is interesting to find such a clear cut example of how contention over a building often concealed the much deeper political intrigues that were going on at the same time It is also clear that on the question of ownership of property decisions tended to be made on an ad hoc basis, and that the British were pursuing a laissez-faire policy which allowed all kinds of irregularities to creep into what had seemed in 1807 a clear cut situation

An important statement on the ownership of Cantonment land was made in answer to a query by the Governor General in 1844 as to whether Brevet Captain Cecil of the 12th Regiment, Native Infantry, stationed in Lucknow was allowed to sell his estate in the Cantonment. An Indian woman, Mohumdee Begum, wanted to buy the Captain's property and the nawab Amjad Ali Shah ruled that, 'The case is this, that if the Bungalow be the property of that Officer, and be in his possession, he is at liberty to sell the House but not the Ground, as that is the property of the State. He has my permission' [32] The interesting thing about this response is the date It cannot be imagined that the question of an officer selling his property to someone else, Indian or British, had never arisen before Different regiments had been stationed in the Cantonment and the high death rate alone ensured a rapid turnover of men, and therefore property. Yet for thirty-seven years it had apparently never been queried whether houses could or could not be sold to officers or civilians, and when a query did arise it could only be solved by a direct appeal to the nawab, not by consulting a book of regulations or by examining precedents, of which there must have been many. But the most confusing aspect of all this is the way in which British officials in Lucknow positively encouraged successive nawabs to buy up their houses and bungalows in the Cantonment, when it is this very factor of nawabi ownership that was so galling to the British in the city Residency Here the British in the Cantonment are to be found selling houses to the nawabs and then occupying

them by the 'personal favour' of the new owners. Moreover the same system for repairs prevailed in the Cantonment as it did in the city Residency, i.e. the nawabs' vakils paid the cost of repairs to the Cantonment bungalows and for the upkeep of the gardens from the royal treasury, and in 1853 this figure was estimated at Rs 5,222 for the year.[33]

The picture of ownership of land and property in the Cantonment at the time of annexation is thus most confused and vastly different from the one envisaged by Saadat Ali Khan when he endeavoured to separate the British and the Indians, and to 'contain' the former in well-defined limits. Obviously there is no one explanation of the British acquiescence in nawabi infiltration in the Cantonment. Many factors were doubtless at work about which no information survives or maybe never existed. On general considerations, however, it seems likely that the change came about not as the result of deliberate treaty-embodied policy but rather of a relaxation of the rules by the British The purpose of the Cantonment changed radically between 1775 and 1856 and during this period the British became uncertain about the function of the Cantonment, and therefore careless in their management, so that by 1856 there were more civilians, European and Indian, in the Cantonment than soldiers. By the end of Saadat Ali Khan's rule the polite fiction that the British were in Oudh solely to defend the country against attack by unfriendly neighbours had long since been demolished, and the nawab's determined efforts to restrict British influence in his capital had proved fruitless

The shift in the political spectrum naturally meant that the role of the British troops stationed in the capital came to be seen in a different light Why were they there at all? On the death of Saadat Ali Khan the customary guard of British troops at the Daulat Khana and other prominent buildings in the city was discontinued By 1817 it was the new nawab's own troops which were on guard duty in Lucknow, including a company at the Daulat Khana.[34]

The nawab's personal bodyguard of European troops also ceased on Saadat Ali Khan's death Although later nawabs had European bodyguards, ADC's and escorts, these were now employed directly by the court and not provided by the Com-

pany So if the British troops in Lucknow were not to provide men for the nawab's use, were they then expected to maintain sufficient numbers to quell disturbances in the town on their own account? Apparently not, for an account of a riot in 1840 between Hindus and Muslims specifically stated that it was the duty of the *kotwal* (the magistrate or chief of police) to act to restore peace in such cases without reference to British troops [35] The only time the British troops appeared to have entered the city specifically to restore peace was in 1837 when, on the death of Nasir-ud-din Haider, an attempt was made by his putative son to occupy the musnud. Col Low, the Resident at that time, anticipating trouble brought a number of troops from the Cantonment to the throne room in the Chattar Manzil complex to drive out the prince and Queen Mother and proclaim Nasir-ud-din Haider's uncle as the next nawab. About thirty or forty people were killed by the troops, although the dispute was contained in the palace, and the troops were not dispersed throughout the city to maintain order [36]

It is significant that the troops and guns Col Low brought with him to the palace in 1837 were more for the Resident's protection and the coercion of the pretender than the maintenance of law and order in the city as a whole Of course had the Resident been imprudent enough to arrive on this occasion without sufficient troops, and had the insurgents been intent on his destruction, he would have been dead long before help could have reached him from the Cantonment Bishop Heber was only the first of many writers to comment on the surprising distance between the Cantonment and the city He wrote in 1825· 'the British subsidiary force, is, by a strange choice, placed in a cantonment five miles from the town, separated by the broad and rapid stream of the Goomti '[37] The opening of the Iron Bridge reduced the journey to some extent, but there was no form of communication between the city Residency and Mariaon except by horse. There was no system of telegraphing or semaphoring messages in the city until 1857[38] and had a sudden and determined attack been mounted upon the city Residency, no immediate help could have been expected from the Cantonment.

Ironically it was a sudden and determined attack that neither

the Resident nor the nawabs could have anticipated that put an end to the Mariaon Cantonment on the night of 30 May 1857 when the bungalows there were set on fire by rebellious sepoys, and several Europeans murdered in their own houses Only Polehampton's house, which had a flat plaster roof instead of thatch, seems to have escaped the conflagration. Loyal British troops who were encamped beyond the Cantonment to the north repulsed the sepoys, but no attempt at all was made to defend the area and it was shortly afterwards abandoned for good Although many of the clauses in the 1807 treaty were later disregarded, no 'work like a Fort' was ever built, as Saadat Ali Khan had stipulated, and there was no building in the Cantonment which was defensible or which could have been used as shelter for European refugees in the event of an uprising in the city

So what was the purpose of the Mariaon Cantonment? Perversely isolated by British request from the city, totally indefensible to accord with the nawab's orders and housing troops who after 1814 appeared to play no significant part in the life and order of the city, it is not surprising that the British themselves became careless or confused over the role of the Cantonment and came to see no reason why the later nawabs should not buy property in the Cantonment limits—or pay for repairs there either Mariaon was regarded as an adjunct to the city Residency, where the 'real work' was carried out, or as a retreat from the city for people like Sleeman who used it 'occasionally for a few days'—but even then only as a place for sleeping and eating, while he returned to the city Residency for 'the transactions of business' [39] The awkward distance from Lucknow meant that Mariaon was too near a big city to develop independently but not far enough to form the nucleus of a separate town, as happened for example in Ambala It was also not near enough to become a residential suburb like the post-1857 cantonment of Dilkusha to the south-east of Lucknow. It is not surprising therefore that the site of the Cantonment has since reverted to its pre-1807 state and is once again covered by wheat fields

Even before the sacking in May 1857 the Cantonment was probably destined to disappear When the Rev. Henry Polehampton arrived in May 1856 after the annexation of Oudh he

found about two hundred British citizens there (mostly civilians) and about a thousand native soldiers, but the bulk of the vicar's congregation was already housed in the city of Lucknow where the 52nd Regiment of troops were installed in buildings which had been seized after Wajid Ali Shah's deposition.[40] It is more than likely that the Macchi Bhavan would have been the focal point of future military dispositions in Lucknow had not the Mutiny intervened.

The clergyman's diary conveys well that curious dream-like atmosphere of pre-1857 India when the British paused complacently to consolidate their rapid territorial gains of the last fifty years. 'I don't know that anything has happened since I last wrote, worthy of record' he wrote to his mother in April 1857, and even at the end of April was still writing with easy expectancy: 'there will be a bit of a row ... but I don't think much harm will come of it.'[41] Certainly life in the Cantonment during the last year seems in his account to have been quite uneventful, except for the perpetually high mortality among Europeans, and especially children. Every evening the British officers and their families would congregate to listen to the Cantonment band which played in the Company Bagh (garden) from six to seven, or the British would stroll along the Grand Parade. 'There is always a crowd of carriages and buggies there,' reported Polehampton.[42] During the heat of the day people would entertain themselves at home with books from the local bookclub, which was kept up-to-date and supplied by an agent from the Calcutta firm of Thacker & Co. During the colder months there were cricket matches on the local ground, meetings at the nearby race course (which had caused Sleeman so much anguish before annexation) and entertainments in the ball room and theatre housed in the Cantonment Residency. Those who wished could potter round their gardens supervising the Indian *malis*, and Polehampton boasted that his bungalow had 'the best garden in cantonments' with plenty of strawberries, a delicacy that went well with the ice which residents could obtain from the local Ice-club for a small subscription. Every British family had an ample supply of servants who lived in the compounds of their masters' bungalows. Polehampton and his wife had a total of twenty-three servants just for the two of them. On Sundays

there was morning service at the small local church which had been built in 1839 at a cost of £540 raised by grants from the Company in Calcutta and by private subscriptions. There was even a harmonium in the church.

Metalled roads throughout the Cantonment meant that travelling was quick and easy, and for the last eleven years there had been a well-metalled road to Lucknow across the new Iron Bridge. At least two 'Europe' shops existed, dealing in goods brought in from Calcutta, which in turn were imported from further afield.

After 1857 the British built a new Cantonment in Lucknow near the Dilkusha, an area that was easily accessible from the city, the old Cantonment being left to disintegrate. By 1913 when A.T. Anderson, a writer, visited the site, all the roads had disappeared and only the Polehampton bungalow was standing.[43] A small mound was said to cover the site of the church. Today even less is left. When I visited the area in September 1977 I had difficulty in locating the Cantonment site and was eventually directed to a tiny village, no more than a handful of cottages, which was called Beligarad (a corruption of the Bailey Guard, the name of the main entrance to the Cantonment). A dirt track led through fields of sugar cane to a walled enclosure beyond Beligarad where I found the Cantonment graveyard. This was the most tangible evidence of the large British community which had once lived there. An impressive pair of brick and stucco gate posts marked the entrance which was now blocked up, and there were the usual once handsome tombs and funerary monuments, though as with the Lucknow cemetery, Lat Kalan-ki-Lat, all the inscribed marble and stucco inscriptions had vanished hence none of the graves could be positively identified. An informant who knew the area well as a child recalled the names of some of the fields which marked various sites in the Cantonment—the *gend ghar* (the cricket field) the *gol ghar* (the dance hall) and the *kamasariyat* (the commissariat where provisions for the troops were stored). Another small village nearby is called Chaoni (the Cantonment) and I was told that the sepoy tank near the barracks was still in existence, although I did not see it myself.[44]

CHAPTER SEVEN

CLAUDE MARTIN'S BUILDINGS

In the preceding chapters the origins of the Residency buildings and the Cantonment have been examined in detail. In neither case has it been possible to say much about the architectural styles employed in these two settlements, and the reasons for this are twofold. In the Cantonment no visible traces of buildings remain while in the Residency complex, although there are substantial remains of houses and offices, most of them are in a mutilated state. There are two buildings in the Residency area which can be considered as having definite architectural merit: the Begum Kothi and the Banqueting Hall.

All the detailed written descriptions of the Residency buildings were made after the 1857 siege when the site assumed great symbolic importance and there was a revulsion against the nawabi buildings, which were labelled 'decadent'. The notable lack of enthusiasm by pre-1857 European visitors over buildings built for British occupation would seem, however, to a large extent justified, and while it is regretable from the historian's point of view that there is so little pre-1857 information, it is quite understandable that visitors whose time was often limited should neglect such buildings in favour of the more obviously striking features of the city.

Apart from the two Residency buildings it cannot be said on the evidence of existing remains, or of pictorial or written material, that the British were much concerned with fine architecture or with projecting a definite architectural style in Lucknow. This statement must of course be qualified by saying that it will probably never be known what some of the

early British building in the city was like For example Mr Orr's house in Lucknow is only known because Asaf-ud-daula had another built in imitation of it in 1797[1] and there are several references to houses built by the British which have vanished completely Henry J Clark who arrived in India in 1793 and was engaged in various capacities by Asaf-ud-daula and Saadat Ali Khan built his house on the site of Claude Martin's powder magazine, near the Dilkusha Park, and wrote, 'the house is really a good one, and the situation delightful' But it was later demolished when Ghazi-ud-din Hāider had his canal built in this area and there are no descriptions or pictures of the house [2]

Claude Martin's flamboyant buildings are also being left aside for the moment, both those that he erected for himself and those which he was commissioned to build Nevertheless with these reservations it can still be argued that the British in Lucknow, especially those in an official capacity—the Residents, surgeons, writers and other officers of the Company, did not evolve a distinctive colonial style of architecture for themselves, nor did they borrow the styles evolved by their countrymen in Calcutta and other cities where their power and rule was undisputed There are three reasons for the architectural reticence of the British in Lucknow In the first place a distinction should be made between the adventurers of the late eighteenth century and the Company officials of the early nineteenth For a fairly brief period during the time of Asaf-ud-daula there was a spate of building by Europeans, and especially by the British, which was relatively unsupervised This was when Martin's buildings were erected and when huge sums of money earned by speculation was invested in property by adventurers But the death of Asaf-ud-daula generally marked the end of unrestricted building by Europeans in the city and a decline in the number of freelance adventurers like Martin, Polier and Colonel Mordaunt Their demise was partly due to repeated Company requests from Calcutta that their presence should be controlled, and partly because men of this stamp found it more lucrative to work directly for the nawabs—as for example the Derusset brothers—than to remain as free agents with no specific loyalties

Because such employees of the nāwabs generally lived in apartments in the palaces where they were 'on call' when their masters needed them, it meant an end to the building of grandiose houses in the city and an end to the great measure of independence that the early adventurers had enjoyed. Their livelihood now depended to a large extent on the whims and caprices of their royal employers, and it was obviously more prudent to accumulate wealth in the form of easily portable valuables like jewels and fine shawls than to invest in house building when one might face instant dismissal from the city for no good reason.[3]

As for the British officials of the Company, they too were circumscribed after the death of Asaf-ud-daula and both nawabi restrictions and their own prejudices kept them confined in or near the Residency complex or the Cantonment. Saadat Ali Khan's restrictions on the Mariaon Cantonment meant that at first only serviceable military buildings and bungalows for officers were erected and even though this later broke down and civilians began building houses here, there do not seem to have been any wild flights of architectural fancy, nor even a conscious attempt to 'plan' the Cantonment after the parade ground had been marked out. Lack of space also meant that buildings tended to be modest and serviceable for there was little point in designing an impressive facade if it was to be crammed up against a neighbour's back wall, and houses and offices in the Residency complex were often contiguous, with only narrow walls and path ways separating them from each other. The typical appearance of the majority of British houses in Lucknow was quite standardized, consisting normally of a one-storied, flat roofed house, with at least two verandahs, thatched or tiled, and wooden 'venetians' at every window. Houses were painted in the ubiquitous yellow wash picked out in white which is still common in northern India today. Such houses stood in a compound if room allowed, and had detached out-offices and servants quarters. It is not therefore surprising that visitors to Lucknow dazzled by nawabi extravaganzas should neglect these rather prosaic buildings.

The last reason for the decline of grandiose European buildings here was undoubtedly the fact that houses erected by Europeans, or by Indians in the European style, were very apt

to be confiscated by the nawabs for no other reason than that the nawabs liked them. In 1797, for example, the nawab Vizier Ali, who ruled for only six months,[4] attempted to buy a house occupied by Mr Reid, the Residency surgeon. It is not known exactly where this house was, but it probably stood in the Residency complex 'His Excellency's applications are so urgent and his temper under Indisposition so whimsical and fractious that a resistance to his will may expose me to his displeasure', wrote Reid 'My house is situated betwixt and very near two Houses lately purchased by His Excellency which makes him extremely desirous to possess it'.[5]

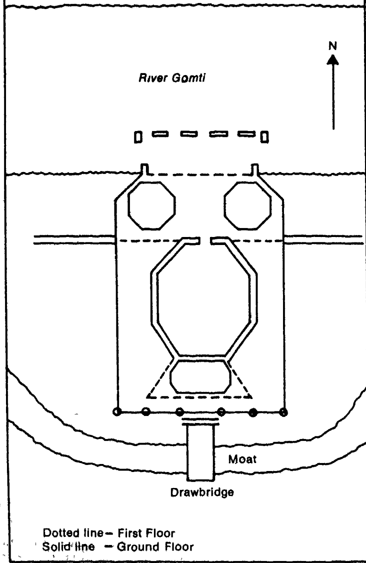
A revealing sentence about Asaf-ud-daula stated that 'His Highness could never bear to hear that any person possessed anything superior to his own'[6] and this attitude carried to its logical conclusion meant that to build anything of an interesting or unusual nature was to invite confiscation or run the risk of displeasing the nawab by refusing to sell Beecher's complaint that the nawab confiscated his fine house has already been noted and there is good evidence to believe that Asaf-ud-daula was extremely anxious to possess Constantia, and that only the terms of Martin's Will and his decision to be buried there prevented the building falling into nawabi hands.[7] Certainly there was a dispute over Martin's town house, the Farhad Baksh, for on Martin's death his Spanish agent Joseph Quieros, bidding against Saadat Ali Khan at an auction, bought the house from Martin's estate for Rs 40,000 (£4,000).[8] But Valentia, who was in Lucknow when this happened, reported that Quieros 'was persecuted by him [Saadat Ali Khan] since—so now sells it to him'. The nawab was so delighted at his eventual ownership of the house that he celebrated by feasting all the Europeans in Lucknow and treating them to a firework display opposite the Farhad Baksh [9] It was this nawab too, who by 1803 had 'bought all the English houses [in Lucknow] except Paul's and two others', and no doubt the amount of pressure that could be put on Europeans, especially those not in the Company's service, was considerable. It became prudent not to build in a style that would attract the attention of the nawabs and this restriction, together with changing fortunes of the freelance adventurers meant that post-1800 buildings tended to be less flamboyant

than those of the previous twenty-five years.

So where did the nawabs and their nobles learn to build their exuberant European-style houses and palaces if not from the British officials in the Residency complex or the Europeans employed in nawabi service? The answer seems to be that the palaces of Claude Martin, more than anything else, influenced European-inspired building in Lucknow and that an examination of Martin's buildings will reveal both the genius behind his creations and the origins of much of the later architecture in the city

The Farhad Baksh is the first identifiable building erected by Martin in Lucknow and was finished by 1781 according to an inscription over one of the basement arches. (The chronology of the other buildings as far as can be determined is the Asafi Kothi built between 1782 and 1789, Bibiapur about the same period, Constantia between 1795 and completed after Martin's death in 1800 and Barowen also completed after 1800.)[10] The Farhad Baksh was such a unique and singular building even for Lucknow that there is no shortage of description, the earliest being in 1784[11] only three years after its completion. A visitor during Martin's lifetime would have approached the house from the south side through a lofty arched gateway and have walked through a shrubbery with winding paths interspersed with indigenous and foreign plants and trees To one side of the main building was a large zenana and to the other a garden 'not laid out with taste, but well filled with a variety of fine trees, shrubs, and flowers, together with all sorts of vegetables' [12] To enter the main house it was necessary to cross a drawbridge, because three sides of the building were surrounded by a moat, the fourth side being built out onto the river. The drawbridge led up a few steps to 'an elegant piazza'[13] which led into an octagon room [14] From this room other smaller apartments led off and the apartment nearest the river led in turn to the great hall overlooking the river and the north bank of the Gomti This was all on the ground floor, but the most curious feature were the two lower storeys built in the river—

the basement storey comprises two caves or recesses within the banks of the river and level with its surface when at the lowest decrease In these caves [Martin] generally lived in the hot season,


SUGGESTED PLAN OF THE
FARHAD BAKSH BEFORE 1800
N
River Gomti
Moat
Drawbridge
Dotted line – First Floor
Solid line – Ground Floor

when the increase of the river obliged him to remove. He then ascended another storey, to an apartment fitted up in the manner of a grotto; and when the further [*sic*] rise of the river brought its surface on a level with these, he proceeded up to the third storey or ground floor, which overlooked the river when at its greatest height

During the rainy season the river was estimated to rise about sixteen feet but after the monsoon it fell and remained at a fairly constant level for about eight months The grand hall on the first floor was built out over the river and supported by arches in turn resting on piers in the river sunk at a point about one fifth across the width of the river.[15]

Within the basement apartments were baths and fountains which sprayed water against the windows, 'which, when the hot winds prevail during the spring months, are kept covered in the day time with frames filled with green brambles, these being kept constantly wet by the fountains, cool the wind in its passage into the apartments, and thereby procure a constant temperature within, proportioned to the strength of the wind abroad, and capacity of the frames to retain the water dripping '[16] When the river fell at the end of the monsoon the mud which had accumulated in the basement rooms was removed and the rooms were annually repainted and decorated, and 'by this ingenious contrivance he preserved a moderate and equal temperature in his house at all seasons' [17]

'The upper apartments, with their terraces and turrets, are principally disposed for the purpose of sleeping in the open air, and recreation during the nights of the season.'[18] There was also 'in the attic storey, . . a musaeum, well supplied with various curiosities, and over the whole he erected an observatory, which he furnished with the best astronomical instruments'.[19] After Martin's death, when the house and zenana had been bought by Saadat Ali Khan and named the Farhad Baksh, it became the northern portion of a large palace complex. This complex was partially demolished and greatly altered after 1857, except for one portion, so by a strange quirk one can today see the Farhad Baksh stripped of most later additions and more or less as it appeared during Martin's life. The drawbridge, moat, arched gateway and zenana were all swept away in later improvements, and the interior has been divided up since the building became part of the Central Drug Re-

search Institute in post-independence India, but the octagon room is still identifiable and the arches of the basement storey are plainly exposed on the river side. A Survey carried out by the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research in New Delhi in the early 1970's found that any attempt to pump out the water from the two basement storeys would lead to unacceptable disturbances to the structure of the building, and it is for this reason that the water level is maintained by pumps in the lower rooms, for the building of a *bund* (an earth wall for flood prevention) along the Gomti bank means that the building no longer stands in the river. The basement rooms can be glimpsed through arches, but no apparent decoration is visible and only a thorough exploration by boat would reveal the nature of this storey.

Alterations have stripped off most of the internal decoration, but externally there are important features left which were eagerly seized upon by those who wished to 'europeanize' their buildings without radically altering the structure or nature of indigenous buildings. The festoon swags around the octagonal towers, for example, are repeated around the dome of the Shah Najaf, a large tomb further east along the Gomti bank, and in the Qaisarbagh courtyard; while the triangular pediment on the first floor recurs repeatedly, notably in the gateways of the Husainabad Imambara. The Composite Order pilasters and the mock Venetian blinds in octagonal cartouches and windows are of course quite ubiquitous, occurring in practically any existing nawabi building, and these false windows in stucco were particularly useful as decoration for the high blank walls of zenana apartments. While it is not being posited that the architects of these later buildings visited the Farhad Baksh and then deliberately copied these ornamentations on their own buildings, Martin's buildings, the first of their kind not only in Lucknow but also it would seem in northern India, provided the initial inspiration for much of the europeanization of later Indian buildings in the city, even if such buildings received their embellishments at second or third remove from the original instigator. The same pattern of copying non-essential features will be apparent again when Constantia is examined. The most important aspect of Martin's town house was, however, not copied by other architects

(with the exception of the builder of the Kurshid Manzil) and was ignored or unappreciated by local architects and later writers The defensive appearance of the building is not something which readily occurs to sightseers looking at the Farhad Baksh today One sees only the light and airy pavilions and regrets the loss of the 'elegant piazza' on the south side, while appreciating the ingenuity of the water cooled lower storeys. But the feature that struck pre-1800 commentators most forcibly was the fortified look of the building, and to neglect this would be to lose the essential nature of the building. It would be more appropriate to regard this building as a palace fortress rather than a town house Consider the contemporary descriptions of the Farhad Baksh. After noting the drawbridge entrance to the house the anonymous writer of 1784 says the moat could be filled

> at pleasure, either for the purpose of cooling the lower apartments or that of defence from the sudden attacks of banditti or rebels. This latter purpose of its construction will not appear very consistent with European notions of modern buildings . it is here, however, a most useful precaution, for the want of which Colonel Martin was near suffering severely in a neighbouring habitation during Cheit Sing's rebellion, when a body of rebels drew up in front of it to attack it, and had he not placed two small field-pieces at his doors, loaded with grape-shot, and himself at the head of his servants armed, which obliged the former to retreat

It should not be forgotten that although Martin seemed to be skilled in whatever he turned his hand to, from casting cannon to experimenting with air-balloons, he was primarily a military man with a deep interest in working out methods of defending buildings. When asked for example what he thought of a new silk factory built at Rungpur, he commended it saying 'it is a work fit to withstand a Bombardment'—not perhaps the first criterion one would think of for a silk factory even in the 1770's.[20] He was undoubtedly acutely aware of the dangers of sudden attack, especially to houses outside the city, as the Farhad Baksh originally was, and this building as well as Constantia should be seen in this light rather than just as architectural follies.

The town house then 'had the appearance of a fortified castle, and was indeed constructed with a view to defence, with

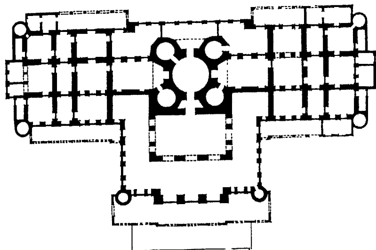
the draw-bridges, loop-holes, and turrets, and water, when desired, all round'.[21] A further description comments that 'The caprice of iron doors, massive walls, and narrow winding staircases, with drawbridges and battlements, give this house much the appearance of the castle in Blue Beard'.[22] Interior alterations completely changed the nature of the building, putting in wide staircases more in keeping with its later role as a nawabi palace. But it is more than likely that there was originally only one spiral staircase to the upper storeys in one of the octagonal towers, as was the case in Constantia, so that the house could be defended in the last resort by a few people retreating to the top of the building. It would not be surprising either if the observatory telescope in the roof kiosks was occasionally trained on the surrounding countryside as well as the heavens.

Towards the end of his life Martin began the construction of another large building to the east of the city called Constantia, from his motto 'Labore et Constantia' and this building came to be considered as his crowning achievement, or the height of folly, according to some critics. It may not give so much aesthetic pleasure as other buildings by Martin, but Constantia is undeniably one of the most spectacular buildings erected by Europeans in India.

If it is approached, stressing again the defensive aspect, one can begin to appreciate the priorities in the architect's mind. It is described just after Martin's death as

> a Gothic castle, which he did not live to finish. Beneath the ramparts of this castle he built casements, secured by iron doors and grating thickly wrought. The lodgements within the walls are arched and barred, and their roofs completely bomb proof. The castle is surrounded by a side and deep ditch, fortified on the outer side by stockades, and a regular covered way, so that the place is sufficiently protected to resist the attacks of any Asiatic power. Within the castle, he built a splendid mausoleum, in which he was interred.[23]

The last sentence is a reminder that Constantia was not simply a fortress, and indeed the difficulty of defining exactly what it was baffled many writers, a confusion not helped by the many architectural styles employed. Valentia saw it shortly after Martin's death and found it 'a strange fantastical building of every species of architecture, and adorned with minute stucco



LA MARTINIERE

Ground Floor Plan

fret-work, enormous red lions with lamps instead of eyes, Chinese mandarins and ladies with shaking heads and all the gods and goddesses of the heathen mythology'.[24]

It has a handsome effect at a distance, from a lofty tower in the centre with four turrets, but on a nearer approach, the wretched taste of the ornaments only excites contempt. A more extraordinary combination of Gothic towers, and Grecian pilaster, I believe, was never before devised. Within, the hall is very fine, but the other apartments are small and gloomy, loaded with stucco work, painted yellow, to imitate gilding.[25]

A later writer was equally critical—'the idea of it was probably taken from those castles of pastry which used to adorn desserts in former days'. The building was constructed

for the purpose of defence. The doors of the principal floor were plated with iron, and each window was protected by an iron grate. Loopholes from passages above gave the means of firing in perfect security upon any persons who should force their way into these lower apartments. The spiral stone staircases were blocked at intervals with iron doors; in short, the whole was framed for protracted and desperate resistance.[26]

But again, although defence was the main consideration, Constantia was also designed to be lived in, though Martin's untimely death meant that he spent little time there. Before it was finished a visitor described another singular feature of the building:

Under the principal apartment are subterraneous rooms, intended for the hot season. This plan of living underground during the hot months being quite experimental, it would perhaps have been more reasonable to make the trial on a less expensive scale. The heat and smoke and smell arising from the number of lamps necessary to light the dark chambers and passages, seemed alone sufficient to render the success of the scheme more than doubtful. In the middle of the largest of these dark rooms the Colonel had already raised his tomb, and the number of lights to be burned there, night and day, *for ever* and the sum allotted for this purpose, were already mentioned, but it was not said what was to be the state and distinction of the immense structure above when its eccentric founder should have taken possession of his narrow chamber below.[27]

In fact Martin decided that Constantia should become a school and left a large sum of money to provide scholarships for boys

of all religions Because of immense legal wrangles in the Calcutta High Court, Martin's Will was not finally proved until 1840 and the house was used before then as a guest house for Europeans visiting Lucknow It had no connections either with the Residency (although Lord Moira, a Governor General had stayed there in 1814) or with the nawabi court, and it was managed by superintendents appointed by the Supreme Court of Jurisdiction in Calcutta [28] These superintendents included Joseph Quieros the steward of Constantia, Martin's adopted son James, and two members of the Deverinne family who had known Martin well. The superintendence of the building was still in the hands of Mutchoo and Choda (Chota) Qadir and their sons, Martin's Muslim servants

In 1840 additional building began, supervised by Lieutenant Cunningham and later Lieutenant Fraser, engineers working for the East India Company Martin had left explicit if confusing directions for two semi-circular wings to be added to the original buildings Directions were also left by Martin for the building of the zenana which was to provide shelter for his two mistresses, the 'faithful girl Lize' and Girl Sally, as long as they cared to remain there The zenana building was to be a good puckka house with a compound and an enclosure and was to be built on the same plan as the zenana attached to the town house.[29]

The central portion of Constantia consists of four circular 'wells'sunk to a depth of twenty feet below the water level, and these wells continue to the top of the building as octagonal towers containing rooms and one spiral staircase This staircase, barred at intervals by iron doors was a defensive measure, so that the inhabitants, if attacked, could retreat to the top of the building, firing from the parapets and arrow slits or loopholes as they went The four wells were constructed for the dual purpose of cooling the air by a series of pottery ducts (which are set into the walls of the wells and allow cool air to be drawn up through the walls—the air would disperse, on becoming heated, through eight funnels on the roof) and to provide drainage especially during the monsoon season when the nearby Gomti overflowed its banks On the ground floor are the chapel and library, originally reception rooms, which are elaborately decorated with Wedgwood-type plaques and medallions. The sixteen-sided room, which has a slightly

domed ceiling is repeated between the octagonal towers; originally eight doorways led off from this room but five have now been blocked up. The word 'doorway' hardly conveys the idea of these communicating passages between the hall and the outer rooms The passage leading into the long room on the north side, for example, measures five foot eight inches in width and retains the original iron hinges at both ends of this passage, so it could be doubly barred by the iron doors

Ascending to the terrace of the first floor, the most striking features are undoubtedly the twelve lions guarding the circular staircases terminating on this terrace [30] A closer examination shows the niches in the rear of the lions in which lamps were formerly placed, and the wall steps leading to the battlemented towers. Traces of the red paint Valentia remarked on can still be seen in places The rooms on the first floor are decorated in a rather more chaste style than the reception rooms on the ground floor The passageways between these rooms were also intended to be barred with heavy iron doors and the hinges on which the doors were hung are still visible. The image of massive iron doors constrasts badly with the delicate stucco tracery of the walls and ceiling.

The second floor terrace has a less defensive appearance, being softened by the open pillared cupolas, while the upper two storeys are confined to the four octagonal towers ascending from the core of the building. At the very summit. which was once crowned by statues, two arches springing from the octagonal towers bisect each other at their highest points, topped today by a flagstaff.

Practically every portion of Constantia was copied by architects and builders with varying degress of faithfulness On the ground floor, for example, one finds that the one-storey octagonal towers surmounted by battlements may well have inspired the builder of the Kurshid Manzil, Captain McLeod, to erect a miniature castle surrounded by a moat and drawbridge like Martin's town house [31] A pale imitation of the lions at the battlements is still to be found on the gateway of the Shah Najaf, finished before 1827, while the Sher Darwaza (lion gate) a part of the Qaisarbagh complex, supported two marble lions which were later moved to Government House but subsequently lost

One feature that was certainly solely attributable to Martin and indeed acknowledged to be so was the frequent and sometimes inappropriate use of statues Honoria Lawrence who visited Lucknow in December 1842 wrote—

> a very strange accompaniment to a Musulman city, [32] to wit, statues innumerable of every imaginable design, from a gigantic soldier, painted to the life and presenting his arms with a most valiant air, to Jupiter, Venus and all other personages entitled by prescriptive right to stand up in every material from Parian marble to plaster of Paris On one side Hercules flourished his club at you-on the other stands a shepherd in a tie-wig and three cornered hat, making love to a shepherdess in hoop and ruffles The material is stucco, and these figures must be a sore abomination to 'true believers' They were introduced about half a century ago by a certain General Martine [33]

P.C. Mookherji adds, 'Martin taught some of the local artificiers of his day how to carve out figures from stone Not a few learnt the art and practised it in plaster, the want of the former material compelling them to have recourse to the latter' [34] These statues came in for an enormous amount of invective from European travellers. Valentia's criticism on 'the wretched taste of the ornaments' was only the first of many Apart from Constantia there are now no buildings embellished with such works, but they were certainly as frequent as Honoria Lawrence describes, and at least two post-1857 photographs show statues Wajid Ali Shah was especially fond of such works and an early photograph of one of the Qaisarbagh gateways, before it was trimmed down to its present form, clearly shows figures supporting two 'crowns' at the top of the gate. Another photograph shows the Mermaid Gate, also in Qaisarbagh, and the bizarre spiral staircase to one side, the columns of which were topped by stucco women in pleated dresses, their hair in classical chignons, and holding hoops The Dilkusha too, built about 1805, has female statues on the rear balustrades of the building Not all of Lucknow's statues were made to embellish buildings, however, and during the 1830's and the 1840's they were used to decorate gardens, often with results that seemed ludicrous to critical European eyes.

The final feature of Constantia, the quadrant arches, appear again on the two remaining gateways to the Qaisarbagh, built between 1848–1850, and it must be said that in this case the la-

ter arches are more satisfactory than the rather abrupt features of Martin's building.

But again it will be clear that all the features of Constantia and the Farhad Baksh that were copied or adapted for Lucknow buildings not designed by Europeans are still 'non-essential' features, i e they are for embellishment only and do not involve any structural modifications to indigenous buildings. It is easy, on first acquaintance with Lucknow architecture to be confused by the eclectic features of the buildings, but one must look beyond the idea that all the buildings were 'European' or degenerate European and ask how much the europeanization changed the essential nature of such buildings In many cases the europeanization was very superficial, especially in religious buildings which tend to follow traditional patterns more than dwelling places do. Nothing is lost by adding Corinthian pilasters and Adam style fanlights to the outer wall of a kerbala. They do not alter the arrangement of the rooms and the shrines inside the building and no-one's taste is offended, except perhaps that of the European purist

Again, in private houses of a traditional pattern there was no harm in employing a stuccador to embellish the doors with broken pediments and swags and it was easy to mould Corinthian or Tuscan features around columns supporting the usual verandah of the inner courtyards. A vast amount of such decoration has been lost as the stucco falls away from such buildings revealing the bricks underneath, exhibiting the truly ephemeral and superficial nature of these embellishments They were no more than skin deep. The use of statues too was another easy way to europeanize a building with minimal disruption to the inhabitants' life-style within There is an interesting description which was written in 1845 of a building now lost:

> we passed an edifice of extraordinary size, where the rules of art would have required a great number of tall windows in front The spaces for them indeed were there but, as no Mahometan likes to have any toward the street, they were all, on both stories completely walled up Something however being necessary to break the dismal monotony of the solid masonry, each niche intended for a window was, with truly Oriental bad taste, filled up with figures as large as life, representing men of every age and every rank, painted *al fresco* in

the most gaudy colours Picture to yourself a house with sixty large windows ornamented in this manner! The one above described is a 'Mehalla' or harem' [35]

Thus a traditional building like the zenana, though decorated with blank window niches filled with statues remained essentially untouched in its true function by the addition of these embellishments, which could not of course be appreciated by the inhabitants

The mention of the zenana leads one on to consider the problem of how this traditional feature was maintained when buildings were europeanized, or when buildings based on European models were erected. Some builders dealt with the problem by keeping the layout of traditional houses unchanged and merely adding decorative features in stucco. Other builders adopted a different approach and constructed the public or 'masculine' part of the house in the European style but kept the zenana in the traditional style of a distinct, though attached building, with very high, windowless walls, sometimes decorated with European features in stucco The siting of the zenana was another problem and one finds Claude Martin involved here in what would seem to be a purely Muslim matter. It is obvious that a zenana with its essential high blank walls cannot easily be incorporated into a European building without seriously impairing the symmetry of such a building. Even if placed at the rear of such a building it then detracts from the rear approach to the house, and the European buildings discussed here were designed to be equally impressive from all angles. So Martin's mistresses, who lived in partial purdah, were housed in a separate building near enough the main public building and probably connected by some form of covered way, but their zenana was not an integral part of the Farhad Baksh or Constantia and did not therefore detract from the symmetry of these buildings. In some European-style buildings for Indians the zenana was attached, despite the different architectural styles. The Asafi Kothi, for example, built originally as a free-standing building, had a zenana added to the right hand wing, which is nearly but not quite contemporary, implying that it was found inconvenient by Asaf-ud-daula not to have his zenana attached to the main building.

The best example of a European style house with attached

zenana is that of a house built in the once important town of Kakori, about ten miles south-west of Lucknow. The history of the house is unfortunately obscure, but the building appears to be fairly late, i.e. after 1840 and was originally surrounded by high walls, of which only one doorway remains. The main section, the men's portion, is purely European and very handsome too, while the attached zenana to the left has its own inner courtyard, invisible of course to curious eyes, even from the main building. This zenana is still occupied by the widowed descendant of the original owner, and her daughter Though neither are in purdah, there is no question of them living in the men's section of the building, even when it was habitable. They cling firmly to the traditional and familiar part of the building, the zenana, while the European section crumbles poignantly about them.

Thus only a comparatively small number of European buildings exerted any influence over native buildings in the city and the reasons for the rapid decline in grand European buildings after about 1800 have been examined Elements from Martin's buildings have been traced in a wide variety of later native buildings, and there is no doubt that the impact of non-essential features, copied from the Farhad Baksh and Constantia was massive. Despite the great destruction of pre-1856 buildings, such features appear over and over again in all kinds of buildings, great and small, religious and secular But it should be stressed again that the majority of these elements which gave Lucknow's buildings a European air did not produce many radical changes in the life-styles of the inhabitants of such buildings. The europeanization of Lucknow remained superficial, in most cases no more than the stucco decoration on an Indian wall Native life continued to revolve around the inner courtyards and the zenana apartments of traditional houses, whether these houses were embellished with European features or not. Even those houses built for or by Indians entirely in the European style, like Bibiapur or the Dilkusha, were usually modified by the addition of a zenana, private imambaras and a huddle of servants' quarters; or they were neglected by the owners after a short time because they were not convenient for the Indian way of life.

CHAPTER EIGHT

INFORMATION ON ARCHITECTURE FROM EUROPE

The eighty years that witnessed the rise and decline of nawabi power in Oudh was one of the most exciting periods of British architecture and saw in quick succession the remnants of strict Palladian modes, the rise of Neo-Classicism which drifted into the Greek revival, and the growing importance of the Neo-Gothic style as well as flirtations with Etruscan interpretations, Chinoiserie and Indian Gothic.

By the 1770's the influence of Palladio in Britain had become somewhat less important, and although his shadow still fell over the remainder of the eighteenth century a new interest was provided by the Adam brothers who published their first influential volume, *Works in Architecture*, in 1773. In this they explained what they were trying to do—'We flatter ourselves, we have been able to seize, with some degree of success, the beautiful spirit of antiquity and to transpose it, with novelty and variety, through all our numerous works'. In the place of the 'massive entablature, the ponderous compartment ceiling, the tabernacle frame' they adopted a 'beautiful variety of light mouldings, gracefully formed, delicately enriched and arranged with propriety and skill'[1] The brothers, Robert and James, could not have known the enthusiasm with which their ideas on delicate mouldings would be received in Lucknow, where even as late as 1850 their arabesques and swags were still being translated in stucco on the Qaisarbagh palace complex Robert Adam was one of the leading exponents of the Neo-Classical movement spreading from France and Italy in the middle of the eighteenth century. This pleasing style received

tremendous impetus from archaeological discoveries made at Herculaneum and Pompeii in the mid-eighteenth century and led to a series of 'Etruscan' rooms in the dull red, black and yellow colours of vases being found in Italy [2] Several books in Claude Martin's Lucknow library reflect this interest.

While Robert Adam was stamping his unique imprint on houses in Britain, the first traces of Gothic were to be found at Strawberry Hill and Fonthill Abbey, although eighteenth century Gothic has a frivolousness about it far removed from the earnestness of Victorian Gothic and should be seen in conjunction with other exotic styles like the Chinoiserie of Kew or the Indian Gothic of Brighton Pavilion. The first years of the nineteenth century saw the ascendance of the Regency style, exemplified by Sir John Soane and especially John Nash, and seen at its best in the terraces of Cheltenham and Bath, and in Nash's work in Regent's Park.

The beginning of the Victorian period saw at first a confusion of styles and a profusion of new techniques (notably the greatly increased use of iron and glass, which took some time to be fully exploited). and while the Gothic forces were gathering strength there were still plenty of buildings erected which would not have been out of place twenty or thirty years earlier, for example the British Museum, built 1842–7. By the end of our period, i.e. 1856, the high Victorian style was in full flower, with many striking examples of polychromatic tiling, stained glass windows, and the iron and glass fantasy of the Crystal Palace—not to mention the utilitarian buildings like Brunel's Royal Albert Bridge and the functional King's Cross Station in London.

It will be obvious from this brief survey of architectural trends that during less than a century all manner of changes took place and several distinct styles were employed consecutively and concurrently in Britain and Europe One might therefore reasonably expect these changes to be reflected in the buildings in Lucknow of this period, knowing something of the Oudh court's obsession with novelties from the West The nawabs would certainly have seen much of Western architecture, with its rapid transitions of style, as novelties, compared to the unchanging nature of much indigenous architecture. But the curious thing is that the europeanized

architecture of Lucknow is strangely static and that after a brief flurry between 1780 and 1800 it does not evolve or progress in the same manner as buildings did in the West This cannot obviously be blamed on a cessation of architectural information from the West, for by 1856 there were many more Europeans in Lucknow than there had been during the late eighteenth century, and communications between Europe and inland towns like Lucknow had greatly improved.[3] It is true, as shown earlier, that the majority of Europeans in Lucknow were not in a position to indulge in architectural flights of fancy in their own homes after about 1800, but there was certainly no dearth of visual and written information about new developments in the West that the nawabs and their nobles could have exploited for their buildings.

And yet there is a definite *lack* of development in nawabi buildings when compared to the rapid evolution taking place in Europe It is as though the European buildings of Lucknow were 'set' in some curious way about 1800 and were then incapable of further change, as one understands it. The Qaisarbagh, the last great project of the nawabs, is not, for example, a mid-Victorian building in any sense. It is, if one wishes to describe it in European architectural terms, a series of early nineteenth century terraces with eighteenth century Baroque overtones, complete with Adam garlands and swags There is no reflection in Lucknow (apart from the Residency church) of the important nineteenth century Gothic style or of the Victorian experiments with new materials. The Iron Bridge, by a strange quirk of fate, was undoubtedly the most advanced structure to appear in India when it was first conceived in 1812, but by the time it was erected in 1846/7 time had caught up with it and it was no longer remarkable

If then Lucknow's European buildings did not progress along lines parallel to those in the West, did they in fact develop at all? The answer must it seems be 'to a limited extent', but the very way in which this minimal development took place is in itself interesting. There are two facets of this 'development' which must be looked at, both hitherto unrecorded, or at least not considered significant previously.

A close acquaintanceship with Lucknow's remaining nawabi building, and with photographs and drawings, makes

apparent the involuted nature of a good proportion of these buildings and the way in which they fed upon each other to produce similar buildings, which in turn provided more material for other buildings. The word 'involuted' is not used here in a pejorative sense because it is something more than the mere copying of details which was examined in the previous chapter. It is as if the builders of European houses, or of houses with a European bias, became reluctant to look outside the city for new models and ideas shortly after the beginning of the nineteenth century and this reluctance caused them to turn in upon themselves and concentrate on producing variations of buildings already existing in Lucknow. One can see here something of a parallel with the way in which Muslim poets (of whom there were and are many in Lucknow) were reworking traditional themes in Persian poetry, where the poet was judged not so much by his originality in choosing new themes but by the way in which he brought fresh interpretations to bear on old and well-tried stories. The beauty of so much Urdu poetry of the nawabi period lies in the associations the poet makes with things familiar to the listener, and the skill of the poet is in urging his audience to re-examine, and more importantly to re-interpret, the well-known images which may have become mundane by frequent usage. It does not seem fanciful to assert that this is what some of Lucknow's unknown architects were trying to do—they were reinterpreting the buildings laid down by the early European adventurers, and this important aspect should be considered distinct from the simple copying which was also taking place.

The two examples of this reinterpretation which come most easily to mind are the Darshan Bilas, built probably during the time of Ghazi-ud-din Haider and forming part of the Chattar Manzil palace complex, and the Khurshid Manzil. Another name for the Darshan Bilas (roughly translated as 'Delightful Sight') is the Chaurukhi Kothi, or 'House of four faces (or aspects)' because each side of this building represents the facade of another of Lucknow's European buildings. The rear of the building is based on the riverside facade of the Farhad Baksh while the front is the main facade of the Dilkusha The two wings are both based on the rear facade of Barowen (so strictly speaking there are only three facades reutilised here)

and though the interpretation of the wings is not quite so strict as the Dilkusha facade, the characteristics of Barowen are clear—the arched entrances with groups of four columns, the elaborate double arches of the fanlights, the neat ovals on the first floor terrace with ornamental urns and the round towers on the roof. The four facades are blended together in the Darshan Bilas in an admirable way. They are not slavish copies of the three buildings represented here, but they are not so different that they cannot be immediately indentified by someone who has seen Barowen, the Dilkusha and the Farhad Baksh.

The Khurshid Manzil, which was finished by Ghazi-ud-din Haider in 1818, is based to some extent on the 'New House of the Nawab' drawn by Smith in 1814[4] which shows a two-storeyed building with a large central dome, and eight very distinctive towers running the whole height of the building and topped by battlements It is these towers, isolated without a connecting first floor, that are the most striking feature of the Khurshid Manzil. Other similarities become evident as soon as one's attention is drawn to the two buildings, notably the wide bow front with three doorways, the rustication of the ground floor, and the decorative frieze dividing the two storeys. The distinctive towers are of course familiar from Constantia, where they appear at the eight corners of the ground floor, and the last appearance of these battlemented towers, after the various translations of the 'New House' and the Khurshid Manzil, is at Alambagh (a country palace built by Wajid Ali Shah) where they are employed at the four corners of a two-storeyed house. So one can see that the idea of a building with towers at each corner has been interpreted in various ways, all of them different, and all of them interesting and successful buildings in their own right

The element of copying from existing buildings, as opposed to a reinterpretation, one sees most clearly in the Dilkusha This is almost an exact replica of Seaton Delavel, an English building by Sir John Vanbrugh in Northumberland, which appears in *Vitruvius Britannicus* in 1721 This, incidentally, is another building with octagonal towers at each corner, which may well have made it especially attractive to Saadat Ali Khan, during whose time it was built. But again the native facility for adaptation has been at work, for although the main building of

the Dilkusha has been fairly closely imitated, the stables to the left of it are not based on the stables at Seaton Delavel. They represent an original idea, whereby the central element of the rear facade of the Dilkusha, i.e the semicircular arch over the central doorway and the rusticated double pillars with their rectangular pediments, is incorporated and used as the centrepiece for the long low row of stables which complement the main building so aptly.

The idea of copying existing building in Lucknow was established at an early stage of the nawabi period, for one of the first references to a European house is to that of Asaf-ud-daula who had a house built 'in imitation of one belonging to Mr. Orr, on the northern bank of the Gumti, nearly opposite the palace'.[5] Doubtless there were many more examples of both imitations and interpretations of earlier building in Lucknow which have subsequently been demolished, though enough has been said to show that if one concentrates on the early nawabi period from about 1775 to 1800 and examines the kind of architectural information available in the city at that time, one will in fact be looking at most of the material needed for the whole period up to 1856. It is not of course claimed that there were no innovations at all after 1800; there were enough minor variations, especially in the quality of the workmanship, to enable one to date European-style buildings with some degree of accuracy, but the foundations, and the word is used advisedly, were laid down in this early period for later works.

To build European houses in India it was not enough merely to be a European or an Indian with westernized tastes Memories and impressions of buildings in Europe had to be reinforced by books, prints and drawings, and sometimes an apprenticeship in building, though lack of this attribute was seldom thought the handicap one would today consider it to be. It is necessary to look at the two main sources of architectural information present in northern India, the written and illustrated material, which provided inspiration for the amateur and the engineers of the East India Company who adapted their European training to local conditions and materials

It is appropriate to learn what kind of architectural informa-

tion Claude Martin had access to, since his buildings exerted such influence in Lucknow. One starts with an enormous disadvantage, for on Martin's death the entire contents of his houses and his vast library containing four thousand books and manuscripts were sold by auction and there was no attempt to keep the collection together. A few odd volumes with Martin's library imprint have since come to light,[6] but it must be considered that the bulk of the collection, together with numerous prints, drawings and paintings, not to mention the ground plans of his buildings, are irretrievably lost. Nevertheless, one can reconstruct Martin's library to some extent by examining the inventories drawn up when his possessions were catalogued prior to the auction of his estate on 10 March 1801 in Calcutta.[7] Although the cataloguer has curtailed the book titles and authors drastically, the following titles provide an idea of the wide range of books about the fine arts and topics related to architecture and gardening which were present in Martin's library, and which were presumably made available to his friends in Lucknow

(The titles of the books, as they are given in the inventory, are in italics. Where it has been possible to trace the book the correct title is given in inverted commas)

D'Ankervilles Recherches sur les Arts Probably 'Antiques Etrusques, Grecques et Romaines, Gravees par F.A David, avec leurs Explications par D'Hancarville' (Paris 1785).
Dictionnaire de Jardinier.
Lumsden's Antiquities of Rome.
Builders Magazine (two volumes). 'The Builder's Magazine' (London 1774)
Architecture de Blondelle. Francoise Blondel wrote several books on architecture, including *Nouvelle manier de fortifier les places* (Paris 1689), *Resolution des quatre principaux problems d'architecture* (Paris 1673), and *Cours d'architecture*, in two volumes (Paris 1688).
Copper Plate Magazine, one volume. 'The Copper Plate Magazine or Monthly Cabinet of Picturesque Prints consisting of Sublime and Interesting Views in Great Britain and Ireland' in five volumes (London 1792–1802)

Bucks Antiquities 'Bucks Antiquities: or Venerable Remains of above 400 Castles, Monasteries, Palaces etc in England and Wales With near 100 views of Cities and Chief Towns' in three volumes (Messrs Samuel and Nathaniel Buck, London 1774).

Le Clercs Architecture 'Les Plans et les status des differents etablissements ordonnes par Sa Majestie Imperiale Catharine II pour l'education de la jeuness, et l'utilie generale de son Empire' (Le Clerc, 1775).

In addition to the engravings in these books Martin also had a large collection of paintings and drawings, many uncatalogued save as 'a selection of prints' but which included an oil painting of the Rialto, Venice, and numerous views near Naples and Rome, as well as forty-four views by William and Thomas Daniell Although these views were mainly of Indian buildings they were also useful for recording contemporary architectural developments in Calcutta and other centres where Europeans had settled and begun building The inventory of items at the Farhad Baksh also mentions 'One Magical Lanthorn' and boxes of 'Glass Pictures with Cards for the Lanthorn', although it is not clear what the pictures portrayed Martin's library certainly contained the largest collection of books in European languages in Lucknow, and judging by similar inventories from 1780 to 1800, was probably one of the finest collections in northern India.

In many cases the various cataloguers were at fault in drawing up inventories and frequently list items simply as '16 old books' or 'odd books', but a study of inventories shows that there were a few standard architectural books widely bought by Europeans, especially the popular *A New and Complete Dictionary of Arts and Sciences* by 'A Society of Gentlemen', published in London in 1754, in four volumes A Mr Hemonseau of Calcutta whose estate was sold in 1800 owned two volumes of 'Palladio's Architecture' (*sic*) and 'One book of Architecture' by Jacques Barrozzio, but generally views and illustrated books like *The Copper-Plate Magazine* were the most popular To read these eighteenth century architectural books is to appreciate that the building of houses, large or small, had not at that time become the exact science it is today Naturally there were at that period celebrated architects in Europe, often

working under royal patronage, but for many 'country gentlemen' architecture was not so much a strict profession as a serious hobby in which they engaged for a time, rather as they pursued archaeological excavations—with the enthusiasm and dedication of the amateur paving the way for a later generation of professionals. The title-page of *The Builder's Magazine* illustrates this intelligent interest excellently—

> The Builder's Magazine or Monthly Companion For Architects, Carpenters, Masons, Bricklayers etc. as well as for Every Gentleman who would wish to be a competent Judge of the elegant and necessary Art of Building. Consisting of Designs in Architecture. In Every Stile and Taste, from the most magnificent and superb Structures, down to the most simple and unadorned, together with the Plans and Sections, serving as an unerring Assistant in the Construction of any Building, from a Palace to a Cottage. In which will be introduced Grand and Elegant Designs for Chimney-Pieces, Cieling, [*sic*] Doors, Windows, etc. Proper for Halls, Saloons, Vestibules, State Rooms, Dining Rooms, Parlours, Drawing Rooms, Anti-Rooms, [*sic*] Dressing Rooms, Bed Rooms etc. together with Designs for Churches, Hospitals, and other Public Buildings. Also Plans, Elevations and Sections, in the Greek, Roman and Gothic Taste, calculated to embellish Parks, Gardens, Forests, Woods, Canals, Mounts, Vistos [*sic*] Islands, extensive views etc. The Whole Forming a Complete System of Architecture, in all its Branches and so disposed, as to render the Surveyor, Carpenter, Mason etc. equally capable to erect a Cathedral, a Mansion, a Temple, or a Rural Cot.

The work was in two parts, the first theoretical, with 'such instructions as are necessary to form the complete Architect' and the second practical, with 'Plans, Elevations, Sections, etc. with their Explanations, as models for the practical Builder'.

The book lives up to its promise of the title page (though one might hesitate to embark on a cathedral without some practical experience), and it defines architectural terms in great detail, including instructions on how to take moulds in plaster of Paris and how to make cement. There are a lot of detailed notes about various types of bricks which are most suitable for different types of building. The handsome plates in the second half of the book show many designs for mansions and villas as well as internal decorations for ceilings and wall panels, and detailed instructions on the construction of proper brick and

stone arches. Although this book was intended for carpenters, masons, bricklayers, etc. as well as 'gentlemen' the price of such a work would surely have placed it far above the reach of the ordinary manual worker, even supposing the worker to be literate, so it was presumably bought by the gentlemen who intended having a house built and wished to supervise the people engaged in the actual construction. The very detailed illustrations would show the illiterate worker the effect that the architect was aiming at.

Two other books which were known in northern India in the 1780's define the role of the architect at that time—he is 'a person skilled in architecture, who not only draws the plans of edifices, but superintends and directs the artificiers' while 'architecture or the art of Building, includes a multitude of subordinate arts, such as masonry, Carpentry, and those of Bricklayers, Tylers, Slaters, Glaziers, Smiths, Plasterers etc. As to Architecture, properly so called, it considers the Solidity, Conveniency, Beauty, and Proportion of all manner of Buildings' (*A New and Complete Dictionary of Arts and Sciences*). *The Builder's Magazine* says it is the architect's business to consider the whole manner and method of the building and to calculate the expense, 'In the management of which, he ought to have regard to its situation, contrivance, strength, beauty, form and materials. The term Architect is also used for the surveyor or superintendant of an edifice, the management being wholly committed to his circumspection'.[8]

The architect, then, was to be a man of many parts, actively concerned in the erection of the building he had drawn up and placed in a suitable spot, but he was not always a professional who made his living solely by designing and supervising building. One would not, for example, describe Claude Martin as an architect in any professional sense, although he fulfilled precisely the conditions laid down in the extracts quoted above. The idea of the gifted amateur or gentleman builder persisted for much longer in India than it did in England and Europe, doubtless often more from necessity than inclination As late as 1843 George Johnson was complaining about European architecture in Calcutta, saying there was 'not one architect of sufficient taste to furnish a decent design'.[9] The British in India, when they wanted anything built, had to use

engineers of the military service and 'the edifices erected from designs furnished by private gentlemen, who fancy they are lighted by Palladio's lamp are often dreadful abortions'.[10] Johnson's criticisms are rather unjust for there were certainly professional Indian architects in Calcutta in 1790 who were quite competent at building in the European style William Hickey who lived in Calcutta had a native architect, a Bengali, from whom he procured 'a plan and estimate for one verandah from the bottom to the top of the house', and Hickey was obviously pleased with this man's work for he had the same architect draw up plans for his new house at Chinsurah. 'He ... gave me three different drawings· I adopted the one that most resembled my town residence though upon a much smaller scale ' The building was executed 'in a very masterly and capital style '[11]

But there is no evidence to show whether these native architects from Calcutta travelled up-country to Lucknow, and one must therefore postulate that European buildings in the city were erected by three different groups of people. First the gifted amateurs of the late eighteenth century, like Martin and Polier, who were fulfilling that century's definition of architect as men concerned with every aspect of planning and construction who organized and taught their own workforces with the help of written and illustrated material Secondly the unknown local builders who became adept at copying and reinterpreting the buildings that men like Martin and Polier had erected, and who may well have employed people who had worked for the Europeans And lastly the engineers of the East India Company, employed both by the nawabs and the Company in Lucknow.

Two things should be said here about these engineers. Firstly, only in a very few cases is it known exactly what they were working on in the city Not until the 1840's does one begin to get engineers' reports, and then only in a few cases. Their work and influence in the city is therefore an unknown factor and possibly the most serious gap that exists in the history of Lucknow's architecture. The second point is the extremely casual nature of training given to the early engineers, some of whom seem considerably less competent than gifted amateurs like Martin. 'There was no expert or unified control

of engineering in the eighteenth century,' wrote Sandes, author of *The Military Engineer in India*,[12] and it was not until the 1750's that engineers were sent to India with some training in building, albeit the building of fortifications rather than dwelling places. The Chief Engineer of the Western Settlement (Bombay), who was said to be a very skillful engineer, received £40 a year as an engineer but £200 a year as the Captain of Artillery, showing the relative importance given to the two professions at that time

It was not until 1812 that the Institution for Royal Engineers was founded at Chatham and 1826 before C W. Pasley, principal of the institution, published his handbook *Outline of a Course of Practical Architecture, compiled for the use of the Junior Officers of Royal Engineers.* In his preface Pasley wrote about junior officers 'who are often sent to the British colonies soon after they enter His Majesty's Service and are there required to perform duties, analogous to those of Architects or Civil Engineers, without having had any previous opportunity of acquiring a Practical Knowledge of the details of those duties',[13] and Sten Nilsson has shown from the library of Fort William College in Calcutta that it was not only gentlemen builders who relied on *The Builder's Magazine* and *Vitruvius Britannicus* but these early engineers as well [14]

As might be expected, the engineers' chief concern in India was with military buildings, forts, cantonments, bridges and roads, and it is through this military connection that the first European engineers arrived at the Oudh court In 1773 Antoine Polier (1741–94) 'fut nommé à la Cour de Shuja ud daulah en qualite d'architecte',[15] and the career of this important man should be briefly noted Polier's work in India has unfortunately been greatly overshadowed by that of Claude Martin, to which there are of course, obvious similarities Because Polier left no buildings in Oudh which can be positively identified he has been rather neglected, although he was in a position to exert as much if not more architectural influence as Martin since he, Polier, was the official architect and engineer at the nawabi court. The most likely reason for his neglect is that he never appeared to become embroiled in court affairs as Martin and others did, and he is one of the few important Europeans who was not a creditor of Asaf-ud-daula, although

he did die owing money to Martin [16] The first mention of Polier in his capacity as engineer is about 1765 when he was the Chief Engineer in the East India Company working on Fort William in Calcutta.[17] He then moved to Faizabad (where the Oudh court was situated at that time), became a close friend of Shuja-ud-daula and was probably responsible for much of the work on the Faizabad Fort, which was a far less onerous undertaking than the larger and more complex Fort William It is not known if Polier accompanied Asaf-ud-daula to Lucknow on the latter's removal to the new capital, but in 1780 a request was made to the Board of Directors of the East India Company that they 'confirm his appointment of Architect and Engineer in the Nabob's Service' [18] The Company sanctioned this appointment and Polier settled in Lucknow, but only two years later he wrote to the Company asking if they would reinstate him as his appointment as Court Architect and Engineer 'had been annulled'.[19] No reason was given for the annulment, but Polier received permission to remain in Lucknow as Company surveyor for Oudh.[20] He lived there until January 1788[21] and further exemplifies the existence of Europeans employed and paid by the nawabs while nominally attached to the Company There is no information about what Polier did while in Lucknow except that he became a close friend of Martin's and was engaged in producing the perfume known as attar of roses,[22] presumably as a hobby. He returned to Europe in 1788 and was killed in a brawl in 1794–5. During his residence in Lucknow an important painting was executed by Zoffani sometime between 1784 and 1786 which is described thus—'The interior of an apartment, probably in Colonel Polier's House at Lucknow, with a group of nine figures The artist [Zoffani] seated at an easel, painting. Colonel Martin holding dividers in his right hand, is explaining to Major Wombwell [the Company accountant] the plans held by a native servant of a house he is about to build near Lucknow'.[23] Polier also appears in the painting dressed in military uniform.

Five years before Polier's second appointment to the court, Asaf-ud-daula had requested another European officer as architect—

The Nabob . . requested me to procure him the plan of a house after the European taste, and Captain Marsack being at that time at Luck-

now, I troubled him for one which His Excellency [the Nawab] desired of Captain Marsack to execute for him, but he declined to do it without being properly authorised. His Excellency has since desired of me to apply to the Honourable Board for their permission for Captain Charles Marsack to superintend the Building [24]

This interesting letter shows not only the nawab's liking for European houses at the beginning of his rule (thus refuting several critics, notably Maulana Sharar and Dr Fuehrer who claimed Saadat Ali Khan was responsible for 'degenerate' European buildings) but also the extremely casual nature of these first designs The letter above gives the impression that Marsack could have produced anything that looked sufficiently 'European' and it would have satisfied the nawab. It is not even clear whether Captain Marsack was among the Company's engineers at the time, for two years later he was claiming expenses incurred while raising a regiment for Asaf-ud-daula [25]

It must be stressed that neither Captain Marsack nor Lieut. Bellas (another builder working for Asaf-ud-daula) were considered architects per se. Marsack was primarily a soldier, and even Bellas, who was obviously competent, was called merely an engineer who 'is well acquainted with the art of building' To what extent the professions of 'engineer' and 'architect' were interchangeable in pre-1857 India is something which has never been fully examined. indeed the first time the question was raised would seem to be in 1968 in Sten Nilsson's pioneer work.[26] Without greater research all one can say at present is that Europeans in Lucknow are found classed as 'engineers', as 'architects' and as 'engineers and architects,' and that while one does not find architects engaged to erect a bridge or to build a road one certainly finds engineers engaged in domestic buildings and palaces. Of all the Europeans known to have been in the city during the nawabi period, only three gave their profession as 'architect' and two of these, Antoine Polier and William Trickett (who worked in Lucknow from 1815 to 1836), also called themselves engineers. The remaining Europeans who were known to have been actively connected with building in Lucknow were all engineers and the meagre details that exist about their work will be examined now.

After the request for Lieutenant Bellas in 1793 there are no resident engineers recorded at the court until 1811 when Captain McLeod arrived, having been 'lent to Saadat Ali Khan to superintend the construction of some buildings',[27] and to survey the Gomti for the erection of the Iron Bridge.[28] During 1812 the Captain was engaged in 'submitting information and guidance' for the artist who was to design the Iron Bridge. McLeod had carried out a survey of the proposed site and 'his talents and ingenuity displayed ... in preparing an elegant Model of a Bridge, as well as from other professional sketches and designs, for the satisfaction and gratification of the Vizier, have been so highly agreeable to His Excellency that he wants him to superintend the execution of some other works of importance which are at present in His Excellency's contemplation'.[29]

It was at this point that McLeod's salary was raised to £150 per month although he was still considered as working for the Company—for in June 1813 he resumed his duties as 'Superintendent of the Military Road' while continuing in the nawab's service. But only a month later McLeod decided to resign his job as Superintendent of the road, 'preferring to remain in the Nabob Vizier's employ'.[30] He was given a house by Saadat Ali Khan and Rs 5,000 for its repair and the building of seven 'out offices' for kitchens and sculleries.[31] On the nawab's death Ghazi-ud-din Haider raised McLeod's salary further to £200 per month and noted that 'the Superintendence of several other Buildings has been recently entrusted to him'.[32] A dispute arose between the new nawab and several Europeans, including McLeod, and he was dismissed from the nawab's service at the end of 1814 and left Lucknow.[33] But the next year found him reinstated in the city in his old job (neither the reason for his dismissal nor his reinstatement are recorded) and in November 1815 he was working with 'Hukim Mehndee [Hakim Mehndi, the chief minister] and meeting daily at the Old Palace of Dowlut Khana which they were jointly employed in repairing, the one as Engineer and the other as superintendent of the Works'.[34] During his time in Lucknow McLeod built the Khurshid Manzil, the castle-like building to the north of Hazratganj, though no details are recorded about its construction. This is, however, the only named nawabi

building attributed to a British engineer, and as such should be noted.[35] McLeod is last mentioned in 1834 when he was working for Nasir-ud-din Haider, still as superintendent of the construction of buildings.[36]

A little more information is available on J. Munro Sinclair who was appointed civil engineer to the nawab in 1822 but who is also described as being a 'general mechanic'.[37] Sinclair had tried for several years to get himself appointed at court and had been introduced to Ghazi-ud-din Haider, to whom he had sold a 'grinding mill' and other goods. At that time he had been supplying timbers for boat building at Cawnpore but sought work at court through the intervention of a Muslim noble and by addressing the nawab direct in an *arzee* or petition. The nawab refused both pleas but three years later, after the persistent Sinclair approached the Governor General (the Marquess of Hastings who in turn approached the Lucknow Resident, Major Roper), he was appointed civil engineer to the court at a salary of £100 per month. Sinclair, apart from obtaining timbers for boats, had been a civil architect and a soldier in the Company. He described himself as being 'perfectly acquainted with the Mechanism of the Steam Engine, having lately erected Several with Machines of all kinds attached'.[38] He also spoke Hindustani and could build ships, boats, roads, and bridges, and was in correspondence with 'the most eminent Engineers of the day'.

But Sinclair was not to be employed solely as a civil engineer—like other Europeans employed at court his duties were eclectic. In 1825 he was commended by the nawab for making some 'artificial Fire Works' and the workmen delegated to him by the nawab were rewarded with a bonus of Rs 100, while Sinclair got a *khelat* (ceremonial robe) as well as Christmas presents. Two years later he was obtaining sundry articles including horse drawn carriages, silver spectacles and china tubs 'for Bathing' from Calcutta, and his salary was increased to £150 per month. But Sinclair was also dismissed abruptly in 1827, the reason given being that he had slighted the nawab by not appearing at the *durbar* daily, as was compulsory for Europeans in the nawab's service.[39]

Before Sinclair left Lucknow he compiled a list of work done for the nawabs with the cost of each item. None of the

items was strictly connected with building, except perhaps a model of a house made in 1826. The majority of Sinclair's time was expended in making steam engines and pleasure boats but he also made 'a stand for a Gold Hookah' and repaired 'hydraulic bellows'.[40] After Ghazi-ud-din Haider's death Sinclair was reappointed by the next nawab, though at a much reduced salary of £80 per month, and he remained at Lucknow occupying a house in the Cantonment until his death in 1845

For engineers working for the nawabs there was not only a lack of distinction between the terms 'engineer' and 'architect', but such people employed in either category were often given completely different commissions to execute at the same time. People like Sinclair were not only 'jack-of-all-trades' but were treated as such by their employers. Unfortunately, there is little information about native architects employed by the nawabi court, whether they were working in traditional styles or in European modes. Only two architects concerned with specific buildings are named, Kifayut Ali, architect of the Great Imambara, and Chota Mian, architect of Qaisarbagh. A nawabi building department did exist, and Sleeman reports that it was corrupt. Yet even this meagre fact is contradicted by G.D. Bhatnagar who claims there was no special department of the court in charge of building during Wajid Ali Shah's time, and that the current chief minister was in charge of all such works.[41] Bhatnagar believes that when the nawab ordered a new palace or other buildings the general procedure was to give the contract to an influential person at the court who would appoint an officer to supervise the works. An estimate would be passed by this officer and money advanced to the contractor with, it seems, minimal supervision from the nawab. The Sikandar Bagh, for example, a handsome building erected in a walled garden, was supervised by Husain Ali Khan who was a Commander of the Suleimani platoon, while an illiterate but favourite barber, Azim ullah Khan, was the Superintendent of the Ordnance and Building Department during the time of Muhammed Ali Shah A few names are recorded in Company records of Indians working for the nawabs as architects, though again their area of responsibility is left vague.

Munu Khan was noted in 1815 as 'Architect, or Master buil-

der in the Vizier's Service' superintending repairs to a tomb in that year[42] and he may have been the *darogha* of building mentioned in the same year in another report.[43]

Raja Darshan Singh had in 1821 the 'Superintendence of the Repairs of the Palace [the Farhad Baksh complex] and other Establishments'[44] and was involved in requisitioning building materials from luckless inhabitants of the city.[45] But the most frequently recurring name was that of Raja Bukhtawar Singh who was originally a trooper in the East India Company cavalry and became a building superintendent in 1807. He worked for thirty years and was 'often entrusted with the construction of houses, Bridges, public roads, and other Government works at Lucknow, most of which works he executed well'.[46] In 1831, when Captain Herbert was appointed astronomer to the Lucknow Observatory and given the Khurshid Manzil to live in, it was Raja Bukhtawar Singh who completed repairs to Herbert's house and the Raja was also appointed by the nawab to begin work on the observatory in 1832, under Herbert's guidance Simultaneous with this work the Raja was pressing ahead with a military career, having been transferred to the nawab's army, and it would be interesting to know how he apportioned his time between two differing, but seemingly full time occupations.[47] There are no recorded attempts by European engineers to train Indians to build in the European manner, but one can accept that working for a European like McLeod entailed a reasonable amount of knowledge of European designs, if not method, and that these workpeople with their specialized knowledge would then be employed by native superintendents As for the 'influential person at the capital' or even the illiterate barber and the commander of the platoon, one does not feel that their involvement amounted to much more than an occasional visit to the site, a considerable rake-off from the difference between the estimated prices and the actual prices, and great credit for the finished project

CHAPTER NINE

THE FOUR PALACE COMPLEXES

During the eighty years of nawabi rule in Lucknow three new palace complexes were built—the Daulat Khana, the Chattar Manzil and the Qaisarbagh The old fort on the south bank of the Gomti, the Macchi Bhavan, was also greatly extended and improved. The palaces of the nawabs, like those of the Mughals and other contemporary Indian rulers, were expected to fulfil a wide range of functions and it is worth repeating the brief description of the nawabi palace at Faizabad to emphasize this point 'It is a large building without taste, and without proportion, with court-yards, gardens, and workshops of all kinds, which form a *separate city within the city*' [1]

Such a complex was also expected to accommodate the Court officials (the darbari) during their working day, including the judicial officials, to provide the Divan-i-Am and the Divan-i-Khas (the Halls of Public and Private Audience of the ruler), the mosques, *barahdaries* and associated religious buildings with attached schools for boys, the zenanas and enclosed gardens for the female relatives of the ruler; kitchens and food storage areas, wells, quarters for the rulers' bodyguards, stables for their animals; dungeons for selected prisoners, rooms for artists who were under patronage, *hammams* or bath-houses for both sexes; storehouses for records and workshops where artisans would be employed in all kinds of utilitarian and luxury crafts, from gilding palanquins to making palace furniture In addition there would also be formal walled gardens within the palace complexes, usually with fountains and small canals; pavilions where the ruler would entertain by giving banquets, holding *nautches* (exhibitions by dancing

girls) and other diversions, and the rulers' private apartments, although one should remember about this last item that in Muslim court life (as in European court life) 'the most important thing . . is the extent to which medieval life was lived in public, at least, by the kind of people who could afford to build themselves fine homes . . they lived the greater part of their lives before a constant audience of their dependants and retainers'.[2]

In appearance such a palace complex was a series of courtyards, large and small, and usually surrounded by walls of differing heights, where the various separate buildings were subjugated to form an integral part of the whole complex. No one building normally assumed undue prominence over another and there were in any case, linking passageways, corridors and garden walks—so it was not always easy to see where one building began and another ended. In the Chattar Manzil complex, for example, at least thirteen separate 'houses' were noted[3] including the jewel-house, the tea-house, the looking-glass-house and the palanquin-house,[4] although such buildings were fused together by 'a perfect labyrinth of courtyards, inner gardens, balconies, gateways, passages, verandahs, rotundas, outhouses and pavilions,'[5] as one confused observer wrote. It is important to bear this picture in mind, especially as the palaces in Lucknow have suffered a drastic kind of pruning. Today one sees a single building, such as the Chattar Manzil, or the Begum Kothi (recently demolished) and is told it was the palace of such and such a nawab, when in fact it represents only one building among a great number of others that went to make up that particular palace complex. If one visualizes palace life as it is depicted in many Mughal paintings, full of activity and bustle, where people are employed in various sections of the palace or in gardens or pavilions within the main walls, one will have a better idea of the picture that greeted the traveller in nawabi days, rather than the lonely and often deserted buildings one sees in present-day Lucknow.

A further point should be made here, and this is that although the palace complexes did contain such a multitude of people and offices they were not self-sufficient and did not have the kind of resources that would allow them to exist inde-

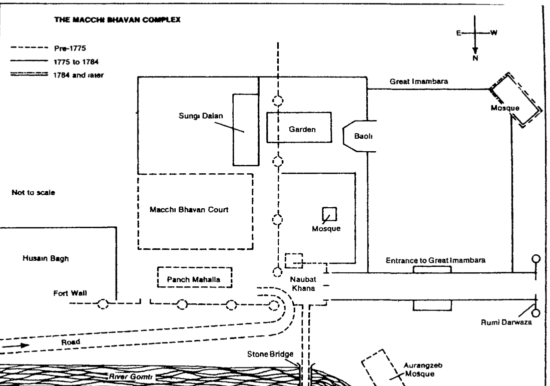
pendently from their surrounding towns. No evidence appears to exist, for example, that animals were slaughtered for consumption within the palace complexes (unlike the British Residency, where there was a slaughter house within the grounds) nor is there any reference to gardens producing fruit and vegetables inside the palace walls, although it is known that Asaf-ud-daula did have market gardens somewhere in the city producing food for the court.[6] The traditional functions of the Islamic city were never usurped or threatened by the palace complexes, the bazaars continued to flourish in the old city, moneylending, money changing and the minting of Lucknow rupees were quite unaffected, as were the weavers of materials, the embroiderers, lace-makers, *bidri*-workers, people engaged in the tobacco and sugar industries, perfume makers, prostitutes and many other workers. On the contrary, because the palace complexes were not self-sufficient, the building of a new complex in a hitherto sparsely populated area like the Daulat Khana gave a tremendous impetus to open up new bazaars and ganjes to provide necessities and luxuries to the court. There still exists near the Daulat Khana an area known as the Milkman's Quarter which, local people told me used to provide milk and dairy products to the palace, and by a nice turn of fate, this area is flourishing while the Daulat Khana is in ruins.

In addition to such people who were providing services to the court, there were also the petitioners who would visit the court seeking redress and advice on criminal and civil matters, artists and entertainers who hoped for patronage from the nawab and his ministers, and people simply hoping for employment. All these visitors to the palaces generated yet another category of people who provided services for the travellers, including serais or lodging houses, food and drink, and scribes who would write out petitions and advise on etiquette and form. Faiz Bakhsh, a traveller to Faizabad while the nawabi court was still there, described his astonishment at the great number of food and drink vendors on the outskirts of the city and the many different kinds of food available to travellers. There was such a concourse of people, he reported, that he believed he had reached the centre of the town, when in fact he was still four miles away from the city-gate.[7]

This last category of people providing services to travellers can be seen as the last circle in a series radiating outwards from the palace complex. The more celebrated and famous the court the wider would the circles spread, drawing in all kinds of people who would find it convenient to live near the centre. So the building of a new complex was equivalent to developing quite a large area of land by the time the resulting settlements were taken into account.

By 1766 the first palace complex, the Macchi Bhavan, had become the most prominent feature in a sizeable town: 'constructed in the form of a chateau, surrounded with walls and high towers. There is a lofty gateway, and a great fore-court, that stands before a tall building with arcades, designed for sounding the tambour' (ceremonial drums).[8] The main complex within the battlemented walls was called the Panch Mahalla or Five Palaces, an arcaded building which stood just inside the north wall of the fort and was visible from the river banks. The building appears quite untouched by European influence and had small *chattris* (pavilions) at each corner, and merlons along the parapets. It was probably fairly similar to the more celebrated Panch Mahalla at Fatehpur Sikri built by Akbar about 1570. The Lucknow building was either demolished or severely altered during Asaf-ud-daula's period and does not feature as a major building in the Macchi Bhavan complex after his move to the Daulat Khana

Early pictures of this area, including a view by the Daniells from the north Gomti bank looking south, show that the chief characteristic of this complex was that of defence, emphasized by the massive brick buttresses rising from the not inconsiderable hill on which the complex developed. William Hodges, who was one of the first European visitors to the palace in 1782, said: 'the exterior of the building is not to be commended: it reminded me of what I had imagined might be the style of a Baron's castle in Europe, about the twelfth century'.[9] The fact that the British Commander during 1857, Sir Henry Lawrence, paid Rs 50,000 (£5,000) to the owner of the area, Yah Ally Khan,[10] and later proceeded to dynamite the entire structure for fear that it might become an impregnable stronghold for the mutineers, shows that the site and its subsequent


THE MACCHI BHAVAN COMPLEX
Pre-1775
1775 to 1784
1784 and later
E
W
N
Great Imambara
Mosque
Sungi Dalan
Garden
Baoli
Not to scale
Macchi Bhavan Court
Mosque
Husain Bagh
Entrance to Great Imambara
Panch Mahalla
Naubat
Khana
Fort Wall
Rumi Darwaza
Road
Stone Bridge
Aurangzeb
Mosque
River Gomti

development were entirely apt for defensive purposes. None of the latter palace complexes appear to have paid more than lip service to the notion of defence, which reflects perhaps more strongly than anything the early realization by the nawabs that it was impossible to attempt to stem foreign invasion by mere bricks and mortar, even had they wanted to.

Apart from its important defensive position the Macchi Bhavan commanded three essential points of communication in Lucknow. Two roads from the south and the west converged in front of the palace, the south approach to the Stone Bridge—the major crossing point over the Gomti—was controlled by the complex and the Gomti itself ran beneath the walls of the building. There are no records of quays or landing stages here although there was a considerable amount of river traffic, especially bringing luxury goods upstream from Calcutta [11]

Asaf-ud-daula on his removal to Lucknow from Faizabad evidently lost no time in altering and improving the Macchi Bhavan area, for only three years after his accession his grandmother Sadrun Nisa Begum complained to the Mughal emperor in Delhi that 'the Nawab has entirely ruined the house which Nawab Shuja-ud-daula raised to the highest pitch of splendour'.[12] This was not however, the generally accepted view, and one of the first accounts of the area, written before 1785, says that Lucknow is 'an irregular dirty town' but that since Asaf-ud-daula moved there and laid out a number of gardens along the bank of the Gomti 'the place is become somewhat less disagreeable' The report goes on to describe the 'palace of the Nabob Vizier'[13] which consists by now of six principal courts. The first 'is an area called Putch Mhullah' (Panch Mahalla) used for the nawab's equipage and attendants. 'The entrance to this area is through two lofty gateways. Over the first is a room called Nobit Konnah [*naubat khana*] or orchestra for martial music, which plays morning and evening.' This first gateway had formed part of Shuja-ud-daula's palace and later became the eastern gateway of the new square in front of the Great Imambara (the Rumi Darwaza formed the western gateway). Unfortunately this early gateway was demolished after 1857 so that the great square is now three-sided The second courtyard consisted of the state apart-

ments 'encompassing a square garden, together with an external enclosure for smaller rooms . . called Bowly [*baoli*] from the large well within it, which includes a staircase and smaller recesses, with openings in the well from top to bottom ' Opposite the baoli was an 'arcaded chamber with a piazza, for sleeping in during the summer heat '[14] This baoli is still standing, though in a mutilated condition, and was probably saved from destruction by the fact of being hollowed out of the mound that formed the Macchi Bhavan area.

The sad and dilapidated state of the baoli today can give no hint of its former splendour Viscount Valentia stayed in the 'Bolee Palace' in 1803 when his apartments consisted of

two rooms at the back of a very beautiful garden pavilion, with, as usual, a basin of water in front They are heated by flues under the floor The first room is about twenty feet square, with three fountains for either hot or cold water, in oblong niches on three sides of the room On the fourth side is the entrance into the inner room At each corner is a pillar, from which arches spring that sustain the roof, which gradually narrows into a cupola The whole is covered with fine white chunam, ornamented with black, to correspond with the floor, which is entirely of white marble, inlaid with a mosaic work of black and red [15]

The second room was similar, with two basins filled with warm water and here were 'fountains playing into the middle of the room . . . the whole was built of red porphyry to the height of a few feet from the ground, the rest of a red stone' [16]

Parallel to the baoli palace was the Sungi Dalan or Stone Hall, comprising a grand hall surrounded by a double arcade and crowned by four cupolas at each corner, each copper dome covered with gilding. To the north of the Sungi Dalan, lay another garden court containing public offices, which is probably where the durbar was held, described by William Hodges, the English artist, as

a range of three arcades, parallel to each other and supported by columns in the Moorish style, the ceiling and the whole of this is beautifully gilt, and painted with ornaments, and flowers It is ascended by steps from a flower garden, laid out in the same manner as we see in Indian paintings, which are all square plats, in which are planted flowers of the strongest scent.[17]

In contrast to the splendour of the buildings here was the zena-

na of Asaf-ud-daula, described as three heavy piles of unshapely houses, the Shish Mahal [glass palace], Khord Mahal [the general term for a zenana] and the Rang Mahal [coloured palace] with high walls and a few small latticed windows [18]

The sixth and last court of the Macchi Bhavan complex was an area to the east called Husain Bagh which was described as a flower garden at the river's edge, enclosed with a brick wall covered with vines. These six courts formed the palace complex proper, but attached to it was a building that attracted great interest, the Aina Khana or mirror house The external appearance of this building was unremarkable but inside was an absolute confusion of treasures collected by Asaf-ud-daula so that it was variously described as a museum and something approaching a large pawnbroker's shop stuffed full of 'the whimsical curiosities purchased by the Nawab consisting of several thousand English prints framed and glazed, Chinese drawings and ornaments, mirrors of all shapes and sizes, lustres, and innumerable other articles of European manufacture' [19] There were also 'watches, pistols, guns, furniture, philosophical machines [sic] etc all crowded together with the confusion of a lumber room' [20] The indiscriminate profusion of this mirror house and the contrast between the extravagance displayed here and the poverty of many of the citizens of Lucknow outside the palace walls led to bitter comments by European travellers, but the adjoining aviary with its 'uncommon collection of birds', the menagerie which included 'several serpents of extraordinary dimensions'[21] and the fine armoury seem to have escaped criticism

None of these early descriptions, however tell one very much about the people that inhabited these buildings in the complex One should not imagine that the European travellers who were shown round the palace buildings found them quite deserted, rather that their interest was directed towards the structures than the various occupations in which the palace servants and officials were engaged A record exists of some of the people engaged in servicing Asaf-ud-daula's complex, before reductions in staff were ordered by the East India Company, Compiled in great detail it lists both the 'common labourers' (1,107) and the gardeners (129) as well as the more highly skilled craftspeople like seal-cutters, artificial-flower

makers, musicians, trumpeters, coffee makers and those in charge of tents and camp equipage There were also 278 workers in the elephant, camel and horse stables and indoor domestic servants. Not only working animals were stabled in the complex but leopards, cats, antelopes, pigeons and a number of other birds, making this a small, private zoo.[22] No female staff are listed, though of course there were female servants within the zenana Various female dancers and singers would also have been employed, though not necessarily on a fulltime basis In addition to the people listed above were various other craftspeople including goldsmiths and armourers, who may not have been permanently attached to the complex, as well as the nawab's personal attendants who included one ear-picker and two candle-snuffers.

Even if the families of all these workers lived outside the complex a large number of people were still actively engaged within the area itself and required workshops and special equipment with which to pursue their occupations. Reading descriptions of the Macchi Bhavan complex one must therefore people them with these numerous workers and endeavour to see 'the city within the city' that existed

After Asaf-ud-daula's removal to the Daulat Khana a significant change took place, both in nawabi and European attitudes towards the palaces. European descriptions of the late eighteenth century were still to a very large extent influenced by the 'Age of Reason' with the enquiring open-mindedness which characterizes this period—unlike the prejudiced attitudes of many Victorians Gladwin's 1785 description of the Macchi Bhavan area should be regarded as a near perfect example of objective writing and can be paralleled in art by the sketches and painting of the Daniells, where the purpose of description and delineation was to convey information to the curious mind (a 'curious' person being seen in the context of the time as someone receptive to new ideas and impressions rather than someone merely inquisitive). But this attitude was to change dramatically at the turn of the century.

How much the nawabs themselves realized and reacted to the change is problematic, although there is certainly a marked difference in the behaviour of Asaf-ud-daula and Wajid Ali Shah towards European visitors to their palaces. There were

few restrictions placed on visitors to the Macchi Bhavan area, they were allowed to wander more or less where they pleased, and to draw and sketch the buildings as they wished, Valentia and Salt were even allowed into part of Asaf-ud-daula's harem, and although this was after the nawab's death it is inconceivable that Wajid Ali Shah would have permitted European men into his late father's harem. On the contrary a newspaper report of 1855 recorded Wajid Ali Shah driving in an English carriage with his 'amazonian troops' in the Qaisarbagh, 'a mysterious retreat into whose intricate labyrinths only the eunuchs are allowed to enter'.[23] Only one contemporary description of the Qaisarbagh exists while the Nawab was still in residence, and even then it only describes the garden of the main courtyard which was opened annually for the Joghi performance [24] The reporter of 1855 who was allowed in dismisses the vast complex in one sentence as 'stupendous piles of buildings surmounted by glittering domes that constitute the palace, which have not the slightest pretensions to architectural beauty' [25] There are no contemporary sketches or photographs of the Qaisarbagh by Europeans and all information on the complex comes from post-1857 photographs, written descriptions and present day observations. It is ironic that one knows more about the Macchi Bhavan than the Qaisarbagh, though the former was at its zenith between 1775–82 and was entirely destroyed apart from the baoli, while the main Qaisarbagh square still stands albeit in a sadly depleted state.

The reason for the nawabi withdrawal behind the palace walls was twofold It was partly a response to the change in European attitudes and the difference between late eighteenth century ideas and mid-nineteenth century prejudices, and also because the British and thus other Europeans no longer regarded the court of the nawabs as a political force of any weight, and the nawabs knew this Because the British assumed virtual control of Oudh in deed if not in name they no longer looked towards the court as the final arbiter on events in the province. By 1865 the true political power lay with the British Resident, who had successfully usurped most of the functions of the earlier nawabs

But though the British had by their actions divested the court of the importance it possessed before their interference

in the late eighteenth century, they were quite happy to indulge the nawabs in other ways so long as these ways did not impinge upon British designs on Oudh Thus one finds that the 112 workmen employed in Asaf-ud-daula's arsenal were dismissed because this could obviously pose a danger to the British who were at that time comparatively few in number in Oudh, although the 129 gardeners were retained, as were the 200 people working in the nawab's stables [26] After Saadat Ali Khan had ceded part of Oudh to the Company in 1801 and had been relieved of much of his army by the British, Gore Ousely the former aide-de-camp to the nawab was able to justify this by claiming: 'the nabob is now happy and contented, eased of a burden of a part of the country continually open to the Seiks and Mahrattas; his splendor, furniture and houses, in a state infinitely more magnificent than they were before, for he has more opportunity of knowing what funds he can bestow on these things.'[27] What the nawab had 'saved' by the enforced disbandment of his army and by ceding some of his kingdom he was now encouraged to spend on luxuries including the building of palaces and houses As a kind of consolation for losing real power the nawabs were allowed to indulge in making Lucknow one of the most visually splendid cities in northern India. Although there was some British criticism of extravagance and corruption when Wajid Ali Shah built the Qaisarbagh there was never any attempt to curb him: in fact as has been shown in some matters, notably the Observatory, the nawabs were actively encouraged by the British to beautify the city.

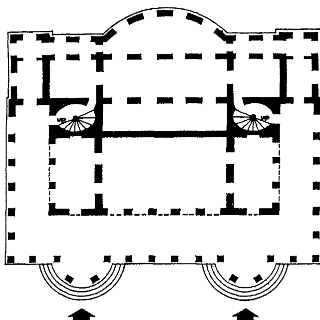
So one should not wonder too much at nawabi reticence on the one hand and extravagance on the other. While the Macchi Bhavan was at the beginning of Asaf-ud-daula's reign an important and symbolic focus of nawabi power and a defensive area too, by 1856 the Qaisarbagh was nothing more than a beautiful, expensive home for the last nawab and his dependents, a place which had little more import than any of the other garden palaces that this nawab built As for defence, the Qaisarbagh fell like a shot bird into the hands of the British on their recapture of Lucknow in 1858 when they raced from room to room in a perfect orgy of destruction.[28] All three palace complexes built after the Macchi Bhavan reflect the

feeling that the real power of the nawabs had somehow been spirited away but that it was necessary to maintain the belief that all was well; and this was done by building a succession of palaces each more splendid and extravagant than the last, the Qaisarbagh being the natural conclusion of this belief.

Before the Qaisarbagh, two more palace complexes were developed—the Daulat Khana and the Chattar Manzil. It is not known what prompted Asaf-ud-daula's move in the 1780's to the Daulat Khana after he had been at such pains to beautify the Macchi Bhavan and build the Great Imambara adjoining it, but by 1789 European visitors to the city were being shown both the 'Old and New Palaces'.[29] Much of the Daulat Khana area has suffered almost complete demolition, and a large village of two-storied houses to the west of the site is built mainly of re-used *lakhori* bricks which came from the Daulat Khana area. It is likely that this was the largest palace complex in Lucknow because the only natural barrier to expansion is the river and marshy ground to the north-east of the site.

Despite the demolition some notable buildings still stand, the most important being the Asafi Kothi which, as the name implies, belonged to Asaf-ud-daula This building is supposed to have been designed by Claude Martin and is nearer in architectural terms to Bibiapur than to Constantia, being neither a defensive nor a highly fanciful building. It certainly seems likely that the designer of the Asafi Kothi and of Barowen were one and the same person There are obvious similarities, not only in the working of the arches and the Composite columns but in the intelligent adaptation of a European building to suit the needs of an Indian court. The Asafi Kothi was originally approached through a garden and the great arcaded verandah provided a suitably impressive entrance into the central grand hall, a terrace wide enough for seats during the winter months, and shade for inner rooms against the summer heats. The five central doorways led straight into a grand hall, two stories high, and eminently suitable for the durbar, with smaller more intimate rooms on each side. The rear of the house has been much added to, so that the fine curve of the bow front is now an inner wall, but the building appears to be intact and is in reasonable condition.

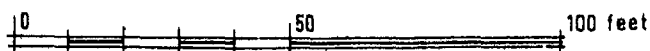
The Daulat Khana complex followed the same pattern as the

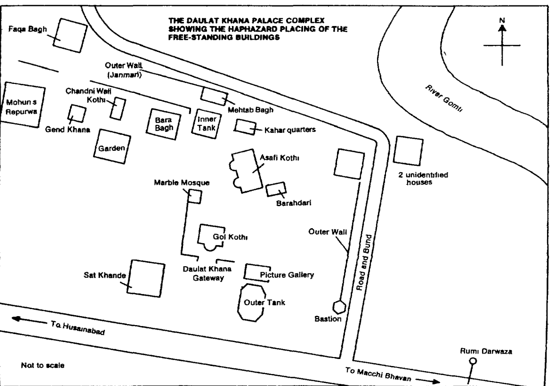


formal garden and fountain

ASAFI KOTHI

Ground Floor Plan




THE DAULAT KHANA PALACE COMPLEX
SHOWING THE HAPHAZARD PLACING OF THE
FREE-STANDING BUILDINGS
N
River Gomti
Faqa Bagh
Outer Wall
(Janmari)
Chandni Wali
Kothi
Mohun s
Repurwa
Gend Khana
Garden
Bara
Bagh
Inner
Tank
Mehtab Bagh
Kahar quarters
Asafi Kothi
2 unidentified
houses
Marble Mosque
Barahdari
Gol Kothi
Outer Wall
Road and Bund
Sat Khande
Daulat Khana
Gateway
Picture Gallery
Outer Tank
Bastion
To Husainabad
Rumi Darwaza
Not to scale
To Macchi Bhavan

Macchi Bhavan in that it was a series of buildings interspersed with gardens and tanks The 'inner tank' (so called to distinguish it from the better known tank in front of the Picture Gallery) still exists with its foundations of pavilions built into the water at the southern end, and was connected to the near-by river Gomti Few structures can now be distinguished and those that remain, apart from a small marble mosque, are in a ruined condition like the enormous Gol Kothi, a handsome European-style building with its great curved front recalling that of Barowen Two curiosities are worth noting, however, since the first is still extant This is a huge structure, pitted today with bullet holes, which was in Nawabi days a racket court known as the Gênd Khana. Two stout octagonal fluted pillars stand at the entrance to this massive building, and there were attached buildings on either side, now marked only by indents in the stucco The story of how the Gend Khana was sold twice to people who tried to demolish it and how it withstood both attempts is told in this area with great amusement, but a similar Gend Khana which stood exactly where the Husainabad Clock Tower stands today was not so lucky and is only known from a photograph of 1858 taken from the top of the Rumi Darwaza In the same photograph is a six-storied slender building, towering over the rest of the complex, which is probably the 'pagoda in the Dowlut Channah' recorded in 1816 [30] It is remarkable that this structure, now lost, which stood two storeys higher than the well known Sat Khande, has never been recorded

Although the removal of the nawab to the Daulat Khana necessarily meant that his great train of attendants moved too, the old Macchi Bhavan complex was not left deserted Viscount Valentia, visiting Lucknow in 1803, was accommodated in the old complex and visited Asaf-ud-daula's widow there, though the nawab had moved to the Daulat Khana by 1789.

Similarly when Saadat Ali Khan began building the Chattar Manzil complex he did not entirely neglect his brother's buildings in the Daulat Khana and during the winter of 1834/5 the nawab Nasir-ud-din Haider lived in the Daulat Khana while a family dispute was going on in the Chattar Manzil [31] The Asafi Kothi itself seems to have been in constant use by members

of Asaf-ud-daula's family during the nawabi period and descendants of Wajid Ali Shah[32] have since been reinstated in this building after an interlude when it was used by an American Methodist organization There was never any shortage of dependent relatives who expected to be accommodated, and some of the bitterest disputes recorded among Lucknow inhabitants are those where relatives feel they have been unjustly denied accommodation which should be theirs simply by right of relationship to the owner of the house. It is known that building work continued in this area and that Captain McLeod and Hakim Mehndi were 'jointly employed in repairing' the 'Old Palace of Dowlut Khana' in 1815 at Saadat Ali Khan's instigation.[33]

It was at the end of June 1803 that Saadat Ali Khan purchased Claude Martin's town house from Joseph Quieros, Martin's Spanish agent, and so great was the nawab's joy that he celebrated by entertaining all the Europeans in Lucknow to a banquet and firework display.[34] It was around Martin's house that the third great palace complex was developed, becoming the longest inhabited palace in Lucknow and the chief nawabi residence from 1803 to 1850 when the Qaisarbagh was completed.

The name by which this area is known today, Chattar Manzil, appears to be a post-1857 designation, for the usual term before annexation was the Farhad Baksh Palace, and this is what it was called by the majority of visitors, by the nawabs living there, and by the British Residents. The term Farhad Baksh refers today only to the remaining portion of Claude Martin's house and it was two later buildings, the Greater and Lesser Chattar Manzils, that give their name to the area today. Saadat Ali Khan was particularly pleased with his purchase of Martin's house because he had already built one large house called 'The New Palace' in the Daulat Khana area but had 'taken a disgust' to it.[35] Though he was reputed to have spent eight lakhs of rupees on this house he subsequently used it only as a store house because he considered that area of Lucknow to be very unhealthy,[36] whereas Martin's house further downstream 'was a more desirable situation' altogether.[37] There were other reasons too why Martin's house was considered so suitable for Saadat Ali Khan, for as Valentia explained it had 'a

very commodious zenana annexed . . at all his [the nawab's] numerous garden houses he has no separate habitation for his women'[38] Moreover, and perhaps most importantly, the house was one of the finest and earliest examples of the European style which had become so popular during the last twenty-five years and which had been encouraged by Saadat Ali Khan's half-brother Asaf-ud-daula. Although by 1803 the immediate land around Martin's house was no longer the empty wooded area it had been when the Frenchman built his house in 1781, there was still sufficient room to the east and south of the house for a substantial new palace complex to develop, and over the next forty-seven years numerous buildings were erected here, ultimately dwarfing Martin's house

But the influence of the original house was immense, and although European visitors were to describe the Farhad Baksh palace as 'truly eastern'[39] the oriental flavour was achieved more by gardens, pavilions, marble tanks and velvet drapes than by the majority of the buildings which were firmly rooted in the European architectural tradition. Unlike the Daulat Khana complex which must be seen as 'transitional' with its rather haphazard placing of semi-European free-standing buildings among gardens, tanks and traditional structures like zenanas, the Farhad Baksh palace was a planned sequence of European houses with a central garden separating the river bank houses from those built along the Khas Bazaar street to the south. It was only the addition of innumerable small buildings like barahdaries, pavilions, covered passageways, verandahs, gateways and walled areas that gave this complex its labyrinthine character, and the demolition of these subsidiary structures, though greatly to be regretted, does enable one to see as it were the skeleton of this complex. Saadat Ali Khan's original intention was, it appears, that the Farhad Baksh buildings should be seen as separate entities, European buildings complementing each other across a carefully planned central garden But later nawabs could not reconcile these self-contained buildings with the needs of an Indian court, hence the jumble of subsidiary structures that grew up around the earlier buildings.

It is necessary to return to the previous reign of Asaf-ud-daula in order to appreciate the substantial contribution that

Saadat Ali Khan made towards the beautification of the eastern half of Lucknow and his conscious attempts towards town planning, both of which have been little appreciated by later writers. One of the earliest criticisms made by European travellers visiting the city at the end of the eighteenth century was the appalling state of the road along which they had to travel to reach the area around the Macchi Bhavan, the Daulat Khana and the Residency complexes Thus when Thomas Twining wrote of the Lucknow which he knew between 1792 and 1795 he said 'the length of the city in this direction [i e from the south-west of Lucknow up through the Chauk to the Gomti] was about five miles. The streets all this way were narrow and dirty, and crowded with bazaars and poor people, presenting, upon the whole, an air of wretchedness that much disappointed the expectations I had formed of the splendour of this celebrated capital It was evident that this splendour was confined to the palace, while misery pervaded the streets the true image of despotism,'[40] and again 'on passing and repassing through the streets, I observed the same wretchedness as before'. In 1798, the year in which Saadat Ali Khan ascended the musnud, things were no better and another visitor wrote—

Happening to enter the town at the west end, and which contains the poor mechanics, and labourers of every sort, I never witnessed so many varied forms of wretchedness, filth and vice. The street which leads to the palace is upwards of five miles, more than one half of which you wade through mire and filth. During the lapse of time, the streets sink from cleaning, or by the blowing away of dust while dry, so that they are fallen in the middle to the depth of ten or twelve feet [41]

Obviously there had been little improvement since Joseph Tieffenthaler's complaint that the streets were 'narrow and stinking' in 1766 But in 1819, five years after Saadat Ali Khan's death, a visitor was full of praise for the handsome street that led from the Dilkusha to the Farhad Baksh palace and the Residency. 'The Cheni ki Bazar, which is of considerable length, with neat ranges of shops on each side, all of the same height and having piazzas along their whole front' was much admired by the writer who added 'the streets in this part of the city are regular and handsome'.[42]

Another traveller whose account of Lucknow was published in 1828 wrote –

> the second quarter of Lucknow was built mostly by the late nabob Saadat Ali. It stands near the Goomty, towards the south-east, and consists of one very handsome street, after the European fashion, above a mile in length, with bazars striking out at right angles, and a well-built new chowk in the centre, with a lofty gateway at each extremity, which presents a Grecian front on one side and a Moorish one on the other The houses that compose the remainder of this street belong to the king, and are occupied by members of his family or officers of his household These are for the most part in the English style, but with a strange occasional mixture of Eastern architecture The same remark applies to the palaces and gardens that occupy the space between the street, and the river, and reserved by his Majesty for his own use All these palaces are filled with European furniture and pictures, and may rank with comfortable English houses [43]

Along this 'very handsome street' were Saadat Ali Khan's Chaupar Stables, a large building in the form of a cross, 'so that standing in the centre, a person may see the horses in any of the arms of the cross. This building has a large space in the centre, stables on each side for the horses, and beyond them, on both sides, piazzas to shelter the horses completely from the sun and rain'.[44] To the west of these stables was the Kankar Wali Kothi, one of several European style houses erected by the nawab The eastern end of the street began from the Dilkusha, another European house built about 1800 and surrounded by a fine park The whole street was well over two miles long and formed something of a 'triumphal way' along which visitors were obliged to travel in order to reach the Farhad Baksh palace and the British Residency. There are no further reports of the wretched state of the old road through the Chauk after 1798, not because it had improved dramatically but because European visitors were diverted from it to the new road which still exists today as Hazratganj, an impressively wide road.

This digression about roads demonstrates that the Farhad Baksh complex was intended to provide a palace worthy of the builder and a fitting climax to the triumphal way, the southern line of palace buildings, the Lal Barahdari, the smaller Chattar

Manzil, the Gulistan-i-Iram and the Darshan Bilas forming an impressive frontage or closure at the end of the great road. Because the southern and eastern areas of land around the Farhad Baksh were relatively undeveloped, Saadat Ali Khan was able to extend the city in these directions and impose a measure of town planning which has hitherto been unappreciated. Not only was his long and broad road with its bazaars at right angles an unusual concept[45] but the type of houses fronting the route were also foreign in appearance—like the Kankar Wali Kothi and the Nur Baksh Kothi, an Italianate looking building thought to have been built by Saadat Ali Khan for one of his sons.[46]

It is known that Saadat Ali Khan's taste inclined almost exclusively towards European buildings and that he took an active interest in designing his own palaces.[47] It is possible that some buildings normally attributed to European architects may in fact have been planned by the nawab, though as yet there is no documentary evidence of this. In 1803 Valentia had noticed that the nawab's 'chief gratification seems to be building palaces of an architecture that resembles Grecian, but as he never employs an architect the faults are numerous', and ten years later the British Resident found him 'exhibiting designs for new palaces and decorations of rooms, the execution of which had commenced, and the completion of which, if intended must occupy and serve to amuse him for a period of several years'[48] The nawab's sudden death in 1814 concluded his architectural ambitions and the attitude expressed by the British Resident that anything the nawabs built was an 'amusement' (unlike the serious British buildings) has played no small part in diminishing the considerable achievements of Saadat Ali Khan who, while incorporating many elements suggested by Claude Martin's buildings, was able to impose a choate form on the eastern portion of Lucknow which is still visible today.

The condescending attitude displayed by Europeans and especially the British towards Saadat Ali Khan's buildings may also have accounted for the confusion and lack of precise description about the Farhad Baksh complex by such visitors. As though it was almost beneath their authors to enquire too closely about the palaces, thus displaying a notable change

from the attitudes of late eighteenth-century visitors, the nineteenth-century descriptions of Lucknow and the palaces are far from satisfactory Some visitors found it difficult to distinguish one palace complex from another, and Von Orlich[49] has amalgamated his own description of the Farhad Baksh, which he saw in 1845, with Gladwin's description of the Macchi Bhavan written in 1785 [50] The result is a composite palace which he calls the 'Furrahbaksh' but which has many of the features of the old palace of Asaf-ud-daula, none of which of course existed within the Farhad Baksh complex.[51]

Even the date when Saadat Ali Khan began building can only be deduced from an oblique reference by the nawab, who wrote. 'I began to build the Houses and Parks of my present residence during the time of Colonel Scott and Colonel Collins'[52] (i e from about 1802 to 1807) and there appears to be only one description of the palace during the nawab's lifetime, written just before his death, when Maria (Lady Nugent) viewing the palace from the roof of the British Residency wrote that 'it is certainly very pretty and truly eastern—its various courts and colonnades, the variety of birds, the style of the gardens, etc. put me very much in mind of those we see on old China cups and jars' [53] Lady Nugent went to the palace on several occasions and one night the entertainments included a firework display, a walk through an impromptu garden of pavilions, temples, bowers and fountains, all constructed and built the previous day, and interestingly a look at some 'transparencies and a model of the iron bridge',[54] the erection of which was cut short by the nawab's death.

In 1818 Ghazi-ud-din Haider who succeeded Saadat Ali Khan was granted a pass by the East India Company which allowed him to employ James Lock, who entered the nawab's service 'to superintend certain improvements to be made in the neighbourhood of the Palace of Farrah Buksh' [55] It is not known what these improvements were but they may have been the refurbishing of the Lal Barahdari (so called from the dark red paint employed over the stucco to imitate red sandstone) which had been the grand durbar hall of Saadat Ali Khan, but which became the Throne Room and Coronation Hall of Ghazi-ud-din Haider. This does represent a significant change in the use of a building from traditional Islamic court

functions to one designed to reflect the 'honour' bestowed by the British on the new nawab. Few people even at the time believed that the title of 'King of Oud' was more than an empty gesture on the part of the British,[56] but the Nawab, having accepted the title, thought it only fitting that his coronation should be carried out with due pomp in suitable surroundings.

An English visitor described 'the immense hall' where the throne was placed and 'the view of the interior of the palace garden, which is very pretty, having a fine sheet of water through the centre, with fountains, beautiful walks, flower borders and many statues'.[57] This central garden was one of the most splendid features of the palace and another visitor in 1827 who dined with Ghazi-ud-din Haider described how they sat

> in a large verandar, looking into a capacious quadrangle surrounded with elegantly columned cloisters. In the centre was a spacious tank of water, with sparkling jets d'eau, ornamented with marble statues, and illuminated by many coloured lamps. The prospect bore a pleasing and fairy-like effect: the faint manner in which the distant colonnades and statues were lighted up reminding me in some degree of the effect produced in the background of Martin's famous picture of Belshazzar's Feast [58]

In the centre of this tank was 'a neat pavilion, brilliantly painted externally, but of a picturesque form with its painted minarets and miniature domes'.[59] This small pavilion was reached by boat, and Knighton considered it to be the 'most elegant structure in Lucknow'. Inside the little pavilion 'were two rooms of moderate size, both luxuriously fitted up, with divans running round the walls. A perfect model of the entire palace stood on a table inside. This particular pavilion was no bigger than a walnut'.

On the north bank of the Gomti directly opposite the Farhad Baksh palaces stood the Dilaram Kothi which, had Saadat Ali Khan lived longer, might well have been incorporated into a larger complex spanning the river and linked by the proposed Iron Bridge. As it stood it was used by the nawab as a 'sleeping house'[60] and was a three-storey building in the European tradition. Demolished in 1917 it formed the backdrop for three water temples which stood in the river It was from the centre temple that Saadat Ali Khan 'used to sit . . . in

the cool of the evening and fish with rod and line the whole three have been described as elegantly ornamental structures'[61] The house itself was set in a square enclosure with four small pavilions at each corner, and the tiled roofs of these pavilions are worth noting both because they provide one of the very few examples of Chinoiserie in Lucknow, and are an interesting example of the continuity of foreign motifs in the city's buildings These distinctively ridged tiles first appear in the pavilions of the great wall at Barowen, here in the Dilaram, on an unnamed building near Husainabad, and finally are still to be seen on the restored gateway of Sikandar Bagh—one of the last nawabi buildings of Wajid Ali Shah

So the whole Farhad Baksh complex was different from its predecessors, the Macchi Bhavan with its distinct courtyards and the Daulat Khana with its irregularly placed buildings If one looks forward at the Qaisarbagh and asks whether the Farhad Baksh complex anticipated it in any way the answer is that any similarities between the two are of a very superficial nature, often no more than architectural detailing which could well be attributable to buildings other than the earlier palace complexes The Qaisarbagh, lying to the south-east of the Farhad Baksh, was built between 1848 and 1850 for Wajid Ali Shah and has been undergoing demolition in a piecemeal fashion ever since. It is undoubtedly one of the most remarkable palace complexes ever erected and had it not been especially singled out for destruction by the vengeful British and later neglected by the people of Lucknow it would have become one of the most celebrated structures in India. Post–1857 photographs show something of the virtuosity of the architect, the panache and fantastic vision translated into buildings that have a truly surreal quality.

The complex consisted of three main squares, the largest to the east incorporating the two tombs of Saadat Ali Khan and his wife,[62] while the Roshan-ud-daula Kothi or Kacheri at the south-west corner was complemented by the Chaulakhi palace at the south-east angle. Both these separate palaces, the Roshan-ud-daula Kothi and the Chaulakhi, were built before the Qaisarbagh palace was conceived and Wajid Ali Shah is supposed to have confiscated Roshan-ud-daula's house while he bought the Chaulakhi palace from his barber, Azim-ullah

Khan.[63] Two main gateways led into the largest courtyard and there were a number of free-standing buildings within, including the Chandniwali Barahdari, the Naginawali Barahdari, two tanks, three small marble kiosks, four wells, and the Lanka, a building that seems to have no parallel anywhere.

There were also somewhere in the Qaisarbagh complex a series of gateways decorated with large stucco mermaids and fish, and while the fish was an ancient symbol of sovereignty and had been associated with the nawabs for a least a century (e g. the Macchi Bhavan 'Fish House') the use of mermaids for decoration was a new motif developed out of the usual stucco fish found on Lucknow's gateways [64] In the Mermaid Gateway of Qaisarbagh one sees not only how the architect incorporated four mermaids into the arched gateway and the pediment on top but how he has reinforced the image of the ocean by the wavy lines of the parapet, and this image is repeated again in the low wall to the right by the clever use of tiles. It is touches of humour like this and a meticulous attention to detail which makes one realize how much has been lost by indiscriminate demolition.

Just to the left of the Mermaid Gateway was another fantastic structure, a double spiral staircase where each turn of the steps was crowned by a stucco woman in Grecian dress, each woman holding hoops which were linked up to each other. This staircase, being a double spiral, did not of course lead anywhere except back to where one started from, and was purely decorative It was demolished shortly after the Mutiny and the only photograph of it shows that it was already in a dilapidated condition before its removal

But if one disregards for the moment the details of the individual Qaisarbagh buildings and looks at the overall layout of the complex, I think one is struck by the way in which the architect has been able to simulate the great tent cities of the Mughals and the earlier nawabs by using the terraces and walls to divide the gardens up and encircle these and their buildings from the plain outside Whether this was a deliberate idea on the part of the architect or whether it was simply a subconscious attempt to return to the 'encampment' pattern using masonry instead of canvas is not known, but the whole theme

is carried through with such assurance that one suspects the former Of course the notion that the Mughals, especially Babur and Humayan with their central Asian backgrounds, were trying to re-create in stone something of the tent cities they had formerly inhabited is not a new idea—Fatehpur Sikri has been seen as a series of 'petrified tents'—but this analogy has not so far been extended to Qaisarbagh which, close observation suggests, must come into the same category If one studies the Qaisarbagh series of photographs, all taken in March 1858, with the idea of free-standing buildings encircled by a regular wall, as tents were encircled by surrounding canvas walls, one finds that the architect has been able to convey this idea while at the same time maintaining the feeling of a European palace with a series of terraces. This seems to have been accomplished by imitating the doors and windows of such a terrace in stucco, on a wall which is no more than a few feet thick The buildings within these courtyards or 'enclosures' reinforce the impression of light and airy tent-like structures, especially the Lanka, pegged to the ground by eight towers and flanked on either side by two square colonnades supporting nothing but ornamental iron work. A description of the Macchi Bhavan (the first palace complex) noted that the garden houses were

> constructed of brick and beautifully stuccoed with chunam, they are raised on chaupoutres [platforms] with steps to ascend from the garden to the first storey. They are spacious having broad terraced roofs, and at each angle a small cupola covered with the same delicate stucco Some of them are surmounted by an elegant square canopy with curtains depending from the four sides These canopies are supported upon small pointed arches [65]

What could be more like a tent than these small pavilions with their curtained sides which reappeared in Qaisarbagh eighty years later? In some ways then the Qaisarbagh with its references to earlier, even Mughal, structures is more traditional than the Chattar Manzil, where a more European layout was attempted, though the designs and decorations based on European features had become highly stylized in the Qaisarbagh and only served to confuse the uninformed visitor. Confusion was compounded by recognizing certain elements of European

architecture (like the stucco women on the spiral staircase) but being unable to trace the gradual interweaving of such elements as Corinthian columns, Adam-style swags and the statuary of Claude Martin's buildings through the previous fifty years of Lucknow's architectural history. Such visitors assumed that the architect of Qaisarbagh had plucked these European elements at random out of the air and thrown them all together in complete confusion.

Typical European comments described Qaisarbagh as 'an immense courtyard with fantastic buildings on all four sides, a stucco Louvre, in which Italian and Moorish styles blend in a manner that is more grotesque than graceful, and where gilding and ochre and whitewash tend to give a strange appearance of the theatre to the residence of this Oriental Gerolstein'[66] The Roshan-ud-daula Kothi was described by the same author as 'a still more fantastic structure than the great palace itself with which, however, it tallies well. Ionic columns, balustrades with globe-like finials, Moorish minarets, Hindu umbrellas, arches, pediments, lanterns, are all blended in a confusion which the eye may long seek vainly to disentangle, and surmounted with an unmeaning gilt band'[67] By 1934 the whole complex was dismissed in a few words—'judged from an architectural view-point the result is a gigantic failure, it could hardly be otherwise considering the indolent and flabby nature of its parent Wajid Ali Shah'.[68] This common confusion between imagined architectural decadence, if such a thing even exists, and political decadence is more fully examined later, but it is necessary to mention it here in order to conclude the story of Qaisarbagh which fell a victim to British revenge after 1857.

From the time that the British effectively lost control of Lucknow at the beginning of May 1857 to the recapture of the city in March 1858, Qaisarbagh was the headquarters of the Indian forces and during this period the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Oudh, writing in 1859, claimed that there was 'serious damage done by the Rebels themselves who showed no desire to spare the edifices or statues'.[69] Admitting that some damage had also been caused by British shot during the recapture of the palace he added that 'The Chief Commissioner has issued stringent orders for the preservation of all

marble statuary and the Buildings generally'. but this statement needs to be seen in the context of other contemporary reports, including a long list of claims of property made by the courtiers and retainers of Wajid Ali Shah, from which one learns something of the immense destruction of the city. Thirty-five houses in the Khas Bazaar belonging to Begum Khas Mahal, a wife of Wajid Ali Shah, were demolished, the Khas Manzil in Qaisarbagh which she also owned was declared *nuzal* (i.e. Government property) and her houses adjoining the Chaulakhi were also demolished. More significantly a courtier called Musa-ud-daula who claimed property near Qaisarbagh was told that one house 'appears accidentally to have escaped demolition' which certainly implies a policy of systematic destruction [70]

W.H Russell's graphic description of the recapture of Qaisarbagh shows that British soldiers ran amok, smashing down doors and breaking into rooms in a search for portable loot Those things they could not carry, like marble statues, furniture, heavy draperies and massive jade bowls, they smashed in a frenzy of destruction. No attempt was made to restrain the soldiers, and indeed the British officials present would have found it difficult to do so since they were equally busy collecting together some of the vast quantities of jewellery seized from the nawab and his relatives which was despatched to British safekeeping at Allahabad

Because so much loot was taken in March 1858 by the British it seems clear that the Indians occupying the buildings had left the bulk of the nawab's treasure and furnishing intact, no doubt against his expected return. But the most telling statement of British attitudes was in a letter from the Secretary to the Commissioner of Oudh, who wrote—

It is not by an indiscriminate massacre of the wretched sepoys that we should avenge our kindred. Had Delhi been levelled it would have been well. A stroke like that would have been a beacon and a warning to the whole of India, and a very heavy blow to the Mahomedan religion. It is now too late however. But the Chief Commissioner sees no reason why that fate should not befall Lucknow There ought to be some place which the mutineers may recognise and point to as the monument of their own crime and of our retribution and now that the time for Delhi has passed away the Chief

Commissioner would sacrifice Lucknow in which sepoy and Mahomedan atrocity has not fallen short of that perpetrated at the capital of the House of Timour. At all events, only such buildings should be preserved as may be requisite for our own military or other purposes No mosque—no temple should be spared The Chief Commissioner would not desecrate them but he would destroy them or at least declare them to be the absolute property of Government to be dealt with hereafter as we may deem proper.[71]

In reply to this proposal the Secretary to the Governor of India wrote—'As to Buildings in Lucknow, the only one that I think it might be well to level to the Ground is the "Kaiser Baug" as that is the Palace where our chief enemies have resided during the rebellion and whence they have issued their proclamations and orders against us'.[72] Caution is advised over the demolition of mosques and temples as this could be 'interpreted as the commencement of a war against religion', but what the British did do was take over the larger religious monuments, often for storage purposes, for photographs exist showing both the Great Imambara and the Hazratganj Imambara with rows of gun carriages drawn up in the courtyards, piles of cannonballs, and British soldiers lounging round the buildings.

The statement that 'the Buildings generally' were to be preserved is also contradicted by a report made in July 1859 when the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner declared.

it is necessary on military grounds to pull down the greater part of the Chutter Munzil, and the Farhad Buksh palaces and eventually it may be necessary to open out the Kaiserbagh also Mr Wingfield does not think the southern portion of the Kaiserbagh could be properly repaired for less than one lakh rupees and the Military authorities would also probably object to allowing so large, intricate and defensible a mass of buildings to remain so near our fortifications [73]

The Governor General had 'stated that a road would be made through the Kyser Bagh', and by 1862/3 this main road is clearly marked on a map prepared by British surveyors.[74] This effective British method of breaking up the palace complexes by re-routing the roads had been used in the Chattar Manzil, and later in Sikander Bagh, a handsome two-storied Grecian-style building set in a large walled garden

In addition to the road cutting through the largest Qaisabagh courtyard, by 1877 the whole of the southern wall had

been demolished together with the Chaulakhi Palace, and the other sides of the great courtyard were said to be in a ruinous condition Gradually the free-standing buildings were demolished, one of the black and white marble kiosks and several statues being re-erected in the Zoological Gardens of Lucknow and the Lanka, with its adjoining colonnades disappeared, to be replaced by the present Amir-ud-daula Public Library The northern wall of the main courtyard also vanished, possibly weakened by the partial demolition when the new road was cut through this terrace, and the courtyards and passageways that stood between the Qaisarbagh and the Chattar Manzil disappeared, with the exception of the Sher Darwaza, or Lion Gate, which had an emotive significance for the British because one of the officers of the relieving force in March 1858 died under the gateway The two tombs of Saadat Ali Khan and his wife, which had been incorporated into the northern terrace of the largest Qaisarbagh courtyard, were stripped of the surrounding enclosures and stood starkly by themselves again, as they were before the building of Qaisarbagh. But the gradual silting up of the ground floor chambers means that only the first floor and upper stories are visible today.

The Roshan-ud-daula Kothi, which became a British Court House, was denuded of its two upper stories, and the whole building is now awaiting demolition, while the smaller courtyards with their painted walls have long since vanished.

When P. C. Mookherji wrote *Pictorial Lucknow* in 1883 he reported: 'As the spirit of vandalism is not yet extinct, the edifices, which have historical association or otherwise any architectural pretension, are gradually transformed into debris and ruins'. Mookherji was especially critical of British demolitions in the Qaisarbagh and he refuted the commonly held idea that the nawabi brick and stucco buildings were unstable The 'stone' bridge, for example, which was completed by Asaf-ud-daula, stood until it was demolished and replaced by the Hardinge Bridge in 1911, and Claude Martin's town house, later the Farhad Baksh, has been standing partially submerged in the river Gomti for nearly two hundred years. Mookherji claimed that nawabi buildings demolished by the British after 1857 had to be mined and blown up by sappers, so resistant

were they to pickaxes [75] Constant assertions that the buildings of Lucknow always hovered on the brink of collapse and that the material from which the buildings were constructed is 'so disappointing and so pregnant with premature decay'[76] are disproved by the great amount of nawabi building still standing, albeit usually in a condition far removed from what the original builders anticipated The remaining buildings of the Qaisarbagh courtyard appear in no danger of collapse, and one must constantly ask when finding buildings that are said to have fallen down whether they did in fact fall or whether they were pushed, and if the latter then what were the motives of the demolishers?

CHAPTER TEN

THE OLD CITY

There was never a point where one could have said Lucknow was complete, for the city was in a constant state of flux. The nawabs' subjects could seldom be sure that a building or garden seen one month would not be demolished and replaced by something completely different the next An immense amount of building activity went on during the nawabi period, not only on the outskirts of the city where a town is normally expected to expand, but also in the heart of Lucknow In some cases land cleared for elaborate gardens would subsequently be built on again, and in more than one case encroachment blocked off major roads or seriously narrowed them.

An attachment to old buildings, merely because they are old is not, generally speaking, an Indian characteristic, and only those buildings with religious significance like tombs, shrines, temples and mosques were relatively safe from demolition, and these could be considerably changed or even rebuilt if a donor wished to beautify such buildings to add kudos to his or her name There was a constant feeling that innovation was desirable for its own sake and that no justification for a new building or garden was necessary other than that it was different from what had stood there earlier

But the price that the citizens of Lucknow had to pay for this ever-changing panorama was heavy. Abu Talib, a nobleman who had been at the Lucknow court during the time of Asaf-ud-daula and who later travelled to London, remarks of the period around 1790.

> And the wrongs which God's people suffer by this building mania are many. First, wherever he [Asaf-ud-daula] lays out a building, the

residents of the place, who have for years lived there, are ordered by him to leave at once without getting either money, compensation or another house It has often happened that people have not had time to carry away their furniture, the labourers have dismantled the house before it was vacated, and the occupants of a tenement have been compelled to quit, leading their wives and children by hand Second, the Wazir's workmen, on every possible pretext, utilize the houses of the people to furnish bricks, timber, and other building materials In this matter their tyranny is so great that where there is a house with doorways or pillars of brick, and the rest of the building of mud, and there is a family living in it, they ruin that whole family for the sake of the fifteen or twenty thousand bricks and pull down the house Third, the dearness of building materials, caused by the hurry and the want of method on the part of the officials. Fourth, building materials and carpenters and masons are frequently interdicted to the public. When this happens, people are put to such straits and so hampered in their urgent requirements that they cannot get bricks to build masonry tombs over their relatives, not to say that they cannot repair their houses for the rains Fifth, the servants of the Wazir, nay even all moneyed men, on the principle of 'like master, like man', follow the example of the Wazir and engage in building mansions and oppressing the poor And every one in his own muhalla turns out the residents and enlarges his own house The Wazir and all the rest of them are so brisk about their building that they do not take time to burn bricks and lime thoroughly, so that a building is hardly completed before it begins to decay Accordingly most buildings erected by the Wazir in his first years are now becoming dilapidated [1]

Not only did the nawabs seize materials and land in the city, forays were made into other towns especially during the time of Asaf-ud-daula to satisfy his 'building mania' Describing the palace in the Allahabad fort erected by the emperor Akbar an anonymous writer said: 'the pillars are richly ornamented and the whole executed in a masterly style. In the centre of the terrace, on the top of the building stood a turret of white marble, very elegantly finished, which was taken down by order of the Nabob of Oude, and sent to Lucknow in the year 1789' Since then, the writer continued, 'the Nabob of Oude has ordered the whole of the building to be taken down and carried to Lucknow, with the intention, it is said, to be again erected in that city'.[2] Another report of 1798 noted that 'the decay of Currah and Mannipore, has been greatly hastened by

the late Nawab of Oude Azoph Dowlah, who ordered several of the most elegant buildings to be destroyed for the freestone of which they were built, that he might be supplied with materials for his new buildings at Lucknow'.[3]

It was the chief minister of Ghazi-ud-din Haider, Agha Mir, who was responsible for the greatest destruction of property and seizure of land in the city and his outrageous behaviour prompted many complaints Agha Mir, it was said, 'has caused to be dug up the houses of hundreds of persons, noble and otherwise, that the materials may be employed in building a palace for himself Also, under pretence of mending and making roads, he has knocked down thousands of houses and many of the muhallas of the city of Lucknow have been deserted in consequence.'[4]

By 1832 Agha Mir's conduct had become indefensible and in writing to the Government at Calcutta the Lucknow Resident, John Low, stated that

> one of the modes in which Agha Mirza oppresses the people is by getting leave from the king to purchase houses in the city for himself, and his friends. He and his friends then fix on a house and offer a price for it such as *he says* is the proper value and desires the owners to quit—the latter decline to sell—the price being inadequate and Agha Mirza then proceeds to pull down the house by a party of men armed with pick axes etc. who attend him for the purpose [5]

Consequently he was 'dreaded and detested in no common degree' by the inhabitants of the city.[6] Agha Mir was finally arrested and confined in his grandiose house of Daulatpura, which seems to have been near the Nur Baksh Kothi, another of his houses, near Hazratganj. The Daulatpura house was 'a building erected by himself in the most extravagant and splendid style'[7] and it was claimed that the 'palace of Dowlutpoora has cost considerably more than a crore of rupees' while the Nur Baksh Kothi has cost 'between thirty and forty lacs of rupees'.[8] It was said of Agha Mir that 'all the emoluments of his office which had not been dissipated in his current expenses had been sunk in his buildings in Lucknow' [9]

After Agha Mir's arrest it ws revealed that not even the nawab Nasir-ud-din Haider had been immune from his insatiable habit of demolition and requisitioning of property The nawab claimed that his gardens had been seized by Agha Mir and that the latter's nephew had 'destroyed the houses and

buildings of Charbagh', acting on his uncle's orders. Gardens belonging to the nawab had yielded revenue in the form of rent, and the seizure of property meant that the nawab was not only deprived of the actual land but the income from it too [10] Not suprisingly when Agha Mir was banished to Cawnpore the nawab 'in order to vent his spleen on his fallen servant, and to remove so obnoxious an object from his sight, caused the magnificent palaces of Agá Meer to be rased to the ground'.[11]

The amount of waste entailed in unfinished projects did not go unremarked by critics of nawabi extravagance either In 1835 Nasir-ud-din Haidar was described as 'a profligate and a sot .he squanders his money like a child, spending thousands in building a palace one year, and pulling it down the next .it is lamentable to see money so wasted which might do so much good Steam boats, windmills, and other works are begun and partly completed, and then the fancy dies away'.[12] A similar report on Wajid Ali Shah said, 'the King has endless palaces, such as they are, every monarch erecting a new edifice, and robbing his predecessors' to adorn it everything was dilapidated to the last degree, the plaster dropping from the walls, dirt on every corner, the magnificent furniture all destroyed .money is paid for the palaces. The palaces crumble'.[13] There was little or no cohesion in the planning of the city from one ruler to the next, and the accession of a new nawab often meant a complete reversal or abandonment of his predecessor's ideas on building

Lucknow was not so much a series of carefully planned avenues and groups of buildings designed to complement each other but rather a town that had grown haphazardly, and it was this picture of Oriental confusion which accorded so well with the expected ideas of European visitors and gave the city much of its undoubted charm Honoria Lawrence who visited the city in December 1843 found it a curious and splendid place and detected resemblances to Moscow or Constantinople

Gilded domes surmounted by the crescent—tall, slender pillars, lofty colonnades, half-grecian looking houses of several stories high with pillars, verandas and windows, iron railing and balustrades (entirely foreign in this country), cages of wild beasts and brilliant birds, gardens fountains and cypress trees .make a confused and very dazzling picture Here the sight-worthiness of the place consists

not in any one building but in the architectural groups, the long vistas or arches, domes and minarets, the glittering crowds, the whole bewildering mixture of Europe and Asia and the air of wealth which despite bad taste and inconsistency, altogether comes nearer to anything I have seen to realise my early ideas of the Arabian Nights and Lala Rookh [14]

Even after the devastation of the 1857 uprising the city fascinated people like the Irish reporter W.H Russell as he stood on the roof of the Great Imambara 'Lucknow, in its broad expanse of palaces, its groves and gardens, its courts, and squares, its mosques and temples, its wide-spreading, squalid quarters of mean, close houses, amid which are kiosks and mansions of rich citizens, surrounded by trees, all lay at our feet' [15]

Russell was not the first to comment on the somewhat promiscuous siting of the houses of the rich among the mean and squalid streets of the city. Bishop Heber, one of the few Europeans to visit the old city, wrote in 1825 of 'the Minister's house - a very large pile of building, in a bad part of the town, and both in architecture and situation, a good deal resembling the house of the Mullich family in Calcutta'.[16] The Minister, it is believed, was Agha Mir, and this particular house (for he had many scattered about the city due to his aggressive habits was probably the building now known simply as 'Agha Mir's Palace' which is situated between Yahyaganj and Nawabganj Heber, who spent some time in the old quarter of Lucknow, also referred to the 'many stately khans and some handsome mosques and pagodas scattered in different corners of these wretched alleys' But when one remembers that Lucknow was a thriving community well before the nawabi arrival it is not so surprising that families who had lived around the Chauk area for generations should continue to do so. Almost certainly they regarded Saadat Ali Khan's buildings and new roads with some suspicion as foreign innovations, which indeed they were

Rather than remove their houses to the developing eastern part of Lucknow a consciousness of the new European styles was expressed in non-essential decoration on houses which were of traditional form, built in narrow and unprepossessing streets Throughout the older quarter of Lucknow there are

numerous examples of such houses, though in some cases all traces of European decoration has crumbled away and one sees simply the bare bones of a traditional Indian house Around these houses were the usual buildings of a pre-industrial Indian town, the bazaars with their open shops where customers, step up onto a platform to avoid the open drains running down the street, the communal wells and tanks, the workshops where different occupations were pursued, the brothels housing both female and male prostitutes, the mosques and tombs of the Muslims and the temples and shrines of the Hindus, and the coffee houses for men Those few Europeans who did go into the old quarter of Lucknow were able to compare it (always unfavourably) with the eastern part of the city, and in 1844 Henry Lawrence summarized this view when he described the city as being divided into two quarters:

> an old, and a new city adjoining each other the former, like other native towns, is filthy, ill-drained, and ill-ventilated The modern city, situated along the south bank of the river Goomtee, is strikingly different, consisting of broad and airy streets, and containing the Royal Palaces and gardens, the principal Mussulman religious buildings, the British Residency, and the houses of the various English officers connected with the Court This part of Lucknow is both curious and splendid, and altogether unlike the other great towns of India, whether Hindu or Mahomedan [17]

In some ways it could be argued that this 'modern city' was the equivalent of the public and accessible part of an Indian house, while the old city with its air of secrecy mimicked the zenana, and the parallel can be extended by stressing that the new and 'public' part of the city had a European flavour, a feeling of experimentation and innovation in contrast to the older traditional areas where any apparent change was of the most superficial.

One unfortunate result of the difficulties, either real or imagined, that prevented most Europeans from entering the old part of Lucknow has been the paucity of information about buildings here, both religious and secular To say that these buildings are 'unknown' is misleading for they are obviously known to the people who live in them or who worship in them even if the original names and the builders have been forgotten. The majority of surviving nawabi religious building is naturally connected with the Shi'a sect in which the procession

of *taziyas* plays an important part These portable shrines, representing the graves of Husain and Hasan, are often extremely elaborate and are housed for a year in imambaras before they are taken through the streets to be ceremoniously buried The taziyas are invested with an immense feeling of sacredness and the fact that they must be housed in a suitably solemn and grand building led to the development of the imambara which reached its ultimate expression in Lucknow and especially in the Great Imambara built by Asf-ud-daula in 1784 which, at one time, contained the largest vaulted hall in the world The taziyas which are not buried at the end of the mourning period, i e those made with beaten silver panels, or finely carved in wood or ivory, are permanently housed in the imambara and are shown to visitors as part of the 'treasure' of the imambara as a fine altar piece or lectern would be pointed out in a Western church Also housed in the imambara are other associated items of religious significance like the *alams* or standards, which represent the banners carried by Ali and his party before the battle of Kerbala, and pictures depicting the battle and fine examples of calligraphy on sacred themes The *mimbar* (usually translated as a pulpit) is also exhibited and this is a series of steps with decorated panels set into the side, or draped with a fine cloth. Unlike the Western pulpit the mimbar is a free-standing and moveable structure.

But the most striking feature (for Europeans at any rate) is the absolute profusion inside the imambara of chandeliers of all shapes and sizes and the huge stands for lamps or candles, often five feet or more in height, and made from highly decorated china, coloured glass or metals. The effect when all the chandeliers and stands are lit is dazzling, especially in the cool and dark halls of the imambara, and although they do not have any religious significance the presentation of elaborate chandeliers and stands was often made by wealthy people as an act of merit Many of the best chandeliers in Lucknow were sent out from Europe and a Birmingham firm of chandelier-makers regularly exported their goods to Calcutta during the 1840's and 1850's [18] The imambaras of Lucknow have unfortunately suffered particularly heavily from the loss of their treasures, especially moveable items like lustres, jewelled alams and panels of gold and lace cloth. (An especially exotic item dis-

appeared from the Great Imambara during the Mutiny, a pair of life-size green glass tigers brought, it is believed, from Siam or China, and there is no reason to think that the religious buildings of Lucknow lost any fewer treasures through looting than did the palaces.)

Not only were imambaras repositories for the taziyas and other treasures but some also became the burial place for their builders and other relatives Asaf-ud-daula is interred in the Great Imambara while Muhammad Ali Shah and his mother are buried in the Husainabad Imambara. These burials are marked in the ground floor rooms[19] of the imambaras often by nothing more than a shallow rectangle covered by a piece of embroidered cloth, or occasionally by a small silver railing Such burials do not, however, affect the primary function of the imambara as the repository of the taziyas and although an imambara can also be referred to as a *maqbara* (a tomb), a structure which is designed solely for the purpose of burial can never be referred to as an imambara.[20] Thus the tombs of Saadat Ali Khan and his wife in the Qaisarbagh complex are known as maqbaras and nothing else, while the building of Malka Afaq Sahiba off the Sitapur Road on the north bank of the Gomti is known both as an imambara and a maqbara because, although this princess is buried there with some of her female relatives, the burial is of secondary importance. The distinction is also emphasized by the different buildings Whereas an imambara is a long low structure with the main hall divided into three rooms and the burial, if any, in the central room, a maqbara is normally a square building, always with a semi-basement storey, a central dome over the main hall, and the false tomb, which is a raised structure, directly in the middle of the whole maqbara.

There are a number of imambaras in private homes where they are not found as free-standing buildings but are incorporated into the courtyards of Muslim homes, and in these imambaras burials would certainly not take place Some private imambaras can be of considerable size and there can be more than one in a house, especially where the women in the zenana have their own imambaras The Mahmudabad country house has four imambaras, the largest and most splendid in the public part of the building and three smaller ones in the zenana section.[21]

There are numerous examples in Lucknow today of buildings which have been secularized and are now used as private homes or offices At least two imambaras visited have been turned into homes—the house now known as Mishra Bhavan just in front of the mosque and maqbara of Janabi-i-Alia in Golajanj; and the imambara which is now part of the zenana section of the Khanqah Makan in the same area, The Hazratganj Imambara, a large building surrounded by an extensive courtyard, which was built by Amjad Ali Shah who is buried there, is now used by a firm of carpenters and as part of the local census office, and also in Hazratganj is a *taziyagah* (a place where the taziya procession halts during its march for a short time). This taziyagah now forms part of a private house, and the small square building with a double dome (i.e a false dome beneath the true one, to minimize the height of the room below) is much prized by its owner for its coolness during hot weather. Similarly the tomb of Husain Ali, the Akbari commandant buried east of the Chauk, now houses a family, though they are living there from expediency and not by choice as the ground-floor room round the tomb is a cramped and dark place Families have also been living in the northern gateway of the Great Imambara for years, though again probably not by choice Both the Great Imambara and the Husainabad Imambara were widely visited by Europeans in nawabi times because both fell within the 'tourist' route, though reactions to these buildings were mixed, ranging from the critical to the derisory.

But the narrowness of this European circuit is illustrated by the fact that a huge complex similar in grandeur and size to the Great Imambara but which lay to the west of this circuit has never been mentioned or visited by Europeans as far as is known, and no photographs of it appear to exist This second complex was built by Ilmas Ali Khan, deputy governor of Oudh during Saadat Ali Khan's time, and it is certainly worthy of note, if only because of its immense size Similarly there is another unrecorded imambara in the same area, that of Zain-ul-abdin, which is now in an extremely dilapidated condition. But the finest of these 'unknown' imambaras is probably that in the area of Janab-i-Alia's maqbara and mosque in Golaganj which, as photographs show, carried the art of stucco decoration to a superb pitch.

Once a year the taziyas were taken out from their imambaras and carried through the city, resting in the taziyagah en route The destination of the taziyas is the *kerbala*, a building which represents and commemorates the battlefield and the burial place of Hasan and Husain in Iraq. The largest kerbala at Lucknow is the Talkatora to the south-west of the city, approached through a large gateway of European pattern But the buildings within are entirely Islamic, consisting of a large square bordered by a series of cells, and the square central building on a raised platform which is properly speaking, the kerbala itself This building is topped by a gilt dome and flanked by two *minars* or towers The ground between the kerbala and the cells in the outer wall is filled with graves, marked by plain stones Outside the main square is a semi-ruined barahdari in a highly decorated style [22]

There are several other kerbalas of similar form in the city, the second largest being that of Malka Jahan in the Aishbagh Road, and there was an extensive group of buildings including a kerbala on the north bank of the Gomti named after Mariam Makam Sahib, as well as the kerbala in the newer part of the city to the east of the present-day Sikander Bagh road The kerbala of the eunuch Dianutud Daula in Saadat ganj is particularly noteworthy because of its original and unusual mirror work interior, which consists of small regular pieces of mirrored glass set into cement so that the light is caught and thrown back from thousands of different facets This mirror work is frequently found in palace rooms throughout India and Pakistan, but this appears to be the only surviving example in the city and certainly the only use of mirror work in a religious building This kerbala is also decorated along its outer walls by a series of false doors with panels of stucco imitating the slats of Venetian blinds, and with Adam style 'fan-lights' over each door, a common enough feature on palaces and private houses in Lucknow but unusual on a religious building. The building was erected together with the surrounding shops and enclosure during the time of Wajid Ali Shah and after 1858 it was restored to the eunuch (one of the nawab's courtiers) because he could prove undisputed ownership, and because the building had not been demolished as had happened in many other cases. [23]

Not only were the kerbalas ignored by European visitors but other important buildings associated with the Shi'as were similarly neglected. The *dargah* (shrine) of Hazrat Abbas situated in Rustum Nagar, although in appearance a small and insignificant building, was of immense importance during nawabi times and still attracts a large number of Shi'as today It is believed that the original dargah building was a kutcha structure of unbaked bricks plastered with mud and was constructed to house the metal crest of a banner belonging to Hazrat Abbas which was brought from Iraq [24] Saadat Ali Khan, inspired by a dream, rebuilt the dargah with pukka materials, but the flaw in this oral tradition (for there is no remaining written evidence) is that the gateway referred to above is such an unhappy compromise between an Islamic and a European entrance that remembering Saadat Ali Khan's other buildings one finds it difficult to believe that he was responsible for it One could surmise that as in the case of the Talkatora Kerbala, where the European gateway is not contemporary with the other buildings there, the dargah gateway was also constructed later, doubtless as an act of merit by its builder This dargah has the distinction of being the only religious building in the old part of the city mentioned in British records, although it is misleadingly referred to as a 'temple', [25] a word which has Hindu connotations It was here that the coronation procession of Ghazi-ud-din Haider came in November 1819, before the nawab returned to the Lal Barahdari for the actual crowning ceremony

The second important Shi'a building in the old city is the Kazmain, said to be an exact copy of the tomb of two imams or religious leaders from Khorasan [26] It consists of two domes set on very deep drums which are covered with brass sheets There are pointed minars at each of the four corners, and the whole enclosure is surrounded by a high wall. The building, because of its distinctive domes, cannot fail to be noticed from any high vantage point in the old city, but again it has been totally ignored both from a religious and architectural point of view in European writings.

In contrast the Shah Najaf and the Qadam Rasul north of Hazratganj have frequently been commented on, not least because they were among the buildings occupied by the British

during the recapture of Lucknow in March 1858 The Qadam Rasul (the name means footprint of the Prophet because the building housed a supposed footprint of the Prophet Muhammad marked in stone) is today a semi-ruined building at the summit of a small artificial hill, and it consisted of a simple domed chamber with a small minar at each corner The adjoining Shah Najaf is a large and impressive building erected by Ghazi-ud-din Haider between 1814 and 1827 and was 'the place destined during his life-time to be the repository of his Remains'.[27] Some of the nawab's wives are also buried here and the building is correctly speaking a maqbara although, because it is a copy of the mausoleum of Ali at Najaf in Arabia, it is usually referred to as the Shah Najaf or the Najaf-i-Ashraf The main tomb, as mentioned earlier, makes only one concession to European influence, and that is in the festoons and swags around the dome, but the small mosque to the left is a highly individualistic and eclectic building full of elaborate painted stucco with Persian designs of grapes, flagons and cypress trees. there is also a Hindu 'wheel' of stucco over an iron framework, panels of work which can best be described as 'Chinese Chippendale', and festoons around the pillars which derive originally from the portico at Barowen

The majority of nawabi mosques seem to have been quite free from the influence of European decoration, and are normally simple undecorated structures of brick and stucco whitewashed over But the Jame Masjid[28] standing to the south-west of Husainabad, and of traditional form, is noteworthy because it still preserves some of the best examples of painted stucco work which was extremely popular in Lucknow but which in the majority of cases has faded almost to nothing on most nawabi buildings The painted work inside the Jame Masjid is still carefully renewed annually, using the same colours, and a close examination shows how the characteristic nawabi features, especially the double arches decorated with stylized flower buds over every cusp, were emphasized with the use of colour, and how these sinuous patterns accord with the more common geometric patterns of Islamic decoration

The only hint in the Jame Masjid of the pervasive European influence outside is in the fluted sandstone columns seen at the central entrance to the building, which are topped by Corin-

than capitals It is possible that these columns reflect a change of styles made during the erection of this mosque because it is known that building was begun in 1839 by Muhammad Ali Shah[29] but completed by one of his wives after his death three years later The buildings of this nawab, which are mainly in the Husainabad area, do reflect a certain uneasiness with European architectural ideas and there is none of the perfect amalgam of Indian and European influences which one finds in earlier nawabi building The conflict between the two is seen clearly in the Sat Khande, built by Muhammad Ali Shah, where alternate facades of the tower were to be Indian and European with no attempt at a compromise between them, and it is also reflected in the gateway of the Husainabad Imambara which is possibly the most unhappy mixture of styles in Lucknow Because no plans exist of the Jame Masjid as it was originally to be built it is fruitless to speculate on what the mosque was to be like, but the presence of these European-style columns at ground-floor level and in a different material do lead one to consider that there may well have been a change in design after the nawab's death As it stands now the Jame Masjid, viewed in purely architectural terms, is a splendid building full of interest, reflecting the nawabi style unmixed with European ideas, harking back to the Great Imambara complex, but certainly not an unthinking imitation of it

Among the secular public buildings of the nawabs are the barahdaries (the word means 'having twelve doors or openings' although such buildings frequently have a greater number of entrances) There is occasionally some confusion, certainly among Lucknow residents, over whether certain buildings are imambaras or barahdaries and this confusion is understandable, for when an imambara is stripped of its furnishings and does not incorporate a burial it is similar in form to a barahdari which is generally a long, low building of one storey, with smaller rooms to the side. There does, however, seem to be a greater range of styles among barahdaries than imambaras and certainly a wider range of functions. Barahdaries are secular buildings, although they can be associated with religious complexes, as for example the barahdari at Talkatora kerbala The essential requisite for a barahdari is that

it should be a light and airy building, habitually free-standing, and its chief characteristic is a series of arched openings which may be closed by glazed doors, although such doors would not detract from the appearance of the building There are only two nawabi references to barahdaries, the first by Haider Beg Khan who wrote that Asaf-ud-duala's Divani Kacheri was held in a barahdari,[30] and the second is to the Lal Barahdari which was originally used as a *darbar* hall by Saadat Ali Khan. The barahdari it seems, can be used by any gathering of people as a meeting place, though it does not appear to be used as a permanent home

Lucknow has always had a greater number of Hindu residents than Muslims, in fact it was estimated in 1829 that two-thirds of the city's population were Hindu, and of the remaining one-third there were Sunni Muslims as well as Christians [31] But because the city was dominated by the Shi'ite nawabs there is a disproportionate emphasis on Shi'a buildings and very little information exists on Hindu buildings in the old city Only one official British reference occurs which mentions Hindu buildings, and this is a report on a communal riot in which forty-seven Hindu temples were destroyed in 1829 [32] The locations of these temples are given, showing a fairly even distribution, including temples in the pre-nawabi areas of Rakabganj and Rastogi Muhalla, where one would expect to find them, but also in areas developed during the nawabi period like Tikait Rai ganj and Nawabganj The fact that Tikait Rai, one of Asaf-ud-daula's ministers, was a Hindu may well have encouraged fellow Hindus to settle in the ganj which he founded Tikait Rai also built, rather surprisingly, a number of mosques, as well as Hindu temples, and some of the latter, which are dedicated to the god Siva, contain the characteristic double arch of nawabi buildings—and in one case the nawabi emblem of two fish over the doorway.[33]

A very few references exist to private houses built by Hindus, which shows that europeanized buildings were by no means confined to the ruling Muslim classes The house of Raja Mhera (or Mehra) Ram near the Daulat Khana seems to have been particularly handsome. A report of 1816 which says that this raja had been head-palanquin bearer to Asaf-ud-daula, in whose service he had acquired 'immense wealth', de-

scribed the house as having 'a Frenchified look, and puts one in mind of the Louvre at Paris It is not quite finished, but being very completely roofed in, and furnished with doors and windows, it is turned into a *godown* to lodge part of the property of the Vizier'.[34] The house was still standing in 1827 when the British Resident breakfasted there,[35] but later reports are confused and it may have been demolished before 1857 Post-1857 maps show that Hindus also owned substantial tracts of land, as for example the land of the money lender Shah Behari Lal on the north bank of the Gomti

The term *bagh* is usually translated as garden, though this can present rather a misleading picture There appear to be at least three kinds of bagh present in Lucknow, as in most other Muslim cities, and the chief distinction seems to be whether the bagh was to be used solely as a pleasure garden, which was often exclusively for the use of the nawab and his entourage and guests (or in the case of a nobleman, either Muslim or Hindu, for his immediate family), or whether it was to be a piece of land leased out by the owner where cultivation of crops like sugarcane, tobacco, roses and maize was carried out by *kisans* and *malis* (peasants and gardeners)

A European visitor in 1846[36] speaks of the barahdaries and summerhouses in such gardens, which were built 'in half-French, half-Moorish style their large and heavy roofs supported by many slender and feeble columns .never even in the smallest of these pavilions is the warm bath wanting, and but seldom the private mosque, which I can only compare to a child's toy in appearance The centre of the garden is usually occupied by a marble tank, in which many fountains are playing, and cypresses alternate with roses in embellishing its margin'. The writer thought that the 'regular flower beds with their little canals for irrigation', and the straight paved walks, 'produce a very stilted effect in the general aspect of the grounds', and he also criticized the mania for placing statues 'at every turn and corner'. The central tank in these gardens 'usually forms the uniting link between the larger summerhouse or kiosk and a small wooden pavilion, which destitute of all ornament save a neat balcony, is only intended as a point from which may be commanded, at one glance, the prospect of the whole long row of fountains playing in the reservoir'

This description certainly fits a garden like the Badshah Bagh on the north bank of the Gomti and the Wilayati Bagh[37] to the extreme south-east of the city. These were based on the Shalimar Gardens of the Mughals, where the ground is landscaped to form a series of terraces with small waterfalls, though nothing so ambitious has survived in Lucknow. The gardens of Wajid Ali Shah, the Sikandar Bagh, the Alam Bagh and the Qaisarbagh, were different for in each case the buildings in the gardens were the main attraction, and there was not sufficient room within these walled enclosures for any very elaborate attempts at large scale vistas or formal lay-outs, but such gardens should still be classed as pleasure gardens, unlike the areas for cultivation round the city which are also referred to as baghs.

These other areas, which were especially concentrated to the west and south of the old city and which were usually named after the owner, for example the Husaini Begum Bagh and the Sukhi Lal Bagh were virtually indistinguishable from the surrounding fields, except that they would have been marked by a low wall. Two gardens referred to in the nawabi period and still in existence today, the Musa Bagh or Barowen garden and the Ilmas Ali Khan Bagh on the Hardoi Road, should be seen as gardens which changed category, for the Barowen garden was at one point described as very fine by European visitors,[38] later as overgrown[39] and later still was planted with crops, as it still is today Similarly the Ilmas Ali Khan Bagh once contained a large house, tanks, and a handsome mosque, but is today given over to crops and the encroaching waste land Many of the gardens to the south-west of the city merged imperceptibly into *topes* (groves or orchards) and such areas with their trees, together with better-known gardens like the Char Bagh, which was described as a wood,[40] the enormous Dilkusha Park with its 'avenue of mighty trees'[41] and the mango-tree tope of Constantia, show that Lucknow has suffered severely from deforestation, the outskirts of the city having been much more wooded than they are today. Despite the devastation caused by the 1857 uprising and the greater havoc of British demolition when whole *muhallas* were dynamited, there still remains in Lucknow even today a great number of nawabi buildings Often in a poor

state of repair, these buildings have been forgotten to the extent that their original names are lost Unless a concerted effort is soon made to restore these fine buildings the sum of nawabi work in Lucknow will be very small indeed

CHAPTER ELEVEN

BRICKS AND MORTAR

No architectural drawings remain of any of Lucknow's nawabi buildings, and it has been necessary to reconstruct the ground plans for half-a-dozen buildings by working backwards, i.e. measuring the existing structures and consulting old photographs. The pattern that has emerged is one of pleasing symmetry and an almost Palladian-like style. Even in cases where the original building has been confused by additions and alterations, like the Asafi Kothi, it has been possibly to deduce the plan of the whole by examining only a small area. Similarly at Barowen once a quarter of the site had been measured it was comparatively easy to fill in the remainder, except where interior walls had vanished completely.

Naturally in an attempt to reconstruct a building on paper one has other clues too. One carefully examines the bricks where the stucco has fallen away, one checks the remaining stucco work to see if it appears to be of the same quality and design and one constantly asks what each room was used for (often by considering present-day usages). It would be presumptuous to say that the reconstructed ground plan of Barowen is the definitive one of that fine building, nevertheless it is as accurate a plan as one can hope for, unless the architect's original drawings should turn up, and judging by the destruction still being wreaked on Barowen by the elements, both human and natural, it is probably the only plan that will ever exist.

As for contemporary references to architects' plans, the earliest mention found is the request by Asaf-ud-daula for 'the plan of a house after the European taste'[1] which he made of Capitan Marsack in 1775. Three years later, when the British

Resident Nathanel Middleton proposed erecting a strong brick building as a treasury in the Residency complex, he promised to forward to Calcutta 'an accurate Plan and Section of the Work'[2] as soon as he found out the cost of building. Later in the year he sent off a 'Plan and elevations of a Building for a treasury'[3] which would indicate that a proper architectural drawing to scale had been made, and presumably the specifications about bricks, mortar and timber to be used would be described in the estimate During this same period there is also Claude Martin's remark that Constantia was to be finished 'if I have time to make a Regular Plan and elevation of all what I intend Building' and after describing the various rooms, terraces and the obelisk, (which was later erected in front of Constantia) Martin wrote 'for all these I will endeavour to make plan and elevation '[4] One must then ask how exact were the architects' ground plans and elevations, whether the scales were worked out precisely throughout the building, how much was left to the initiative of the masons, carpenters and stuccadors on the site and by how great a margin did the finished building differ from the architects' original designs? Because of the lack of contemporary plans and elevations from Lucknow, these important questions cannot be answered with any great degree of confidence, and though it is known from plans of buildings erected in other parts of India in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries that architectural designs and plans were conscientiously drawn up and executed, one cannot assume that the same system worked quite so precisely in smaller Indian towns [5]

Captain Wilcox, who supervised the erection of the Lucknow observatory from his own designs, admitted later that 'it is clear that in contemplating the possibility of work of the kind being accomplished (by native artificers at least) in the short period of one or two months, I ran into that error of inexperience, which must occasionally attend on a new undertaking [6] I had not only to provide working drawings for every part of the building but I had to engage in the perfectly novel undertaking to me of making myself sufficiently acquainted with that style of Architecture to enable me to finish a building of some pretensions, of which no plan corresponding with the fabric, as I found it, fell into my hands'.[7] This revealing sen-

tence shows that even as late as the 1840's it was not considered strange that an astronomer should be asked to design his observatory rather than work in conjunction with an architect Another criticism of the gap between planning and actual building was written in 1810 when Thomas Williamson wrote. 'Some of the *rauz*, or bricklayers, in India, are very clever, so far as relates to mere practical operations; but they have not the smallest idea of planning from paper, or on paper', furthermore there were differences in the allocation of jobs, because 'the Hindu is both bricklayer, plasterer, tarras-maker, etc and the blacksmith and carpenter are often the same person'; and in the tools used for the jobs. 'It is true, that many of the bricklayers, employed under regular architects, may be seen to use our tools of every description, but this takes place only under such guidance.'[8] No matter then how precise the architects' intentions, ultimately it was up to the supervisor on the site to ensure that the plans were carried through, or to adapt the plans to the abilities of the work force and materials available

From plans, or rather the lack of them, it would be appropriate to examine the materials used for building in Lucknow. The commonest materials were baked bricks and stucco, and this is what was used in the majority of the houses of the well-to-do as well as the nawabi palaces and religious buildings. A structure made of baked bricks, i e bricks that had been kiln-fired, was 'pukka,' while buildings of sun-dried bricks were considered 'kutcha' All the remaining nawabi buildings are pukka structures, and the usual kind of brick employed is called *lakhori*, a word which does not appear in Platt's *Dictionary* but which is thought by Lucknow people to mean something originating from Lahore (Pakistan) where they believe this small kind of brick was first developed.[9] These lakhori bricks are only three-quarters of an inch thick, and normally about four by six inches, and are of a fine local clay with crystalline flecks. When baked they are a pleasing dull orange or red in colour A larger and heavier brick of the same clay but almost two inches thick is known as *pan patta* or, according to P.C. Mookherji,[10] *ilmasi*, after Ilmas Ali Khan, Deputy Governor of Oudh during the time of Saadat Ali Khan, who reputedly used these thicker bricks in his own buildings. Claude Martin seems to have had his own bricks

made for Constantia, for in addition to the lakhori bricks in the main body of the building there is a larger brick rather like the pan patta but stamped with an 'F' There is also a series of curved bricks which make up the elaborate balustrade of the second floor, and triangular bricks used to build up the core of the statues [11] The great advantage of lakhori bricks is that they can be used both with the pan patta bricks and by themselves to form remarkably fine details even before any stucco has been applied The more skilful the bricklayers the less coarse work was there for the stuccadors, who could concentrate on delicate work instead of covering vast areas with stucco to mimic a stonework effect.

Not only were whole bricks used in building, but they were also pulverised to form one of the constituents of the cement used These crushed bricks were called *surkhi* and are first noted by Modave who estimated that this further use of bricks tripled (at least) the number needed for a building.[12] The other constituents of cement varied depending on whether the mixture was to be used purely for joining bricks together, for coarse plastering over walls, for the floors and roofs of buildings (when it was known as *tarras*) or for the final coating over the walls The composition of *chunam* (which is often translated as 'lime', but which should be rendered as 'stucco'), was similar to that of cement, but the fineness of it was determined by the materials used to produce the lime In Madras a beautiful lime was made by using pulverised sea-shells, but this was so expensive that it was seldom used in Bengal or the Upper Provinces Lucknow workmen believe that the stucco in the Jame Masjid there was made from red lime, gum, a kind of fine pulse called *urad ki dal* (meaning, yellow lentils) *jagri*, shells, and a sticky substance called *seras*, and it seems certain that the composition of chunam could vary considerably according to the pocket and the taste of the builder The nawabi chunam of Lucknow was especially commended and frequently commented upon, and a few examples of marble-like chunam, do remain, for instance in the Residency Banqueting Hall However, chunam in other parts of India like Udaipur and Jaipur in Rajasthan, where marble would have been used, is consistently better preserved and of the highest quality Lucknow has unfortunately suffered badly from ubiquitous

white-washing, so much so that in places even raised decorations in stucco have been nearly obliterated by the build-up of coats of lumpy white-wash year after year.

Stucco could be used to produce effects in quite deep relief, even when applied to a flat wall, as in the pediment on the Husainabad well where figures in the Graeco-Roman style are moulded to produce a two dimensional effect without relying on a skeleton of brick or iron. Similarly the false domes which appear on the walls of the Safdar Jang tomb in Delhi, the Great Imambara, and the Residency complex Begum Kothi in Lucknow, and which are very characteristic of eighteenth-century nawabi architecture, are moulded in stucco to a smooth wall and not built up over a brick core.

The lack of stone near Lucknow has frequently been noted and buildings which did incorporate imported stone, were something of a rarity, a sign of the owner's status

Only two buildings are recorded that were constructed entirely from stone—the Sungi Dalan in the Macchi Bhavan complex and the Lal Barahdari in the Chattar Manzil Although this latter building is now painted red outside and could easily be mistaken for a brick and stucco structure, it is in fact made from Jaipur stone of poor quality Most stone used in Lucknow was brought from Chunar, a town to the extreme south-east of the province of Oudh which supplied the capital for at least forty years Claude Martin's inventory for Constantia mentions '363 slabs of Chunar Stone for use in the House'[13] and in 1841 Colonel Wilcox speaks of 'the immense stones [which] were brought from Chunar'[14] for the piers erected in his Observatory Even rarer than sandstone was the marble used in a few buildings, which was imported from as far afield as England in one case Various uses of marble in the interiors of buildings were recorded though very few examples now remain, it being hardly surprising that such an expensive material should not be re-used perhaps more than once Only two carved marble fountain basins are noted (although from descriptions of rich houses these were so common that they almost escape comment), the first taken from the palace of Zahur Baksh and presented to Lucknow Museum about 1888,[15] and the second of fine white marble with a black inlay in the Banqueting Hall of the Residency complex. The

large tank in the centre of the Chattar Manzil complex was of marble, as were the baths in the Badshah Bagh on the north bank of the Gomti. Marble floors were found in some of the most elaborate buildings, including the white marble floor 'inlaid with a mosaic work of black and red'[16] which was laid over the heated flues of the *hammam* or bath house in the Macchi Bhavan complex. It is probable that this was the floor referred to in a newspaper report of 1792, which says.

The Prince of Oudh [Asaf-ud-daula] has given an order to a very eminent and ingenious artist in this country [England] to prepare him a flooring of marble etc for a smoking room [*sic*] The order is completed, and is the first thing of the kind that was ever made in this country. It is 20 foot square, and is composed of upwards of 8,000 pieces. In this flooring are introduced all sorts of marble, Spa petrifications, etc which are arranged with a taste and judgement that do infinite credit to the artist.[17]

Of the many marble statues that once adorned gardens and courtyards only three appear to exist today, all in the Zoological Gardens, where they were removed from Qaisarbagh.

But one of the real strengths of nawabi architecture, like its refinement of stucco into a new art form, was the use of humble materials to create something unique and splendid. Pottery was extensively used, not only for utilitarian purposes—like the pottery ducts at Constantia and Barowen that conducted hot air away from the lower room to vents in the flat roofs—but for decorative purposes too. Potters soon learnt that they could imitate balusters in clay and many still survive, especially on roof parapets, as at the Asafi Kothi, and for garden walls at ground level. As the pottery breaks up in the course of time, one can see the iron rods often inserted to hold the balusters in place in their brick framework. A more fanciful use of pottery, and one that seems peculiar to Lucknow, was for roof finials and ornaments. These were carried out in a green glazed ware, produced by adding copper to the glaze, and when placed in position along roof parapets and towers produced a striking effect. Of those still in existence the commonest types are the 'pineapple' and the *guldusta*, a cluster of flower buds. Both types of ornament can be seen, the first at Kakori and Mahmudabad, the second at the Captain's Mosque in the Daulat Khana complex. Early pictures of the Rumi Darwaza show a

whole series of guldustas around the arch which P C Mookherji believed were originally to have been fountains throwing jets of water up from the heart of each guldusta [18] A further use of ornamental glazed pottery is on the dome of the maqbara of Malka Afaq Sahiba to the north of Lucknow, where glazed 'flower buds' surround the base of the dome, which was itself tiled with glazed earthenware This appears to be the only remaining example of such work in Lucknow, but a close examination of early photographs of the Dilkusha indicates that the distinctive towers above the four circular staircases were also of glazed pottery, and probably one of the most ambitious efforts in this medium

A specialized use of pottery was made in producing small clay medallions, now found only in Constantia (La Martiniere) though they were also used in Martin's other buildings in Lucknow There has long been a debate over whether the so-called 'Wedgwood' plaques and small medallions of Constantia are genuine or not. The Wedgwood order-books, now in Leicester in England, are inconclusive on the point, and while it cannot be said categorically that Claude Martin never ordered Wedgwood from the English factory, were every plaque in Constantia to be real Wedgwood such an enormous order would not have gone unrecorded elsewhere in the Wedgwood archives

Martin's inventory for the Farhad Baksh and Constantia does provide almost positive proof that the majority of the plaques are local work The relevant items from the inventory are as follows:

- 4 Figures of Wedgewood Ware (an Apollo of full Length and 3 busts)
- 1 Drawer with Earthen Beads for Ornamenting Walls
- 1 Drawer with 7 imitations of Antique Medallions
- 1 Drawer with 109 Bronze Medallions (and further drawers of similar)
- 22 Papers of Earthen Beads for Ornamenting Walls
- 150 Bronze Medallions of great men in Gilt Frames ,, Coarse
- 2 Framed Wedgewood Medallions
- 1,125 Plaister of Paris Medallions

138 Moulds for Medallions
29 Wax Medallions Europe Made
1 Box of small Medallions [19]

From these items it can be deduced that not only were the people drawing up the inventory able to distinguish genuine Wedgwood when they saw it (even if they could not spell it correctly) but also that the medallions in Constantia today are made either of local clay or of Plaster of Paris. These medallions were made from moulds taken from antique patterns, from squeezes of bronze medallions or copied freehand from a few genuine Wedgwood plaques. The quality of the work is extremely fine and detailed, and there is no reason to doubt that local workpeople were responsible, not only for these small medallions, but for the other stucco work too. The fact that they had 'antique medallions' from which to copy should not detract at all from their achievements.

Iron was a material so rarely used in Indian buildings of this period that its presence always excited comment. Honoria Lawrence remarked in 1843 that the 'iron railings and balustrades' that she saw in Lucknow were 'entirely foreign in this country',[20] and nearly every visitor to Constantia remarked on the unusual iron doors that shut off one section of the building from the other. The Iron Bridge was the prime example of a new use for this material, and though it lay unerected for thirty years by the side of the Gomti it would have been unnatural if the imagination of the wealthier citizens of Lucknow had not been fired by the inherent decorative possibilities of this European treasure. Apart from railings on houses there was the more practical use for the cages of wild animals. Prince Saltuikov noted during his visit in 1842 that tigers and bears were shut in iron cages both inside and outside the palace buildings,[21] and Polehampton remarked on the two tigers kept in cages at the entrance to 'the rich nawab's house' along the Sitapur Road.[22]

Most of the wood remaining in nawabi buildings today came from local trees with the exception of the large teak planks used in roofs. Teak was considered effective in repelling the white ant menace, and although it was expensive it was better where possible to use it rather than to have one's stair-

cases and roof beams eaten away unseen above one's head Much of the teak used in northern India came from the Pegu region of Burma or 'from the high parts of Bengal'[23] and that used in Lucknow was brought up river from Calcutta There is a mention in 1813 of '100 Teak Planks, purchased and sent to Lucknow for the use of His Excellency',[24] and during the building of the Observatory 'many large beams [were] procured from a great distance' for it [25] The wooden doors of Constantia, however, which replaced Martin's iron doors in 1844 when the building was adapted for a school, came from local trees,[26] most probably the mango tope which had given the house its second name of Lacperry (a lakh of trees)

Wood was used in a variety of ways, not just for doors and lintels, but for 'venetians' or slatted shutters for windows and doors which were normally fastened back on the outside of the building during the day, for the beams and joists between different storeys or verandah roofs; and for circular staircases as well as balconies, eaves and porches. Many of the empty masonry arches in nawabi buildings today were originally closed by wooden shutters and glazed doors and many empty openings, especially lunettes, were latticed over with wood The character of Bibiapur House has been quite changed by the removal of its wooden doors, and photographs of the Husainabad Imambara gateway in 1858 show that all the arches on each side of the main gateway at first floor level were glazed with small square panes set in wood which had been completely removed forty years later A substantial number of joists and beams are still *in situ* in some nawabi buidings, and as the stucco and brick work falls away one can see more clearly the construction of the storeys and the roofs. Both the Asafi Kothi and Bibiapur retain a good number of their original teak beams which have been in place for nearly two hundred years.

Wood was also used for some of the 'shells' of the gilded domes of Lucknow. Rather than constructing masonry domes, a curved wooden framework was erected over which panels of beaten copper were nailed, thus considerably expediting the erection of a building but leading critics to complain that such domes were a sham, and that the effect was theatrical rather than architectural. The erection of a typical

nawabi pukka building was a slow process First, deep foundations had to be dug, not just because of the light and friable nature of the soil and the weight of the proposed building, but because the basement or semi-basement rooms embedded in the soil were valuable as retreats during the hot season. These rooms, the *tykhane*, had small downward pointing shafts near the ceiling to provide light and air, but not direct sunlight. The floors of such basement rooms were of considerable thickness, constructed of layers of brick and cement with flues inserted at regular intervals for drainage, although two rows of inverted pots were sometimes substituted, packed round with sand, then covered with a layer of tiles and cement.[27] Wooden beams were not used at all at this level because of the fear that imperfect drainage during the monsoon season would rot the wood

All walls were made of solid masonry, sometimes of a surprising thickness. It is common to find even partition walls two feet in breadth, composed solely of lakhori bricks and cement, and some solid walls in Constantia measure five feet across Where walls have been partially robbed for their bricks one can observe that they are indeed of solid masonry, with no rubble core The only exception are the outer walls of Constantia and Barowen which incorporated pottery ducts as air-cooling devices cemented into the walls.

Beams still *in situ* show no sign of having been spliced or joined and the importance of thick masonry walls to support the ceilings is obvious Over the beams were placed wooden joists or battens of thinner wood, and across these joists were laid flat pottery tiles, cemented in place. Normally two layers of tiles were used, each sandwiched in with cement (although Thomas Williamson recommended that only one layer of tiles should be used) then four to five inches of rubble or mortar laid on top before the final coat of mortar was laid, which would then in turn be stuccoed over and polished. Conventional wooden boarded floors were seldom used because the underside of the boards would not be visible for inspection for white ants and because of warping. Most buildings were of no more than three complete storeys, including the semi-basement, though they often incorporated a smaller fourth storey over the centre of the building, as in the Dilkusha; and

Constantia has six storeys between the four 'wells' sunk into the earth.

Once the masonry had been completed wooden lintels and frames were inserted where appropriate, and doors, windows and shutters were hung, 'invariably painted green some prefer all verdigris, others, a deep clear green for the framework, with verdigris for the several leaves or valves' [28] Windows were normally glazed for glass was cheap and readily available in Lucknow, having been sent up river from Calcutta Inside the building were the inevitable circular staircases, always surrounded by a masonry stair-well.

Even buildings as palatial as the Asafi Kothi continued the tradition of small and awkward staircases, which were a curiously neglected area that owed nothing to the European idea of grand entrances and exits from flights of steps. Until the 1780's most staircases were masonry, but wooden staircases then came into use, 'these rest on strong visible beams, all joists are painted or tarred' [29] The joists and beams were visible so they could be frequently examined for signs of white ants, and it was for this reason that ceiling cloths were stretched between the walls, giving the illusion of light at the top of the room but also providing something which could be easily removed when the ceiling was inspected. Many nawabi buildings retain iron rings near ceiling level, both inside and outside, where cloths could be attached Punkahs were attached to the ceiling beams by iron rings, and the verandah roof at Bibiapur still retains part of the wooden punkah frame.

Inside the house, after the walls had been stuccoed and the ornamental moulding made, delicate colours like lilac and sky blue were applied, often with the moulding and beading of the mock door panels picked out in white Many nawabi houses still retain conventional European fireplaces with wide flues, but one must conclude from the complete absence of chimneys at roof level that such fireplaces were either purely decorative or, what is more likely, that they held moveable braziers of charcoal during the winter.

That the idea of a fire place with a chimney was not understood by nawabi builders is vividly illustrated in the diary of Captain Herbert who was living in the Khurshid Manzil in 1832. He placed a fire basket in one of the grates there and had

fires lit for several weeks during the autumn. He found that the ashes from the fire which collected on the hearth were scorching the floor, and on throwing water over them they exploded revealing

> a bed of glowing fuel On digging up the floor and hearth it was found that an immense log or timber extended across the breadth of the chimney piece lying immediately upon the two principal beams or girders which traversed the middle of the bedroom and the room adjoining To defend this timber. . from the fire there was half an inch of mortar The whole of the beam when uncovered was found as [a] mass of live coal extending even into the jambs of the chimney piece.

Thus though fire places were usually built into European influenced rooms to form a focal point, the mechanics of how they worked had not been appreciated.[30] Where interior doors were used they were normally panelled, and certainly in Calcutta (and therefore by implication, in the wealthy houses of Lucknow) handsome brass mountings with mortice locks were common. Those buildings, which had open archways rather than doors leading from one room to another, would close off the rooms by screens of *khus khus* in the summer and thick padded curtains in the winter

CHAPTER TWELVE

EUROPEAN CRITICISM

No one who has read this far will have failed to notice the pejorative tone of much European writing on Lucknow. The city seemed to engage some deep vein of prejudice and sarcasm in its visitors unmatched elsewhere in India. Tedious though these nineteenth century descriptions are, they are worth analysing for the muddled thinking they reveal and the physical effects on the buildings that arose from such prejudice.

Lucknow was not an easily accessible city for Europeans in India, because it lay off the main route between Calcutta and Delhi and travellers journeying up the Ganges had to make a diversion at Cawnpore if they wished to visit the city. For this reason the number of Europeans who visited Lucknow and who subsequently wrote about their visits is comparatively small, and travellers' accounts average out at less than one every two years during the nawabi period. Apart from official reports of the British Resident and his staff there are no satisfactory accounts by long-term residents about life in Lucknow until the Mutiny, after which the minutiae of life under siege conditions were eagerly pored over in Britain, but one cannot expect such accounts to be objective.

Even the travellers' accounts are often unsatisfactory because their visits were short and their attempts to cram as much sight-seeing as possible into a few days led to a surfeit of palaces, mosques and imambaras from which a confused picture was drawn and later incorporated into general travel books on India. Imperfect though many of these accounts are, it is all that Britons at home had to go by (except for the few who had access to official reports) and this in turn meant that

British opinion was fed on short, scrappy and emotive reports which frequently presented a biased picture of Lucknow.

Criticism by Europeans can be divided into three main categories. There are general comments about the filthiness of the city, later channelled into a growing British awareness that cleanliness was not only aesthetically more pleasing but more hygenic too; secondly, criticisms that it was 'immoral' for the nawabs and their nobles to live in obvious splendour while their subjects were condemned to a miserable existence in the same city (and it was here that the pleas for annexation came in); and lastly, the unfavourable comments on architectural grounds by purists who were affronted at buildings which challenged conventional notions

It has already been shown how criticisms of filthy streets were a constant theme in European writing, and although the building of Hazratganj by Saadat Ali Khan provided some amelioration for travellers coming from Cawnpore there was no improvement in the condition of the streets in the rest of the city Travellers who wished to strike out from the main tourist route could not avoid passing through dirty streets. C R Forrest commented in 1824 that 'the town itself is as filthy a hole as I ever put foot in: the streets, narrow, the huts miserable, while a nauseous odour, arising from the piles of dirt and rubbish which frequently obstructed the passage, was in the extreme disgusting' [1] Henry Lawrence found no improvement by 1845 when the old city was described by him as 'filthy, ill-drained and ill-ventilated' [2] But between these two comments there was a considerable change in the consciousness of British attitudes, a realization that piles of dirt and rubbish in the streets was an obstruction in the travellers' path but also a danger to health. Lawrence's remarks incorporate the two great European, and specifically British obsessions, of the mid-Victorian age—drains and ventilation. (One says 'obsession' but this is perhaps too strong a word, because mortality among the British in India was a constant preoccupation, and as late as 1856/7, 12.5 per cent of the Protestant community alone had died in Lucknow in the space of a single year, and of the 300 who died, only nine were over forty years of age).[3]

Ideas on cleanliness in British towns underwent a radical change during the 1840's and 1850's as the newly swollen towns like Birmingham and Bristol suffered epidemics of cholera and typhoid no less severe than those in Indian cities. It was the transposition of new ideas on hygiene to India that led to much radical town planning and building by the British there. But ironically a movement which had begun in Britain chiefly from humanitarian motives quickly provided ammunition for xenophobes abroad, for the more conscious Europeans became of the need for cleanliness the more did they begin to fear and criticize the dirty native quarters of Indian cities and, of course, their inhabitants.

In nawabi Lucknow the British were powerless to effect any change in the town except in the two areas where they lived, the Residency complex and the Mariaon Cantonment, and here the limited measures which could be adopted for the preservation of health only served to emphasize the isolation of the British, hemmed in by a kind of invisible *cordon sanitaire* Visitors to the Residency complex before 1857 invariably noted the contrast between the neatness (and therefore cleanliness and healthiness) of this area compared with what they conceived to be the near anarchical chaos outside W.H Russell, the most unbiased commentator on Lucknow, compared the native quarters of Indian towns where the inhabitants 'sit in their decaying temples, haunting their rotting shrines, washing in their failing tanks and drinking semi-putrid water' with the 'European station which is laid out in large rectangles formed by wide roads. . The Europeans live in detached houses, each surrounded by walls enclosing large gardens, lawns, out-offices. The natives live packed in squeezed-up tenements, kept from falling to pieces by mutual pressure'.[4] Such descriptions were not of course unique to Lucknow, but whereas in Indian towns under British administration it was possible for residential British accommodation to be built well away from the existing native city, the British in Lucknow had perforce to put up with what they already had—the Residency complex surrounded by crowded Indian dwellings.

When the Residency site was first being developed in the 1780's it was on the outskirts of Lucknow and was the second highest area (the Macchi Bhavan hill was the first) in the vicin-

ity of the city, far enough removed from the foetid atmosphere of the native city but convenient for communication with the nawabi palaces Similarly when the Mariaon site was being debated Lieut Col. Thomas said he had selected the 'only space of elevated land south of His Excellency's Hunting Lodge'[5] and in the same report complained about the soldiers in the pre-1807 Cantonment being 'pent up in a small Hindustanee Building within an assembly of Native Huts and the vile effluvia of such places' It will be recalled too that the Resident Sleeman was in the habit of occasionally spending a few days in the Cantonment residency 'at the close of the hot winds and commencement of the Rains, when epidemic diseases prevail in the City from accumulated filth' [6] Sleeman's remarks show that 'accumulated filth' was by this time, i.e. the 1850's, being treated seriously as a source of infection, though the exact link between flies, mosquitoes, germs and disease had not at that time been thoroughly established It was usually thought that unpleasant odours alone were sufficient to cause disease, the very word 'malaria' means 'bad air', and the Europeans in India had long believed that if the air round them was pure it minimized the chances of catching diseases Europeans had in fact been carrying out preventive measures against disease for some time in India, though without being sure why their methods were effective As early as the 1800's Valentia noted that 'The British, who, from official or commercial concerns, are attached to the great cities of India, have generally fixed on a spot at a little distance, where they have constructed modern residences, free from the stench and confinement of Asiatic narrow streets',[7] and by the 1840's, when a number of books had been published specifically for the European in India, the British were being told to avoid building near damp, marshy grounds and away from 'the most objectionable though common sites of town or city dwellings, the vicinities of meat or vegetable bazaars – burial grounds – dirty stagnant ponds – public drains and crowded native hamlets'.[8] It was not explained why these sites were to be avoided apart from vague talk about dangerous effluvia.

There is no dispute that the old part of Lucknow did undoubtedly provide a breeding ground for disease. As British officers in charge of the Lucknow hospitals began to submit

reports on Indian patients, a horrifying picture was built up of endemic diseases like syphilis (which affected half the patients seen), smallpox and leprosy, which was common In August 1842 a thousand Indians died in a single day during an epidemic of an unidentified disease[9] and a cholera epidemic in the winter of 1848/49 killed thousands, including 700 Indians in a day [10] Without comparative statistics from other similarly-sized towns one cannot say that Lucknow was unusually unhealthy. But the result was that the more the British became aware of the risks inherent in overcrowded and unsanitary conditions the more did they seek to alter these conditions where they had the jurisdiction, and the more did their fear increase of the native city, which was 'filthy, ill-drained and ill-ventilated' and, as with Lucknow, outside their control

From criticisms on filth to criticisms on moral grounds was but a short step for many Victorians, and the following passage from the *Calcutta Review* of 1845, speaking of those places where the British did have a measure of control, makes a direct correlation between the two There was, it was stated,

> a very striking reduction of the average mortality Year after year has seen a progressive improvement, for year after year has seen jungles cleared away, and marshes drained and thick walled, well-raised houses erected, whilst simultaneously with these important changes, sobriety and moderation have steadily advanced, and rapid strides have been made in the progress of medical science [11]

This report paints a rosy picture of improvements, which were by no means universal, but its most interesting item is the juxtaposition of 'sobriety and moderation' with more practical measures. It is undeniable that together with the new consciousness about public health in India also came a new surge of Christian morality, hastened by the British Government's policy of allowing missionaries in India more freedom after 1813. 'Ruffianism had gone out of fashion', wrote a commentator in 1844. 'People drank less, gambled less, swore less and talked less obscenity', [12] and for the rest of the nineteenth century cleanliness went more or less hand in hand with godliness.

But even before this upsurge of Christian morality European commentators on India had begun to adopt didactic

overtones when describing the vastly differing lives of the Indian rulers and their subjects, as this passage shows: 'The streets all this way were narrow and dirty, and crowded with bazaars and poor people presenting upon the whole, an air of wretchedness that much disappointed the expectations I had formed of the splendour of this celebrated capital [Lucknow] It was evident that this splendour was confined to the palace, while misery pervaded the streets: the true image of despotism',[13] and, 'on passing and repassing through the streets, I observed the same wretchedness as before There must be much that is "rotten in the state", whose chief city, the residence of the sovereign presents such an appearance'.[14] Another important passage in the same vein written from Lucknow in 1798 says:

> Amidst all this blaze of wealth and magnificence, thousands of poor wretches are seen on the road to all apppearance in real want There is not, perhaps, in the whole compass of human affairs a more striking display of the inequality of conditions, than this scene affords Extravagant wealth is amassed in the hands of one man, and is confined to the narrow circle of his favourites, and this superfluous store is grinded from the faces of the indigent, who are wallowing in all the filth of penury and wretchedness [15]

Later the author, after visiting Asaf-ud-daula's menagerie, said 'the food employed in this manner [i e to feed the animals] would remove want from the city, if not from the kingdom of Oude but the art of government is less understood, or more perverted, by the Indians, than any other science, meanly as we may regard their attainments in them all'. These sentiments were to be repeated many times before 1856 and the more the extravagance (or splendour as some saw it) of the nawabs increased and was manifested in the buildings and gardens of Lucknow, so did the volume of complaints increase when commentators saw no visible improvement in the lot of the inhabitants of the city. There was a growing feeling that people in positions of authority (the nawabs, in this case) should not pursue their selfish pleasure at the expense of their subjects, and measures that could ameliorate the lot of the poor began to be discussed, including the annexation of the province

An important article on Oudh appeared in the *Asiatic Journal*

for 1834[16] which received even wider circulation when it was reprinted almost word for word in Emma Roberts' book *Scenes and Characteristics of Hindostan* three years later The article starts:

The fate of the kingdom of Oude seems now verging to a crisis, and, in all probability, a short period will decide whether it is to continue under the mismanagement of its present rulers, or be placed entirely under the control, of the British Government At the present period, Lucknow affords an almost perfect realization of the *beau ideal* of the court of an Asiatic despot, though the power over life and limb has been somewhat abridged by the presence of the British Resident

The report continues·

in a state in which the people have no voice, in respect of the amount of kind of taxation, or as to the disposal of the revenue raised, every sort of improvement must depend upon the ruling power Everywhere we saw proofs of the frivolity of the amusements of the sovereign, and of the lavish expense at which they are gratified; nowhere could we perceive any public work in progress for the benefit of the community What *might* not be done in this kingdom.

The writer also noted 'a more than ordinary degree of dirt, filth, and squalid poverty, which are placed in juxtaposition with its [Lucknow's] grandest features· the lanes leading from the principal avenues are ancle-deep in mud, and many of the hovels, which afford an insufficient shelter to a swarming population, are the most wretched habitations the imagination can conceive' Privately too, officials in Lucknow shared the same opinion. In 1840 the Acting Resident Caulfield attended the anniversary of Nawab Muhammad Ali Shah's coronation and reflected in a letter to the Political Secretary to the Government in Calcutta on the 'sumptuous regalia of the Palace, when contrasted with the systematic and unrelenting oppression that is fast devastating the country, [which] can only elicit a sigh, that the splendour of the Court should be maintained at such a sacrifice, when it might be increased two fold and the country restored to opulence and tranquillity by a moderate interference on the part of the British Government' [17] Though these extracts well illustrate both the severe condemnation by the British of the nawabs and their proposals for righting the wrongs they saw by annexation or at least 'interference', one should ask how long-standing and deep-seated were the

humanitarian and liberal ideas abroad at the time in Britain as well as in India—where William Bentinck was busy promoting a deeper concern for the welfare of Indians The idea that public works should benefit the community rather than exhibit the splendour of the ruler was, after all, comparatively new. Contemporary with the criticism of the nawabs' extravagance is an apposite exchange which took place in 1807 when Major Ousely, one time aide-de-camp to Saadat Ali Khan, was being questioned at Westminster on building in Lucknow

'State what improvements he [Saadat Ali Khan] began about Lucknow at that time'

'I cannot state positively, it was about 1799 he began those improvements, from the time I commenced an intimacy with him, he commenced improvements, which became extensive in building palaces, and inclosing parks about his own palaces and mosques '

'Did not his zeal in improving his situation and the splendour of his palaces excite the wonder and astonishment of the natives of Lucknow?'

'I cannot answer that question, because Asoph ul Dowlah's palaces were more lavish than his' [18]

Improvements at this time, then, were taken to mean the building of palaces and the making of parks around such palaces and mosques, not the widening or cleaning of streets in the old city or the provision of open spaces to be used by the inhabitants of Lucknow, or indeed any of the reforms which were being slowly introduced in Britain during the first half of the nineteenth century In Lucknow the efforts of the nawabs, such as they were, were meant to placate or impress British opinion in the shape of the British Resident at the Court and the East India Company in Calcutta These were foredoomed to failure because the nawabs were frequently overtaken by changes in British ideas. What had been considered laudable by one generation was condemned by the next as 'proofs of the frivolity of the amusements of the sovereign', and the zeal of the British reformers could not accommodate the slower acceptance of foreign ideas by the nawabs, or worse still, the rejection or perversion of such ideas

There was little doubt in British minds that the nawabs could and should learn from those Europeans who visited Lucknow, and surprise was expressed that they had not benefitted more·

Both the present [Nasir-ud-din Haider] and former rulers of Oude have manifested a strong partiality for European fashions and European manufactures, but their love of novelty has not been productive of any national improvement, they have thought of nothing beyond some idle gratification or indulgence, and their minds have not expanded, or their views become more enlightened, by constant intercourse with the people who possess so much knowledge, both moral and political A great number of foreigners have for many years been attached to the court of the king of Oude, a large proportion unquestionably might be styled mere adventurers, ignorant of every art excepting that which teaches them to profit by the follies and weakness of mankind, but there were others of a superior order, from whom many lessons of the highest practical utility might have been acquired [19]

So not only were the nawabs expected to sort the wheat from the chaff of those Europeans in their capital (both the outright adventurers and the political adventurers of the East India Company), but they were also expected to keep *au fait* with the considerable changes in British attitudes during the first half of the nineteenth century No wonder that the response of the last three nawabs was to withdraw into the more familiar world of Muslim culture, for it must have seemed to them that any action would bring British criticism from one quarter or another.

Visitors to Lucknow, no matter how brief their stay or how crowded their itinerary (even to the extent that they confused two entirely different palace complexes), had no hesitation at all in criticizing the architecture and recording their instant impressions of the city, often in scurrilous terms: 'unutterable degredation'[20] 'all very degenerate'[21] 'a grotesque grace'[22] 'ridiculous absurdities'[23] 'execrable taste[24] are only a few of the expressions used to describe the city.

The first attack was on the 'impurity' of the European-style buildings, which some critics assumed had been erected entirely without European assistance (an example of criticism without historical perspective) Fergusson, the doyen of Indi-

an architecture, has this to say of Lucknow 'It is, in fact, amazing to observe to what an extent this dynasty [the nawabi rulers] filled its capitals with gorgeous buildings during the one short century of its existence, but all—or with the fewest possible exceptions—in the worst possible taste' [25] After describing the tombs, mosques and imambaras of the city, which he names as 'the debased Saracenic style', Fergusson goes on to note the grotesqueness of Qaisarbagh and the Begum Kothi in Hazratganj which—

like all the other specimens of Oriental Italian Architecture, offends painfully, though less than most others, from the misapplication of the details of the Classical Orders Of course no native of India can well understand either the origin or motive of the various parts of our Orders—why the entablature should be divided in architrave, frieze, and cornice – why the shafts should be a certain number of diameters in height, and so on in India, besides this ignorance of the grammar of the art, the natives cannot help feeling that the projection of the cornices is too small if meant to produce a shadow, and too deep to be of easy construction in plaster in a climate subject to monsoons They feel that brick pillars ought to be thicker than the Italian Orders generally are, and that wooden architraves are the worst possible mode of construction in a climate where wood decays so rapidly, even if spared by the white ants The consequence is, that between his ignorance of the principles of Classic Art on the one hand, and his knowledge of what is suited to his wants and his climate on the other, he makes a sad jumble of the Orders But fashion supplies the Indian with those incentives to copying which we derive from association and deduction and, in the vain attempt to imitate his superiors he has abandoned his own beautiful art to produce the strange jumble of vulgarity and bad taste we find at Lucknow and elsewhere [26]

This long and typical extract expresses perfectly what so many visitors to Lucknow felt—a sense of outrage mingled with a patronising amusement towards those unfortunates who had not received an education in classical architecture. It was the narrowness of vision and lack of understanding of the forces which shaped Lucknow's buildings that prevented most critics from enjoying or appreciating some of the most unique architecture in the subcontinent, and contributed in no small measure to the great post-Mutiny destruction of the city. P C Mookherji, the far-sighted and original supporter of nawabi

architecture, wrote in 1883 that 'to criticize Lucknow architecture by the rules of Palladian Art, shows the partial and defective knowledge of the critic It betrays narrow mindedness'[27] and this is exactly what one finds in so many of the city's architectural critics, past and present Even as recently as 1955 John Terry in *The Charm of Indo-Islamic Architecture* is noting 'the full horror of the impact of stucco and European Baroque' in the Qaisarbagh Palace and 'the wild incompetence of the work' here, although he does admit that 'the whole has at least the vigour of bad manners which is more than can be said for the dreary plaster wastes of New Delhi' [28]

Why is it that only those European-style buildings of Lucknow came in for such abuse, for the critics are silent about the mass of private housing in the city and usually flattering about nawabi structures which were free from European influence, in particular the Rumi Darwaza, the Great Imambara and the buildings in the Macchi Bhavan complex? The answer seems to be that only when architectural elements began to appear in the Lucknow buildings that Europeans could recognize were they able to criticise the buildings with any conviction. It is much easier for a European to condemn a structure because its Corinthian columns are too attenuated, its cornices too shallow or too deep, or its statues inappropriate, than for the same European to criticise a Hindu or Muslim building European-style buildings at once struck a response in the European mind and were criticized as though they had been erected in Europe instead of India, where they should have been seen as one more manifestation of the Indian vision and skill of assimilation

One should also ask that if Nawabi architecture was such a travesty of everything that was good in Europe, as critics claimed, who was to blame? None of the nawabs ever travelled outside India, therefore *all* the information they received came, as one saw earlier, from Europeans themselves or from European books and pictures, and the nawabs had no way of knowing whether that information was correct or not.

Thirdly, never at any time did European critics ever make the comparison between the nawabs' love of exotic European

styles and the Western mania for exotic Eastern styles. To the nawabs, lifelong residents in India, the fascination exerted by the Baroque, the Palladian and the Regency modes had the same appeal that Chinoiserie and Indian Gothic exerted over the West Had critics been able to make this correlation then they might well have been more lenient towards nawabi architecture, for the essence of a fashion like Chinoiserie is that one interprets, one does not copy slavishly Nash's Indian Gothic Brighton Pavilion bears no more resemblance to an Indian building than does Westminster Abbey It is not meant to, it is meant to arouse in the spectator an impression of something strange and wonderful Until one starts to see Lucknow as an Indian interpretation of the mysterious West one will never appreciate it fully, and to criticize it for not being a 'faithful' representation seems as foolish as criticizing Xanadu for not being like Birmingham

As European knowledge about India increased in the early nineteenth century, so attacks began to be mounted on Lucknow by comparing it unfavourably with the great Mughal cities of Agra and Delhi, which were rightly considered to exemplify the best Muslim building in India. Consider this post-1857 description of the Qaisarbagh 'the buildings round the square are all in stucco, and in execrable taste – a jumble of architecture, Italian, Moorish, Venetian—gilt domes, battlements, arcades, female figures and fishes. such a contrast to the chaste pink stone work of Agra, Delhi and Mathura' [29] This comparison is unfair for the builders at Delhi and Agra had easy access to superior materials with which to work, namely sandstone and marble, unlike their Lucknow counterparts who had to improvise in brick and stucco the effects achieved in stone elsewhere The art of stucco-work over lakhori brick reached the high standard that it did in Lucknow and became a valid art form in its own right rather than as a mere imitation of a stone built city

Further criticism along these lines prompted by increasing familiarity with Indian buildings was that Lucknow presented a false image to the visitor, it was in fact something of a sham with its false domes and stucco whitewashed to imitate marble A description of 1915 which starts by praising the city from a distance continues

A nearer view of these buildings destroys all the illusion The 'lamp of truth' burnt but dimly for the architects of Lucknow You find, on examination, that the white colour of the buildings, which presented in the sunlight the effect of the purest marble, is simply whitewash The material of the buildings themselves is stuccoed brick, and your taste is shocked by the discovery that the gilded domes, of perfect shape and apparently massive construction . are mere shells of wood, in many places rotten [30]

The Victorian eye had become attuned to solid structures and buildings that stood squarely, not pretending to be anything other than what they were, and theatrical effects were not appreciated The epithet 'Vauxhallish' was frequently applied to Lucknow to convey an atmosphere of sham and illusion [31]

The vituperation heaped upon the statues in the city is a good example of such misguided criticism, especially as it has been possible to trace their origin solely to Claude Martin's building of Constantia, a fact of which most visitors were unaware The following passage is very typical of that unpleasant blend of heavy sarcasm and dislike which was a common reaction among visitors

A mania prevails at Lucknow for placing marble or plaster statues, as large as life, at every turn and corner, without the slightest regard to the choice of figures, which seems to be left to the discretion of the sculptor. He copies the most antiquated French models, [i.e based on Martin's designs] the originals of which have been out of date for many a long year, and manufactures, for a very reasonable price, shepherds and shepherdesses, British soliders, Neptunes, or it many be Farnese pugilists, or dogs, lions, and sundry other beasts Among them all I espied busts of Jean Jacques Rousseau, D'Alembert, and Napoleon, standing on the ground amid the fauns and the monsters of Indian mythology, all gathered together in the most perfect harmony to defend a flower-bed What marvellously enhances the brilliant effect of these works of art, is a discovery which certainly is worthy of notice in Europe, viz the custom of painting the hair, eyes and feet (whether bare or shod) with a thick coating of lamp-black, The Venus de Medici appears to wonderful advantage in this improved edition.[32]

After describing the city's buildings and statues in derogatory tones visitors often moved on to abuse the people considered responsible for these affronts, as in the passage which begins 'one of the fancies of the King consists in

having all the houses of the city painted white, or in colours, and covered with scenes of Indian life It is not his object to encourage works of art, but to produce something gay and glaring to strike the eye, and make the spectator laugh'[33] This particular writer seemed to have trouble in keeping a straight face during his visit to Lucknow because in a later passage he describes the Husainabad Imambara as looking 'more like the show room of a glass warehouse, than the sepulchre of a king . the sight of these ridiculous absurdities so amused me that I could scarcely preserve my gravity'[34]

Not surprisingly when Leopold von Orlich, the writer of the two passages quoted above, met Amjad Ali Shah he found that 'his [the nawab's] mode of life and the bias of his inclinations were painfully impressed upon his languid countenance effeminate, weak and without character, the King loves neither the dangers and fatigues of the chase, nor the privations of a military life, he fancies he has a taste for building, and, at present, he is possessed with the mania of having all the houses in the city coloured or painted'[35] Indeed it would have been strange if von Orlich had not found the nawab weak and without character for surely, the European argument went, only a weak and debased ruler could produce such degenerate architecture as that found in Lucknow This odd idea that the moral or immoral traits of the nawabs must be reflected in their architecture occupied a large place in European writing on the city both before and after 1857. Naturally there is a difference in post-1857 writings because now authors were able to say with perfect justification how wicked and degenerate the nawabs had been, so bad in fact that the province of Oudh had had to be annexed by the British Government for its own good

But pre-1857 writers too were not slow to draw direct links between the buildings they saw and the awfulness, as they believed, of the Lucknow court Sir Henry Lawrence writes, 'Yet, brilliant and picturesque as Lucknow is, still there is a puerility and want of stability about it, characteristic enough of its monarchs'[36] After 1857 architectural criticism knew no bounds, and this passage typifies the British confusion between morality and building 'A profli-

gate Court, sunk deep in vice and debauchery, had collected around it thousands whose sole business was to minister to its degrading pleasures. Many of the most striking buildings in the city belonged to men who had risen by their own infamy to be favourites with the Kings',[37] wrote Martin Gubbins in the post-Mutiny rash of books which appeared in Britain from 1858 onwards.

But the most damaging criticism came from Dr A. Fuehrer, who was at one time Curator of the Provincial Museum in Lucknow, and as such a man who commanded considerable respect in matters of art and culture. It is not yet clear how much demolition of nawabi building took place during his period of office, but one fears that a considerable number might have vanished on his recommendations. Fuehrer wrote:

> But nowhere can we see more markedly the influence of a depraved oriental court and its politics upon art and architecture than in Lucknow. Whilst some of the tombs, masjids, and portals, erected by Asaf Ud Daulah and Ghazi ud din Haider, though detestable in detail, are still grand in outline, and have a strong smack of the old solemn sepulchres of a better age ... the more modern buildings of Nasir ud din Haider and Wajid Ali Shah are the most debased examples of architecture to be found in India. These buildings whose style was avowedly and openly copied from debased European models, are unfit to be spoken of in the same chapter as the earlier buildings. All the mongrel vulgarities which were applied in Vauxhall, Rosherville and the Surrey Gardens, took refuge in the Kaiser Bagh and Chatar Manzil when expelled from thence, as, for instance, Corinthian pilasters under Muslim domes, false venetian blinds, imitation marbles, pea-green mermaids sprawling over a blue sky above a yellow entablature etc.[38]

Nearly eighty years after 1857 guide books were still being produced in which tourists could read this description of the Qaisarbagh. 'Judged from an architectural view-point the result is a gigantic failure; it could hardly be otherwise considering the indolent and flabby nature of its parent Wajid Ali Shah'[39] and to this day no objective analysis of the architecture of Lucknow has been made.

Why was it necessary for the British to convince themselves and their audience at home that Lucknow's buildings were so decadent? I suggest the chief reason was that to infer otherwise would imply that the nawabs had an appreciation of the finer

arts, and this in turn would lead people to question whether the stories of vulgar, degenerate and coarse rulers were entirely accurate Could a man who had understood and appreciated the intricate rules of Palladian architecture really be a gross and insensitive ruler? Conversely could the man responsible for the Qaisarbagh, which broke all the rules of conventional architecture, be a fit person to rule the province? If this sounds a far-fetched argument, consider the description of Ghazi-ud-din Haider which appeared in the India Gazette in 1823 'The patronage which his majesty has of late extended to music, as well as other branches of the fine arts, demonstrate the liberality of his heart and the refinement of his taste'[40] and this sentence of 1816—'the successive sovereigns and the government of Oude are repeatedly presented to us in many respectable points of view. [This was a minority opinion] If the adoption of European arts and improvements is a merit, then they appear to possess it' [41] The architecture of Lucknow had of necessity to be seen as decadent and debased in order to fit in with nineteenth-century British notions of the nawabs, for to imply that it was otherwise would raise too many uncomfortable questions

One of the logical results of seeing 'the adoption of European arts and improvements' as a merit means that the Indian fine arts are necessarily denigrated and considered but a poor second to European culture There is a striking neglect of the artistic life of Lucknow enjoyed by its Indian citizens, and no mention at all by Europeans of the rich poetical heritage of the city The only hint given that Europeans were not totally insensitive to Lucknow's culture comes during Asaf-ud-daula's time, when men like Antoine Polier and Richard Johnson, assistant Resident, commissioned and collected works by Lucknow artists, poets and musicians The following passage which throws a rare insight on Asaf-ud-daula shows that at this period Europeans had not adopted that scornful attitude which so damaged cultural appreciation later in the nineteenth century·

His Excellency's collection of Indian pictures is considerable, and preserved in large port-folios From the common daubings of the present country painters no adequate conception can be formed of these Most of them are antique productions, and though the figures

> are generally small, yet is the drawing often correct, and the colouring admirable In many, a story is completely told, with clearness and precision instantly discernable, the characters accurately defined, and the passions naturally exhibited, and strongly marked
> although widely different in manner from European matters, neither taste nor elegance are wanting to these compositions, and in the article of neat and delicate finishing, they are inimitable.[42]

This liberal and tolerant view was all too rare, and by the end of the eighteenth century there was no discernable interest by Europeans in Lucknow in the Indian fine arts Patrons like Claude Martin, Antoine Polier and Richard Johnson had died or returned to Europe, and after Asaf-ud-daula's death the nawabs were judged on their appreciation of the fine arts of Europe, not India So successful was the propaganda against Wajid Ali Shah that only recently has his character been reassessed and his considerable achievements and patronage in the field of music, dancing and poetry given their proper place in the artistic heritage of Lucknow [43]

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85. For a fuller version of the story of George Sim, see R G Varady, 'The Diary of a Road: A Sequential Narration of the Origins of the Lucknow–Kanpur Road (1825–1856)', *The Indian Economic and Social History Review*, vol xv, no 2, pp 151–72.
86 India Pol Con., 9 Sept 1853, no 82.
87 India Pol. Con., 6 Jan 1844, no 105.
88 India Pol Con, 29 June 1844, no. 82
89. India Pol Con, 28 May 1852, no 120.

REFERENCES TO CHAPTER FIVE: THE RESIDENT AND THE RESIDENCY

1 'Origins of the Residency', Home Misc Series, no. 345, pp. 329–48 Extract from Bengal Secret Consultations, 4 Oct. 1773. I O L.

2. Bengal Secret Con , 21 Dec 1774 No number given
3. Bengal Secret Con , 28 Dec 1774 No number given
4 Bengal Secret Con , 28 Dec 1774 No number given
5. *Oude Catechism*, p 6
6. *Reply to Charges*, p 3
7. See, for example, John Pemble's book *The Raj, The Indian Mutiny and the Kingdom of Oudh 1801–1859* (London 1977)
8. *Gazetteer*, ii, p 364
9 Claude Martin's Will
10. Bengal Secret Con , 25 Feb 1779 No number given
11 Bengal Secret Con , 25 April 1776 No number given *Jamdars* are superintendents, *harkaras* are messengers
12. Bengal Secret Con , 25 Feb 1779 No number given.
13. Bengal Pub Con., 28 July 1778 No number given
14 Foreign Con , 24 March 1853, nos. 45–59
15 Bengal Secret Con , 18 Feb 1779 No number given
16. In 1854 the Resident, Col J Low, stated that houses for two Company assistants and the Company medical officer were 'in the city, and close to the Residency, in fact they are all considered within the limits of the Residency grounds Those houses are the property of the King, as is also the house occupied by the Resident himself' Foreign Con , 21 July 1854, nos 9–12
17 Ozias Humphry's sketchbooks, Add 15,959, 15,962, 15,965 B L
18. Diary of Ozias Humphry
19 Humphry's sketchbooks, Add 15,965, f 1
20. Home Misc Series, 345/1–5, f 125 I O L.
21. See for example the discussion on the salary of Dr Stevenson, Superintendent of the Lucknow Dispensary Bengal Pol Con , 22 Jan 1830, no. 11
22 Bengal Secret & Pol Con , 23 May 1787. No number given
23 Claude Martin's Will
24. Bengal Inventories 1801, range 1, vol 24, no 75 I.O L Hereafter Bengal Inventories
25. Col John Mordaunt was the illegitimate son of the Earl of Peterborough. He was taken into Asaf-ud-daula's service as an aide-de-camp and died in 1790. A picture by the artist Zoffani, begun about 1784, depicts Col Mordaunt's cock match which took place in a large tent and shows the nawab with twelve other Europeans, including John Wombwell, the Company accountant, and Claude Martin It is said that Asaf-ud-daula 'never enjoyed himself after the Col's [Mordaunt] death, as he had done before' See Daniel Johnson, p. 162.
26. Bengal Inventories.
27. See P.J. Marshall.

28 Bengal Pub Con , 12 Oct 1791 No number given
29 See for example the complicated case of Thomas Hare, when the Asst Res George Johnstone was accused of inciting a Mughal prince to surround Hare's house because of non-payment of a debt by Hare The prince prevented food being sent in for Hare's wife and daughter When asked to intercede Johnstone claimed he could not because he did not believe that Hare was married until shown the marriage certificate Bengal Pol Con , 11 April 1794, no 16
30 Bengal Pub Con , 22 June 1791. No number given
31 Bengal Pol Con , 26 Aug 1831, no 30
32 India Pol Con , 21 Nov 1836, no 46 I O L
33 India Pol & Foreign Con , part 1, 30 Jan 1852, no 103 I O L
34 *Persian Correspondence*, ix, pp 252–3.
35 Bengal Pol Con , 18 June 1824, no 54
36 Bengal Pol Con , 12 March 1832, no. 61 See also Bengal Pol Con , 15 Feb 1828, no. 23, for the only record of baptisms and marriages noted These were performed by the Resident Mordaunt Ricketts, who admitted no previous records had been kept, nor of burials either
37 Bengal Pol Con , 5 July 1822, no 64
38 India Pol Con , 17 Aug 1835, no 30 I O.L
39 Bengal Pol Con , 10 May 1822, nos 73–5 See also the Pogson case when the Resident Major Roper was instructed by the Governor General to forward Capt. Pogson's petition to the nawab after complaints that the Resident was blocking access to the nawab *Asiatic Annual Register* (London 1807), p 183.
40 Bengal Pol Con , 9 Aug 1822, no 28
41 Bengal Pol Con , 24 Sept 1830, no. 28
42 Foreign Con , 24 March 1853, nos 45–59. National Archives, New Delhi
43 *Reply to Charges*, p 3
44 Foreign Pol Con , 14 Oct 1831, nos. 45–6
45 Foreign Pol Index, 26 May 1826, no 77, National Archives, New Delhi.
46 Foreign Pol Con , 4 Sept 1829, nos 30–2
47 Ibid
48 Ahmad, Safi, *Two Kings of Awadh* (Aligarh 1971), p. 50 Hereafter Safi, Ahmad
49. Bengal Pol Con , 3 April 1830, no 14
50 These 'fixed establishments' included servants supplied by the nawab for the Residency complex—among them were two carpenters, eight 'furrashes' or house-servants, three blacksmiths and ten gardeners Foreign Pol Con , 19 Feb 1830, no 32
51 Foreign Pol Con , 19 Feb. 1830, no 32
52. Ibid no 33

53 Ibid , no 34
54 India Pol, Con , 10 June 1853, nos 128–32 I O L
55 Foreign Con , 21 July 1854, nos 9–12
56 Foreign Pol Index, 17 Feb 1821, no 45
57. Ibid , no 46
58 Ibid , no 48
59 Foreign Pol Con , 7 Oct 1831, no 23
60 Ibid , no 22
61 Foreign Pol Con , 2 Sept 1831, no 7
62 Ibid , no 8
63. Ibid , no 11
64 Ibid , no 12
65 Ibid , no 14
66 Ibid , no. 15
67 Ibid , no 17
68 Foreign Pol Con , 17 Sept 1832, no 74A & 74B
69 Diskalker, pp 7–23
70 See for example *A Personal Narrative of the Siege of Lucknow* by L E Ruutz Rees (London 1858), p 195 (hereafter Ruutz Rees), where the author describes a sortie to Johannes House just outside the compound, from which an African eunuch of the court had been shooting at the British This house was finally blown up by British engineers who were able to lay a mine in a passage under the narrow road between the Residency houses and those opposite
71 Heber, i, p 377.
72 Hoffmeister, Dr W , *Travels in Ceylon and Continental India* (Edinburgh 1848), p 251 Hereafter Hoffmeister
73 Foreign Con , 10 June 1853, nos 128–32
74 There were two copies of this model made by the Rev T Moore One was housed in the Residency Museum, Lucknow, but has been greatly mutilated by the glass case falling on it, and is now useless for the purposes of research The other model was presented to Bristol Museum in 1908 but recent correspondence with the curator has revealed that this model was probably destroyed during the second world war by air-raids See also the Rev T Moore's *Guide to the Residency Model* (Lucknow 1885) Hereafter Moore
75 Von Orlich, Capt Leopold, *Travels in India*, translated by H Evans Lloyd (London 1845), ii, 4 Hereafter von Orlich.
76. Strachey, Mss Eur D 514, f 243
77 India Pol. Con , Part 1, 16 Aug 1850, no 134
78 Sleeman, Sir William, *A Journey through the Kingdom of Oude* (London 1858), i, p 326
79 *Memoirs of William Hickey* (London 1919–1925), iv, p 125
80 Foreign Pol Index, 12 Oct 1816, nos 30 and 38

81 Gubbins, M R, *An Account of the Mutinies in Oudh* (London 1858), p 162 Hereafter Gubbins
82 Hilton, E H, *Guide to Lucknow and the Residency* (Lucknow 1934), p 57 (hereafter Hilton), and see also the Rev Henry Polehampton's *A Memoir, Letters and Diary* (London 1858), pp 94–5 (Hereafter **Polehampton**), where the clergyman wrote (in 1856) 'Close to the Residency is the church, covered in with trees, standing in a large walled-in space, not a churchyard, we don't bury in or near churches in India'
83 Press List, 1775–1779 Item dated 20 March 1775 National Archives, New Delhi
84 Foreign Con, 14 March 1845, no. 131.
85 Foreign Con, 29 Aug 1845, nos 89 and 90
86 Ibid, no 92
87 Moore, p 29
88 See note 25 above

REFERENCES TO CHAPTER SIX: THE CANTONMENT

1 Secret and Pol Con, 23 May 1787 No number given.
2 Haider, S K U, *Tarikh-e-Awadh* (Lucknow n d), p. 170
3 Foreign Pol Con, 12 Feb 1807, nos 4 and 20
4 Foreign Pol Con., 19 June 1806, no 11
5 Foreign Pol Con., 11 Dec 1806, no 35A.
6 Ibid, no 30B
7 The ABC House was described in 1816 as a 'hunting house, in an extensive rumna [park] near to the cantonments of Maneeown [Mariaon] built by the late Vizier and whimsically ornamented round the freeze [*sic*] of each room with the alphabet, in Roman characters, A, B, C, etc in repeated succession' *Asiatic Journal* (London 1816) ii, p 579
8 Bengal Pol Con, March 1807, no 74.
9 Ibid, nos 74 and 76, and Bengal Pol Con, 5 March 1807, no 74
10. Bengal Pol Con, 26 March 1807, no 48
11 Bengal Pol Con, 29 Jan 1807, no 93, and Foreign Pol. Con, 12 Feb 1807, no 20
12 Bengal Pol Con, 25 June 1807, no 69
13 Secret and Military Con, 10 Nov 1790 No number given
14 Lumsden, Thomas, *A Journey from Meerut in India to London during the years 1819 and 1820* (London 1822), pp 14–15 Hereafter Lumsden
15 Foreign Pol Con, 16 Sept 1831, no 55
16. Knighton, William, *Private Life of an Eastern King* (London 1855), p 17 Hereafter Knighton

17 Bengal Pol Con , 25 Feb. 1831, no 19
18 Foreign Pol Con , 24 March 1853, no 49
19 Foreign Pol Con , 2 Sept 1831, no 12
20 Mundy, i, p 35
21 Anderson, A T , *A Short History of Lucknow* (Allahabad 1918), p 15 Hereafter Anderson.
22. Foreign Con , 24 March 1853, no 49
23 Ibid , no. 45
24 Ibid., no 47.
25 Ibid , no 47
26 Ibid , no 52
27 Foreign Pol Con., 24 March 1853, no 49
28 Ibid., no. 53.
29 Bengal Pol Con , 13 June 1851, no. 145
30 Ibid
31. Bengal Pol Con , 28 May 1852, no 116
32 India Pol Con , 16 March 1844, no 114
33. Foreign Con., 10 June 1853, no 128
34. Bengal Pol Con , 4 Feb 1817, no 10
35 India Pol Con., 21 Dec 1840, no 57
36. Sharar, p 92
37. Heber, i, p 383
38. In July 1855 Wajid Ali Shah had requested the construction of an electric telegraph line from Cawnpore, but Dalhousie had vetoed this firmly Foreign Con , 13 July 1855, nos. 55–8
39 Foreign Con , 24 March 1853, no 46.
40 Polehampton, p. 87
41 Polehampton, pp 217 & 230
42 Polehampton, p 144.
43 Anderson, p 16
44 Much valuable information on the Cantonment site has come from Akilendra Singh who kindly walked over the site, interviewed villagers and made out a sketch plan

REFERENCES TO CHAPTER SEVEN CLAUDE MARTIN'S BUILDINGS

1 *Asiatic Annual Register* (London 1799), p 29
2 Foreign Pol. Con., 3 Feb. 1816, no. 22
3 See for example the case of Pelegrine Treves, an old friend of Saadat Ali Khan, who, having spent several years in Lucknow, entered the service of Ghazi-ud-din Haider in June 1823 as Chamberlain only to

be dismissed six months later Treves died suddenly later the same year Bengal Pol Con , 5 Dec 1823, no 30

4 Wazir Ali, or Vizier Ali, nawab from June 1797 to January 1798, was a brother of both Asaf-ud-daula and Saadat Ali Khan and was one of the fifty-seven children of Shuja-ud-daula British influence placed Wazir Ali on the musnud after Asaf-ud-daula's death, but the British, realizing their mistake, deposed him after only six months After the murder by Wazir Ali of the one-time British Resident in Lucknow, Cherry, the deposed nawab was confined by the British to prison in Calcutta, where he died There was also a hint of Wazir Ali's connection with the Afghan Zaman Shah who had invaded the Punjab twice in the 1790's This tenuous connection made him dangerous both for the British and for his nawabi family. Wazir Ali's last act on leaving Lucknow before his pursuit of Cherry was to raid the Aina Khana, the treasure house of the late Asaf-ud-daula Much treasure was taken, and only a few items were ever recovered See *The Oxford History of India* (Oxford 1958), p 554, and *The Asiatic Annual Register* (1807), pp 204–5

5 Foreign Pol Con , 9 Oct 1797 No number given

6 Daniel Johnson, p 163

7 Sharar, A H , *Lucknow—The Last Phase of an Oriental Culture*, trans. by Fakir Hussein (London 1975), p 49

8 Valentia, i, p 166

9 Ibid

10 There are no details on where Martin lived between 1776 when he first settled in Lucknow and 1781 when the Farhad Baksh was finished The sole clue is in Martin's Will, when he refers several times to 'old Luckparra' and 'old Luckeypara', which appears to lie in a easterly direction from the Farhad Baksh Constantia was occasionally known as *lakh pere*, which means a thousand trees, but there is no doubt that this was an entirely separate building, and in any case was not completed on Martin's death Martin also had another house built at Najafghar, on the river Ganges, down river from Cawnpore, and refers in his Will to the house at Najafghar, or 'Martin Ghur', recalling Antoine Polier's Polier Ganj near Lucknow

11. 'An Account of Colonel Martin's Villa, near Lucknow', *The European Magazine* (London 1790), vol. xvii, Jan.–June pp 86–7

12 *The Asiatic Annual Register* (1801), p 37.

13 See *The European Magazine*

14 Compare the suggested plan of Farhad Baksh with the known plan of Constantia In both cases there are polygonal rooms in the centre of the buildings, though the space has been better utilized in Constantia The two octagonal towers in the Farhad Baksh probably fulfilled the same function as the four Constantia towers, i.e. providing ventilation

and drainage, but the octagonal tower on the south side appears to be purely decorative and does not seem to occur on the ground floor

15 See *Bengal Past and Present*, Calcutta 1918, vol 16, p 115 There seems to have been some confusion, originating in S C Hill's book *Claude Martin* (Calcutta 1912), which says: 'It is now evident that the Farhad Baksh was once far larger and very different from what it is at the present moment. Of the "exterior wall resting on pillars placed nearly in the middle of the Goomty" the massive piers on which the pillars were built "are still in existence almost in the middle of the Gumti and are always distinctly visible to low water"' These massive piers, however, I believe to be the remains of the kiosks attached to the Dilaram

16 *European Magazine*

17 *Asiatic Annual Register* (1801), p 37.

18 *European Magazine*

19. *Asiatic Annual Register* (1801).

20. Home Dept , 9 May 1774 No number given National Archives, New Delhi

21 Twining, p 309

22 Valentia, i, p 166

23 *Asiatic Annual Register* (1801), p 38

24 Valentia, i, p 163, where he writes 'Many of these [the statues] have been demolished, and most of them injured, by the earthquake of the 1st September,' i e 1803 The earlier statuary would seem from Valentia's description to have been far more varied than the Graeco-Roman models now seen on the parapets

25. Valentia, i, p 162

26. *Hastings*, i, p 196

27. Twining, p 310.

28. India Pol Con , 22 May 1839, no 64

29. Claude Martin's Will

30 The lions are a visual pun on Lyon, Martin's home town, and they appear again on his crest of arms in the chapel of La Martiniere

31 Diskalker, p 14

32. 'A strange accompaniment' because orthodox Islam frowns on any representation of the human or animal form, fearing that it might lead to idolatry See Surah 1V 76 of the Qu'ran. The Lucknow nawabs, who were Shi'as, never attempted to reconcile this stricture with their obvious love of statues, and in fact their religious ceremonies became more and more unorthodox, especially during the time of Wajid Ali Shah.

33. Honoria Lawrence's manuscript journal for 1841–8. Extract dated 20 Dec. 1843, Mss. Eur , f 85, no. 94, f 34 I O L Hereafter Honoria Lawrence

34 Mookherji, p 176
35 Hoffmeister, p 250

REFERENCES TO CHAPTER EIGHT INFORMATION ON ARCHITECTURE FROM EUROPE

1 Kidson, Murray & Thompson, *A History of English Architecture* (London 1965), p 238 Hereafter Kidson *et al*
2 Another reflection of this antiquarian interest is shown by a note recording that a work on the antiquities of Herculaneum was presented to the Nawab Ghazi-ud-din Haider by 'His Neapolitan Majesty' in 1826 Foreign Pol Index, 23 June 1826, no 16
3 In May the Rev Henry Polehampton, on taking up his brief appointment in Lucknow, was able to travel 130 miles from Calcutta by rail, although the rest of the journey had to be made in palanquins Polehampton, p 79
4 Robert Smith's sketchbooks, no 312/1–29, no 17, f 20 I O L
5 *Asiatic Annual Register* (London 1799), p 29
6 There are, for example, in the Oriental Room of the British Library two books with Martin's library imprint—*Letters* written by Shaikh Abdul Fazl and a copy of the Christian gospels translated into Persian
7 Bengal Inventories
8 *A New and Complete Dictionary of Arts and Sciences* (London 1754), published by 'A Society of Gentlemen,' and *The Builder's Magazine* (London 1774)
9 Johnson, George, *The Stranger in India or Three Years in Calcutta* (London 1843), ii, p 173 Hereafter George Johnson
10. George Johnson, ii, p 174
11 *Memoirs of William Hickey*, iv p. 132
12 Sandes, E W C, *The Military Engineer in India* (Chatham 1933), p 39
13 Pasley, C W, *Outline of a Course of Practical Architecture* (Chatham 1826), preface
14 Nilsson. p 157
15 Modave, p 442
16 Bengal Inventories, 1801 Range 1, vol 24, no 75 I O.L
17 Home Miscellaneous Series 195/1, p 177 I O L
18 Bengal Pub Con, 22 May 1780 No number given
19 Bengal Pub Con, 15 April 1782 No number given
20 Ibid
21 Letter from Claude Martin to Ozias Humphry, dated 11 March 1789 Ozias Humphry Collection Royal Academy Library, London
22 *Asiatick Researches* (London 1801), i, p. 161

23. A reproduction in La Martiniere, Lucknow, of the painting by Zoffani in Calcutta This written description is attached to the reproduction
24. Secret Index, 18 Sept 1775, John Bristow to the Court of Directors in Calcutta No number given
25. Home Miscellaneous Series, 220/1, p 389 I O L
26. Nilsson.
27. Hastings, i, p 178.
28. Bengal Pol Con, 11 Oct 1811, nos 21 & 22
29. Foreign Pol Con, 29 Feb 1812, nos 70, 73 and 74.
30. For Pol Index, 18 June 1813, no 31, and 9 July 1813, no 20
31. Bengal Pol Con., 6 Dec 1814, no 37
32. Bengal Pol Con, 30 Aug 1814, no 22
33. Bengal Pol Con, 6 Dec 1814, no 37
34. For Pol Con, 3 Nov 1815, no 5
35. Diskalker, p. 14
36. Correspondence between the India Board and the Court of Directors of the East India Company Appendix D (Calcutta n d), Mahmudabad Library, Mahmudabad, Uttar Pradesh, p. 113
37. Bengal Pol. Con, 17 Jan 1827, nos 56 and 61
38. Bengal Pol Con, 12 Jan 1827, nos. 59–60
39. Bengal Pol Con, 19 Oct 1827, no 134
40. India Pol Con, 9 Dec 1848, no 36
41. Bhatnagar, G D, *Awadh under Wajid Ali Shah* (Banares n d.), p 208
42. Bengal Pol Con, 26 July 1815, no 70
43. Bengal Pol Con, 7 March 1815, no 25
44. Bengal Pol Con, 10 Nov 1821, no 23
45. See ibid for an account of Darshan Singh removing new timbers and chunam from a house in Lucknow
46. India Pol Con, 27 Feb 1837, no 32
47. Fisher, Michael 'The Imperial Court and the Province' (thesis presented to the University of Chicago 1978), pp 148–9

REFERENCES TO CHAPTER NINE. THE FOUR PALACE COMPLEXES

1. Modave, p 143.
2. Kidson, *et al*, p 144
3. Foreign Pol. Con, 13 Feb 1857, nos. 157–9.
4. The word *kothi* means a house that is built from baked brick or stone, (as opposed to a hut of unbaked brick or a bungalow), see for example the Begum Kothi, but it can also mean a room or separate chamber within a house
5. Ruutz Rees, p. 252

6 Blane, William, *An Account of the Hunting Excursions of Asoph ul Doulah* (London 1788), p 7
7 Sharar, p 49
8 Tieffenthaler, i, pp 256–7
9 Hodges, p 101
10 Ruutz Rees, p 30
11 The Orme Collection No 334, maps, nos 9,10 and 13. I O L
12 *Persian Correspondence* v, p 189
13 *Asiatic Annual Register* (London 1800), p 97 First published in Calcutta in 1785, this article called an 'Account of Lucknow' by F Gladwin appeared in London for the first time in 1800
14 *Asiatic Annual Register* (1800), p 97
15 Valentia, i, p 140
16 Ibid
17 Hodges, p 101
18 *Asiatic Annual Register* (1800), p 98
19 Valentia, i, p 155
20 Twining, p 311
21 *Asiatic Annual Register*, (1800), p 100
22 The Nawab's Household Accounts, 1780–1783, Mss Add 29093, ff 14–90 B L.
23 *The Englishman*, a Calcutta newspaper this item dated 16 Feb 1855
24 This was a great fair called the Joghi Mela, held every August, to which the public were admitted Wajid Ali Shah, dressed in the saffron robes of a saddhu or fakir, would sit under a mulberry tree and the public were not admitted unless they were also dressed in yellow
25 *The Englishman*, this item dated 14 Aug 1855
26 See The Nawab's Household Accounts, ff 14–26
27 *Asiatic Annual Register*, (1807), p 176
28 Russell, W H , *My Indian Mutiny Diary* (London 1970), pp 100–5 Hereafter Russell
29 Hardie & Clayton, p 64
30 *The Asiatic Journal* (1816), ii, p 579
31 India Pol Con , 18 May 1835, no 69
32 Rasmara Kufida Begum to R M Llewellyn-Jones, 30 Jan 1975.
33 Foreign Pol Con , 3 Nov 1815, no 5
34 Valentia, i, p 166 Although there was friction over Martin's house between Joseph Quieros and Saadat Ali Khan it was not so serious as to sever relations between the two, for Quieros entered the service of the nawab in the early 1800's and remained working for the next nawab until his death in January 1822 The descendants of Joseph Quieros lived in Lucknow well into the twentieth century, some are buried in the Residency graveyard and a Quieros was until recently a pupil at La Martiniere school Refs Foreign Pol , Index 26 Jan 1822,

no. 32, and an interview with Mr Frank d'Souza, Vice Principal of La Martiniere, 10 Jan 1975

35 *Asiatic Annual Register* (London 1807), pp 176–83 Major Gore Ouseley's statement The Major was at one point aide-de-camp to Saadat Ali Khan

36 Nugent, Lady Maria, *A Journal from the year 1811 till the year 1815* (London 1839), ii, p 329 Hereafter Nugent

37 *Asiatic Annual Register*(1807), p 177

38 Valentia, i, p 166

39 Nugent, i, p 303

40. Twining, pp 308 and 313

41 Tennant, ii, p 104

42. Lumsden, p. 9

43 Hamilton, ii, p 131

44 Lumsden, p 10 A very small portion of these stables, part of the north/south wing, still exist at the end of Lawrence Terrace, just north of Hazratganj

45 Unusual because although most Indian cities have at least one broad street, the Chauk, the idea of streets developing from it on a grid pattern is only found, as far as I know, at Jaipur, which was laid out by the Maharaj Jai Singh in the eighteenth century, near the old medieval city

46 Nugent, i, p. 303

47 Valentia, i, p 173

48 The Oudh pers (1808–15) John Baillie's statement of 2 July 1813 National Archives, New Delhi

49 Von Orlich, ii, pp 106–7

50. See pp 172 and 174, and F Gladwin, *The Asiatick Miscellany* (Calcutta 1785), pp 97–9

51 This confusion is unfortunately still present today, for a recent (1976) guide-book *History of Chattar Manzil* confidently repeats this muddled description, although a little thought would have shown that the Sungi Dalan, the Ba'oli and the three palaces could not conveniently be accommodated in the guide-book's plan of the Chattar Manzil See *History of Chattar Manzil*, ed J K. Shukla and others (Lucknow 1976)

52 Foreign Pol Con , 4 March 1814, nos 102–4

53 Nugent, i, p. 303

54 Ibid , p 323

55 Foreign Pol. Con , 9 Jan 1818, no. 2

56 Mundy, i, p 13

57 Lumsden, pp 15–16

58 Mundy, i, p 32

59 Knighton, p. 27

60 Nugent, i, p 323

61 Darogah, Haji Abbas Ali, *The Lucknow Album* (Lucknow 1874), plate 47
62 Wajid Ali Shah also wanted his own tomb to be built in the complex, but it was not incorporated in the original design and he apparently did not start it during his brief reign India Pol Con , 29 July 1853, no 53
63 Sharar, pp. 89 & 103
64 The ornamental bridge over the small canal at the north of the largest Qaisarbagh square was decorated with mermen, thus complimenting the mermaids on the gateways A rather worn column base on the western Qaisarbagh gateway shows two small boys playing or wrestling with a giant fish
65 Caunter, Rev Hobart, *Oriental Annual* (London 1835), p 128
66 Keene, H G *Handbook for Allahabad, Cawnpore and Lucknow* (Calcutta 1896), p 58 Hereafter Keene
67 Keene, p 59
68 Hilton, p 73
69 Foreign Con , 30 Dec 1859, nos 860–73
70 Ibid
71 Secret Con 29 Jan 1858 nos 361 and 362
72 Ibid.
73 Foreign Con , 29 July 1859, nos 366–70
74 See Vanrenan
75 Mookherji, p 212
76 **Keene, p 59**

REFERENCES TO CHAPTER TEN THE OLD CITY

1 Hoey, William (trans), *Tafuzzil Ghafi'lin* (*History of Asaf-ud-daula*) (Allahabad 1885), Tagore Library, Lucknow University, p 59
2 *Bengal Past and Present* (Calcutta Jan -June 1923), p 24
3 Tennant, ii, p 356
4 White, Captain W , *The Prince of Oude* (London 1838), p 55 Hereafter White There are two conflicting reports on the parentage of Agha Mir The first says 'his figure was coarse, his manners unpolished and his intellect generally estimated below mediocrity,' and that 'he was a wanderer in the streets, and attached himself at the age of fifteen to the class of labourers employed in building and repairing houses for men of substance' (White, p. 75) This, if true, would explain a lot of his subsequent behaviour and his readiness with the pick–axe The second, more prosaic account by John Baillie, the British Resident, said that Agha Mir was 'by birth a sayyid of respectable parentage and connexions—his father's name was Mir Mohammad Tukee and his

own proper name is Sayyid Mohammad' Foreign Pol Con , 3 Nov 1815, no 5
5 Foreign Pol Con , 5 Nov 1832, no 31
6 Ibid
7 Spry, i, p 255
8 Bengal Pol Con , 24 Sept , 1830 no 30
9 Ibid
10 Ibid
11 Spry, i, p 257. But not all the palaces of Agha Mir were destroyed in the purge The present Jubilee College in the Deorhi Agha Mir area, together with a large house here, belonged to the Minister, while the Serai Agha Mir, on the Nadan Mahal road is marked as an extensive courtyard on the 1862/6 map Agha Mir is also believed to have built the large religious complex on the present Aishbagh Road, known as the Malka Jahan Kerbala, as well as the Zahur Baksh Palace to the east of Qaisarbagh, which still exists today
12 Shore, p 275
13 *Calcutta Review* (Calcutta 1855), July–Dec p 128
14 Honoria Lawrence
15 Russell, p. 203
16 Heber, i, p 385
17 *Calcutta Review* (Calcutta 1845), Jan –June, p 380
18 See the Boulton & Watt Collection, Birmingham Public Library, and the letter books of E & C Osler, Chandelier Manufacturers
19 Muslim burials are usually made below ground level because it is considered presumptuous for anyone to be buried in an elevated tomb This is the reason for the 'false' tombs on the ground floor
20 Suleiman, the Raja of Mahmudabad to R M Llewellyn-Jones, 6 Jan 1975 The Raja is head of one of the leading Shi'a families in the subcontinent and much of my information on imambaras comes from him.
21 Within one of the imambaras in the zenana section of the Mahmudabad country house is a child's imambara, a little wooden replica complete with miniature taziyas and alams There is also a reference in an inventory of F M Arnott, the trader, to 'Two large ivory Imambarahs' which were got expressly for Asaf-ud-daula, showing that imambaras should not always be regarded as buildings, but as small portable objets d'art as well See Humphry & Paull
22 Anwar Askari to R M Llewellyn-Jones, 14 Nov 1974, 25 Jan. 1975 and 3 Feb 1975 Mr Askari comes from an old Lucknow family of writers
23 Foreign Con , 30 Dec 1859, nos 851 & 882
24 Raza, Sikander (ed), *Wajid Ali Shah and Monuments of Avadh* (Lucknow 1974), no pagination Hereafter Raza

25 Foreign Pol Con, 20 Nov 1819, no 58
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28 Jafar Abdullah to R M Llewellyn-Jones 30 Jan 1975 Mr Abdullah lives in one of the remaining houses of the Daulat Khana complex
29 Safi Ahmad, p 158
30 Letters from the Resident, John Bristow, to the East India Company in Calcutta, 1782–3 Add 29120, f. 98
31 Foreign Pol Con, 23 Oct 1829, no 40
32 Ibid
33 Raza
34 *The Asiatic Journal* (London 1816), p 579
35 Foreign Pol Con, 19 Oct 1827, no 142
36 Hoffmeister, pp 258–9
37 There are two explanations for this name *wilayati* (foreign) One, that the garden was specially built for a foreign wife of Ghazi-ud-din Haider, or, two, that the garden was planted with European shrubs and flowers which were sent to Lucknow, some from the Botanical Gardens in Calcutta See Foreign Pol Con, 17 Feb 1826, no 225
38 Archer, i, p 38
39 Spry, i, p 234.
40 Forrest, p 164
41 Russell, p 55

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5 See the illustrations in Nilsson, especially plates 32A & B
6 Foreign Con, 28 June 1841, nos 159–61.
7 India Pol Con, 27 July 1840, no 138
8 Williamson, i, pp 515 & 517
9 I think it more likely, however, that the word *lakhori* derives from *lakh*, meaning 'a hundred thousand' or an immense quantity, because such a great number of small bricks were needed for a building
10 Mookherji, p 213
11 There is a further type of curved brick used for balustrades, of a much simpler pattern than the Constantia balustrade bricks Examples of this are found on the house of Munu Das, off the Aishbagh Road, and

along the low row of shops just east of the Husainabad gateway, all that now remains of the elegant shops that once lined this road between the Rumi Darwaza and Husainabad

12 Modave, p 79
13 Bengal Inventories, Range 1, vol 24, no 75 I O L
14 Foreign Con , 28 June 1841, nos 159–61
15 *Minutes of the Managing Committee from 1883–1888* The North-West Provinces and Oudh Provincial Museum, Lucknow, p 47
16 Valentia, i, p 140
17 Seton-Kerr, ii, p 353
18 Mookherji, p 239
19 Bengal Inventories
20. Honoria Lawrence
21 Saltuikov, Prince, *Lettres sur L'Inde* (Paris 1849), p 155
22 Polehampton, p. 90
23 Modave, p 79
24 Foreign Pol Con , 20 Aug 1813, no 52
25 Foreign Con , 28 June 1841, nos 159–61
26 Foreign Con , 13 Jan 1844, nos. 8–11
27 Williamson, ii, p 32
28. Williamson, ibid , p 17
29 Williamson, ibid , p 30
30 Diskalker, p 31

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1 Forrest, p . 164
2 *Calcutta Review* (Calcutta 1845), Jan –June, p. 380
3 Polehampton, p. 208
4 Russell, p 106
5. Foreign Pol Con , 12 Feb 1807, nos 4 & 20
6 Foreign Con , 24 March 1853, no 46
7 Valentia, i, p 73
8 Grant, H & Colebrooke, E , *Anglo-Hindoostanee Hand Book* (Calcutta 1850), i, p 430
9 India Pol Con , 6 Jan 1844, no 105
10. India Pol. & Foreign Con , 8 Feb 1850, no 150
11. *Calcutta Review* (Calcutta 1845) Jan –June, p 78
12 *Calcutta Review* (Calcutta 1844) Jan –June, p 319
13 Twining, p 308
14 Twining, p. 313
15. Tennant, ii, p 409
16 *The Asiatic Journal*, New Series (London 1834), vol 15, pp 214–25

17 India Pol Con , 22 June 1840, no 54
18 *Asiatic Annual Register* (London 1807), p 176
19 But oddly, Nasir-ud-din Haider was accused by one English traveller of not appearing to be ostentatious enough in his buildings Major Archer, who had been present at Ghazi-ud-din Haider's coronation in 1819 and who returned to Lucknow briefly between December 1827 and April 1828, describes the Mobaruk Manzil, which was in the Moti Mahal complex, as a 'building quite in Hindoostani style, with low rooms and small doors The taste of natives and Europeans is at extremes there was nothing princely in the house, no splendour or magnificence about it to warrant the appellative it possesses the "happy abode" was fitting for anyone of moderate rank attached to the court' Archer, i, p 26
20 Parks, p 353
21 Gordon, G F , *In the Himalayas and on the Indian Plains* (London 1884), p 118
22 Perry, Sir Thomas, *Birds Eye View of India* (London 1855), p 163
23 Keene, p 49
24 Von Orlich, ii, p 103
25 Fergusson, J *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture* (London 1910), p 324 Hereafter Fergusson
26 Fergusson, pp 327–8
27 Mookherji, p 209
28 Terry, John, *The Charm of Indo-Islamic Architecture* (London 1955), p 60
29 Cuthnell, Edith, *My Garden in the City of Gardens* (London 1905), p 182
30 Beg, M A , *The Guide to Lucknow* (Lucknow 1915), p 7
31 'Vauxhall' was the pleasure gardens set up on the south bank of the Thames during the eighteenth century It was at first a very fashionable resort, frequented by notables like Hogarth and Dr Johnson, but by the beginning of the nineteenth century it had deteriorated and was demolished There were many pavilions and glass-houses set among trees and flower beds and theatrical shows were given A request was made to the Government of India in 1806 from a Mr Swaine who wanted to establish 'a Vauxhall at a Garden House in Intally' (northern India) showing that the term was well established enough at that date not to need further explanation Public Con Index, 30 Jan 1806 No number given
32 Hoffmeister, p 259
33. Von Orlich, p. 95
34 Ibid , p 103
35. Ibid , p 108.
36 *Calcutta Review* (1855) July–Dec , p 380

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38 Fuehrer, Dr A , *The Archaeological Survey of India The Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions in the North West Provinces and Oudh* (Allahabad 1891), p 267
39 Hilton, p 70
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41. *The Asiatic Journal*, June–Dec (London 1816), vol 2, p 602
42 *Asiatic Annual Register* (London 1800), pp 100–1
43 See for example Raza, and the film by Satyajit Ray, *The Chess Players* (1978)

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Bengal Pol Con	Bengal Political Consultations
Bengal Pub Con	Bengal Public Consultations
B M	British Museum
For Pol Con	Foreign Political Consultations
I O L	India Office Library and Records

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The Making of Colonial Lucknow 1856–1877

Veena Talwar Oldenburg

TO

Philip

PREFACE TO THE OMNIBUS EDITION

The Gomati river has been an agitated witness to the twists and turns of political fortune that shaped Lucknow into the premiere city on its banks. Lucknow's destiny was manifest when Nawab Asaf-ud-daula chose it as the site for his new capital of Oudh in 1775, to distance himself from his imperious mother in Faizabad. In eight intense and inspired decades (1775–1856), it grew magically from an unremarkable township into the sophisticated and widely admired court city of the Nawabs of Oudh. It quickly outshone Delhi as the cultural star in the northern firmament even as Mughal power declined and the encirclement of Shia and Hindu Kingdoms asserted their independence from the Mughals in the eighteenth century. Under the patronage of the nawabs and the nobility, Lucknow attracted poets, artists, courtesans, musicians, perfumers, chefs, artisans, and storytellers, who joined the distinguished gathering at the court. The two other volumes of this omnibus describe the distinctive aesthetic and a special fastidiousness of manners and speech, style and fashion, and a refinement in craftsmanship that soon became the cachet of Lucknow, its people and its cultural products, greatly sought after, imitated, or mocked in envy.

This high noon was darkened by the lengthening shadow of the East India Company. Having aggressively achieved paramount power in the subcontinent, the British insinuated themselves into the court of Nawab Shuja-ud-daulah in Faizabad and drove him first to exasperation and finally to defeat at Buxar in 1764. They judiciously reinstated him after his surrender and, in due course, followed the court of his son and heir, Asaf-ud-Daula to Lucknow. They found the riches of Oudh irresistible and no stratagem or manoeuvre—no matter how ruthless or corrupt—was spared to advance their influence in the Kingdom. Abdul Haleem

Sharar reconstructs for us the glory days of the Nawabi, and Rosie Lewellyn-Jones tells us of the ultimately fatal entanglement of the Nawabs with their European 'friends' who created new forms of hybrid architecture of which the Lakhnawis are justly proud, but also the pillage that was to ruin the kingdom

In spite of half a century of ceaseless political interference, intimidation, and fiscal exploitation practiced by the Company on successive Nawabs of Oudh—to wit, the periodic extraction of several lakhs of rupees from the Begums of Oudh by Governor General Warren Hastings—Lucknow flourished and grew It showed even greater vitality under its last beloved Nawab, Wajid Ali Shah (1847–56), who was wrongly accused of incompetence and debauchery by Company officials to justify a long planned takeover. Finally, in a move as unjust as it was shameless, the East India Company sent the nawab into exile in Matiya Burj near Calcutta and annexed Oudh in 1856, provoking a rebellion (the so-called Mutiny of 1957) that swept Oudh with unprecedented fury After the siege, which has been memorialized in a vast literature on both sides, Lucknow lay at the feet of its new masters, its spirit wounded but unbroken. Before the embers of battle had died out, the first shop to open its doors was a perfumery, and the fragrance of *khas*, henna, and *gulab* mingled with the whiffs of grapeshot, while the defiant notes of the *sarangi* wailed out of the apartments of courtesans in the Chowk bazaar.

The story I tell begins here The British Crown, shaken by the determined and bloody resistance of the 'natives', decided to disband the East India Company and take matters into their own hands They presumed that they would replace a rapacious and irresponsible Company with English law and justice. One of the first tests of their faith was to come to terms with cities that proved so costly to subdue. On the drawing board was the map of the city of Lucknow, the nightmare of the British

red-coated Tommy (soldier), with its hitherto uncharted dense neighbourhoods, its narrow alleys that wove and spun into cul-de-sacs, its brick houses that presented a blank, impenetrable face to outsiders while sheltering armed rebels who could target the Tommies with ease (see figure 1 in my book.) The very fate of the British Empire in India had been in jeopardy while the rebels besieged the British strongholds in Lucknow. Not surprisingly, the strategic imperative came to dictate all the policies deployed to restore the British to power after this traumatic event. While calculating their actual losses they uncovered a shocking fact: more British soldiers had died of disease than had perished in combat. The combination of pestilence and perfidy was ever more terrifying, especially since it was discovered that one in four had died of severe venereal infection. This made the job before them harder than they had imagined—the built environment of the city would have to be substantially destroyed and its rulers insulated from the natives in unambiguous ways. This latter need would deeply change the physical layout, ethos and culture of this once rich and proud court city.

With an inadequate map of the city on his table, Colonel Robert Napier of the Royal Engineers redrew the map of Lucknow with surgical exactitude. Through that 'dense' heart were driven seven broad and straight radial roads connected with several new arteries that would make the movement of troops swift and smooth (compare figures 1 and 2). He also required that every building and garden enclosure between the Martiniere and the Gomati not required by the army be razed to the ground, and any that were spared should be encircled by an esplanade. In the most heavily populated area—the core of the nawabi city had lain between the river and the Chowk—every building, except a few palaces that could be used to billet troops or be put to other strategic purposes (like the two Imambaras, and the clock tower), was demolished. The

debris was promptly removed to create a bald 500 yard-wide esplanade that would eliminate the possibility of any future surprise attacks on British occupied buildings. The principal buildings, such as the Machhi Bhawan, residential palaces like the Chattar Manzil, and the Jama Masjid (which would never be a living mosque again) and the Imambaras served for several decades after the rebellion as military posts in flagrant disregard of Muslim sentiment in the city The stern military logic that informed the designs of these urban planners also ordained the levelling of some of the city's finest *mohallas* that lined the south bank of the Gomati and gave to Lucknow the gracious skyline that European visitors had made famous in their reports Napier presided over the destruction of two-fifths of the city fabric, justifying this vindictive and undisguised vandalism in the name of imperial security

Given the Public Works Department's zeal for broad roads to accommodate the unruly traffic and the horror of encroachments today, we might not appreciate the social function of the web of narrow streets, lanes, and alleys that still exists in the parts Lucknow that were spared Streets served principally as areas where people met, milled and mingled amid hawkers who supplied snacks, or a silvered and delicately spiced *paan*, where pedestrians and beasts of burden yielded to those who had paused to transact business or bargain or gossip A leisurely saunter through the Gol Darwaza on Phoolon Wali Gali will quickly reveal that the street is a very effective social space and an arena where recreational possibilities abound In Lucknow, the custom was often to stroll on the streets not to get anywhere; the street itself was a destination and an event.

In the eastern part of the city, the new civil lines and cantonment complex was developed chiefly for European use, where only a few wealthy and loyal natives were permitted to construct houses on strictly western lines The

new Lucknow stood in sharp contrast to the damaged city of the nawabs, with its boulevards and roads, each bungalow with its own compound, wall and a garden with lawns, which served as individual esplanades The chowkidari system, of some 5000 nawabi retainers—that had formerly existed inside mohallahs and kept local crime in check—was uprooted and replaced by a force less than a fifth of that size, concentrated in half a dozen large police stations located on the new major arteries Old employees of the nawabi were discharged and new men, without the taint of rebellion, and trained and equipped to quell riots, disperse mobs, and regulate religious processions and fairs rather than deal with ordinary criminals, kept the natives in check. It is no surprise that thefts and petty urban crime soared and the pages of the local Oudh *Akhbar* were filled with letters to the editor complaining of the new swaggering policemen who did nothing to protect the lives and property of honest citizens

The fear of disease, and the ignorance of the causes of often fatal and widespread ailments such as cholera, typhoid, tuberculosis, and diarrhoea, provoked more such assaults on the patterns of civic existence Disease, it was commonly believed at that time in European medical circles, was produced by miasma—the stench given off by rotting animal and vegetable matter—while the discovery of the role of vermin, bacteria, viruses, and germs was still scores of years in the future A crowded *mohalla* was seen as 'congested' and needed open spaces, often called 'lungs', to improve health The city was thought of as a body, its roads 'arteries' that supplied it oxygen Muslims had customarily buried their dead in small cemeteries dotting the city, some even on their own private grounds These were summarily dug up on sanitary grounds and new burial and cremation grounds were designated at the edges of the city The obsession with eliminating miasmas from the civic environment led to the repair of one nawabi amenity in the old city—its drains—and the building of latrines for

public use, and the regular removal of ordure to trenching pits Defecating or urinating on the streets of Lucknow became a civil offence, thousands were fined and some even imprisoned every year, although this practice (regrettably!) lapsed as the miasmatic theory of disease lost favour.

Ad hoc measures in the post-mutiny panic slowly gave way to a highly ordered municipal government Much of the structure of governance and the substance of the municipal codes, laws and bylaws survive to the present day, still reflecting the biases of an arbitrary colonial authority shaped in that memorably dangerous era Austerity, bordering on ugliness, prevailed as official taste was moulded by the need for safety, which was compounded by a determination to do things as cheaply as possible for the natives Uniform, neat and rectangular-shaped structures were insisted upon while older spatial designs and usage, courtyards, and three-storeyed structures (*manzil*) were regulated out of existence Every square inch of new construction had to be approved by the municipal authorities; stacks of plans for old-style *havelis* lining the streets were rejected in favour of the generic single-storeyed bungalow with its 'frontage' and clearance at the back The climatic logic of indigenous housing was sacrificed to strategic caution, many of these building regulations are enforced rather mindlessly today.

The police lines, the quarters for railway men and the barracks for soldiers sprouted in neat rows with vast open fields to make a protected colonial habitation contiguous to the new cantonment Several churches, a race course, cricket grounds, a vast botanical garden with several hundred species of trees and plants, a museum which displayed the curiosities collected by the nawabs of Oudh, made the new Lucknow a sprawling and green space A large statue of Queen Victoria to mark the eponymous street set the trend in Lucknow, as bronze images of Havelock, Canning, Butler and other colonial generals and

bureaucrats were erected over time to mark the streets and squares named after them. Today, many of these imperial idols are clustered in the yard of the police lines where pigeon droppings are regularly hosed down, while statues of nationalist leaders now stand on many of the same pedestals A club house, called the Mohammad Bagh Club, where members drawn from the Lakhnawi elite flock today, began its existence as a social complex for colonial military and civil officers, with tennis courts, parade grounds, a library, many gaming rooms, a bar and dining facilities The city became organically schizophrenic—its nawabi and colonial personalities acting as barriers that separated the rulers and the ruled

In Hazratgunj, where scores of shops that had been abandoned or destroyed during the siege, were claimed as government property, repaired and neatened with uniform facades. This was developed as the fashionable shopping centre of the colonial city, as opposed to the specialty bazaars of the old city It became a well-stocked repository of artifacts and consumer goods. The shops were leased mainly to European traders who offered a wide variety of foreign 'novelties' and merchandise, including cloth, wines and liquors, tobacco products, cutlery, china, glassware, and western furniture and furnishings for sale To these were added the establishments of a military tailor, haberdasher, shoemaker, clockmaker, a photographer, confectioners, an English bookseller and stationer, a chemist and druggist, and a tea and pastry shop It became quite possible and desirable for Lakhnawis to venture to imitate a version of the English middle class way of life as it quickly became apparent to the surviving indigenous elite that status symbols lay in judicious acculturation Teacups and grand pianos, patent leather loafers and pleated wool trousers, bow ties and top hats, slowly took their place beside the *hookahs, paan daans,* jade handled fly whisks, *dhoti* and *achkan,* gauzy and finely embroidered *angharkhas, kurtas,* turbans and skull caps of a thrice hybridized

citizenry. And to the sounds of Urdu and Hindi were added those of English, as it became necessary for an indigenous class of professionals—clerks, lawyers, and merchants—to conduct their business in a new official tongue

The courtesans of Lucknow, who had virtually shaped and embellished the cultural style of Lucknow, struggled valiantly to refurbish their *kothas* (salons and apartments) that had been destroyed or plundered in the revolt or in its aftermath With their customary patrons impoverished or in exile, and the intrusive regulations introduced by the British to contain venereal diseases among the British soldiers, a new class of patrons emerged A hastily invented 'aristocracy'—the *taluqdars* of Oudh, modelled after the British landed gentry—filled the vacuum at the top. These rural chiefs, it must be remembered, were appointed by the nawabs of Oudh to collect land revenue in marked jurisdictions (*taluqa*) where they battled and jockeyed among themselves to expand their influence with the use of armed retainers The posts were not hereditary and lapsed with the death of the incumbent With rustic speech (Oudhi or *dehati*) and coarse manners, they were seen not to be fit to be admitted to the Nawab's court, wear silk, or own property in the city

The British were quick to recognize that these men would make loyal replacements for the disgruntled Lucknow civic nobility In exchange for loyalty they confirmed these men as hereditary landlords or owners of the *taluqas* they previously only controlled as revenue collectors, with the lands of a *taluqdar* to pass on, undivided, to the eldest son Rents were now fixed by British *bandobast*, to be remitted on fixed dates, at fixed times, and the *taluqdars* were allowed to keep the surplus they extracted from the cultivators They were also granted armed protection after their retainers were disbanded, their forts destroyed and the people disarmed, only a few who would serve as magistrates would be allowed to possess licensed firearms

The Kaiser Bagh, a large palace and garden complex in Lucknow, where many of Wajid Ali's 320 or so queens lived in luxury, was stripped by the British and handed over to the loyal *taluqdars* They were encouraged to make the city their base and construct their palaces contiguous to the civil lines Ironically, the process of converting a motley crew of rural strong men into urban notables and their timely induction into the city, saved Lucknow's many cultural institutions and luxury industries from immediate extinction. In their quest for legitimacy in the eyes of the Lakhnawis, they conspicuously consumed its culture. They became habitues of the *kothas*, lavished money on craftsmen for high quality products for personal use and as *nazars* (gifts of the ruled to their rulers) to present to the new officialdom Their public hall, the Baradari, was frequently used to affirm loyalty and entertain the English with Lucknow haut cuisine and 'nautch' parties—items they had only craved in the days of the nawabi. They also patronized the new entertainments—cricket games, horse racing, card games, billiards—and garden parties and ball room dancing soon vied with the cock fights, kite flying, and pigeon-fancying of old

Underneath the destruction, the uprooting, and the restructuring that went on, a recognizable historic process was underway The culture of a tiny colonial elite was to permeate and create an Anglo-Indian way of thinking and living that slowly nudged the Indo-Persian into the background of the urban stage Future generations of the local elite and the fast developing urban professional middle class would claim it as their own So, the new traditions, once colonial and repugnant, were woven into the larger fabric of life in the city Many years ago, during a chance encounter with an eighty year old retired courtesan of Lucknow, I asked her what she would wish as a future for her granddaughter. She smiled wistfully and said. 'I would wish that she could attend La Martiniere Girls' School, like you did, and become an important officer in the city.' This

art of gracious compromise has served as a strategy for the survival of its deeper cultural values and the syncretic way of life the Hindu and Muslim denizens of Lucknow have shared for generations.

Veena Talwar Oldenburg
June 2001

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED IN FOOTNOTES

BIA	British Indian Association
BRLD	Board of Revenue, Lucknow District
BROG	Board of Revenue, Oudh General
GOI	Government of India
IOL	India Office Library and Records
JNML	Jawaharlal Nehru Museum and Library
MCRR	Municipal Corporation Record Room
NAI	National Archives of India
PMC	Proceedings of the Municipal Committee
UPSA	Uttar Pradesh State Archives
VNR	Selections from Vernacular Newspaper Reports

PREFACE

A few years ago a friend of mine who was preparing herself for her first visit to Lucknow, a city three hundred miles southeast of Delhi, said: "I can't find a history book that mentions Lucknow after the Mutiny of 1857. Has nothing new happened there since?" The remark took me by surprise. It made me wonder why Lucknow ceased to be the stage for momentous events in the latter half of the nineteenth century, even though it remained the fourth largest city in British India. There were other related and equally perplexing questions: Why do present-day Lakhnawis still draw upon the nawabi epoch to speak of the greatness of their city? Why is Lucknow more of a "state of mind," with its reputation for culture and refinement invoked in innumerable anecdotes, but so hard to substantiate from the existing reality? Its crumbling nawabi monuments have not earned it a place on the official tourist map of India, people visit it chiefly for business with the state bureaucracy. This uneventfulness is also true of some other once-great cities of the northern plain where the mutiny raged in 1857. Once aroused, this morbid curiosity about the "death" of a city provoked me to probe the issues that form the core of this work: What wrought the far-reaching changes in Lucknow's political, social, and economic structures? Can the history of Lucknow after 1857 tell us something about the history of other Indian cities? Can it explain the basic trends in city planning and government today?

I began my fieldwork in 1976. The "Emergency" declared by Indira Gandhi was in full evidence: the elected municipal council had been suspended and a professional administrator was in command of civic government; there was talk among bureaucrats of all ranks of the pleasures of governing the city without "interference" from the elected representatives of the citizens of Lucknow; one heard a great deal about "discipline," "the rule of law," cleanliness,

and the serious hazards of disloyalty to the Emergency Raj This set me digging for the roots of present-day Lucknow and, to my growing horror, I discovered indeed that the colonial prescriptions for the built environment still haunt the counsels of present-day administrators and city planners. Even the government of 1976 demonstrated that it was best geared to cope with a political crisis, real or imagined (this time the mysterious crisis that prompted the "Emergency"). The crisis-oriented machinery of government created after the mutiny is still intact and kept well oiled.

After Lucknow was recaptured by the British, the keystone of imperial urban policy was laid. the crucial first step in the process of reconsolidation of power was to hold firmly the principal city in the province, the seat of regional authority in Oudh. Here they were to perfect a system of political, economic, and social control that would make future mutinies impossible. This system also served as a model for the organization of smaller towns in Oudh that were centers of indigenous local authority.

In the next two decades thoughts and energies were devoted to evaluating the failure of past policies and to hammering out fresh, bold ones to bolster the shaken foundations of the Raj in Oudh. The crisis left its mark on policy and praxis, and in its lengthening shadow the urban world of Lucknow was transformed. This study, it should be reiterated, concentrates on examining the mechanism of this transformation in the nawabi city of Lucknow—the *urban* aftermath, as it were, of revolt.

Civic planning in a gunpowder-treason-and-plot era naturally reflected the insecurity and fear that pervaded the European community. Those who understood the task of evolving a more effective form of government in the city were determined to create a rebellion-proof environment that would restore the confidence of the ruling class and make the capital a solid base from which the rest of the province could easily be governed and the revenue col-

lected. An astute summation of the situation was offered by the financial commissioner of Oudh "If Lucknow, the most important city in Upper India next to Delhi, could be held," he stated, "and the British flag still made to float over the battered seat of the British authority in Oudh, the effect would be immense."[1] The goal was unambiguous. it took the zeal of single-minded military bureaucrats to achieve it

Three imperatives came to dominate policy, determine legislation, and supply the rationale for action in the urban context safety, sanitation, and loyalty. During the ten horrible months of revolt, the city of Lucknow had demonstrated to the British that it was physically impossible to defend, that its insanitary conditions had nurtured disease which had claimed a large number of European lives, and that virtually all of its citizens were tainted in varying degrees by rebelliousness Nothing was more urgent, therefore, than to make it safe, clean, and loyal—three themes, therefore, rather than chronology, that order this book

The first chapter introduces the historical setting and British perceptions of the nawabi city· its frightening maze of narrow streets and blind alleys, its "hostile" population, its incompetent kings, and finally the traumatic days of the siege. From the point of view of the new rulers the city, first of all, had to be *safe*. The danger perceived was not from external attack but from internal conspiracy, rebellion, or sabotage. The second chapter examines in detail the military plans to improve civic defense and communications, the construction of the cantonment and civil station, with the new sections of the city juxtaposed to the half-ruined old, and the emerging colonial morphological pattern If the structure of the old city made the battle more grim and prolonged the siege, the traumatic experience of the siege would exert a profound influence on

[1] M. R. Gubbins, *An Account of the Mutinies in Oudh and the Siege of the Lucknow Residency* (London. R. Bentley, 1858), p. 350.

the new urban form[2] The extent of the actual demolitions in the city, its colonial-style rebuilding, and whether, in fact, this made the city safe for its new rulers form the substance of this chapter.

Cleanliness was the Victorian shorthand for a variety of related concerns morbidity, disease, sanitation, salubrity, drainage, conservancy, "social disease," hospitals, water supply, vegetation, clean air, parks, gardens, density and overcrowding. Indian cities were notoriously "unhealthy," and Lucknow was particularly so. Disease had accounted for a greater number of European dead than had enemy action. These concerns were articulated in institutional form, but questions remain of whether the civic government was effective in making the entire city clean and what the financial and social costs of implementing these new policies were. These major issues are discussed in the third, fourth, and fifth chapters, with special emphasis on the evolution of a centralized civil authority, its major activities, and civic taxation as important features of colonial urban development. An attempt will be made to describe, wherever the available evidence permits, the ways in which the new government impinged upon the lives of ordinary citizens. Colonial policies will be evaluated for their overall effect on the local population as well as for the extent to which they fulfilled the goals of their initiators

Finally, though in no way less urgent than safety and salubrity, there was the need for native stalwarts to support the Raj. Disaffection had spread like a disease, and the entire urban environment had to be politically sanitized Disloyalty, surmised or proven, was punished and loyalty rewarded Chapter Six will deal with a number of questions

[2] For an excellent discussion on how European cities were redesigned to make rioting difficult, particularly in Vienna and Paris after the Revolution of 1848, see Eric Hobsbawm, *Revolutionaries Contemporary Essays* (New York New American Library, 1973), pp 220-223

Which of the native elite groups did the British seek as their allies? What inducements did they offer for future "collaboration" and support? What realignments and regroupings occurred among the old elite groups?

The introduction of Western education, to a large extent, was to be the sure tool in fashioning a loyal elite—men that would give handsomely to charitable and "progressive" causes, like hospitals and schools, and perhaps even give up traditional extravagance and become the pillars of the new urban society. The periodic *darbars* (court assemblies) provided splendid opportunities for the ritualistic and gaudy display of loyalty, as they had done in the past, to impress both participants and observers alike with the legitimacy and power of the new regime For the bureaucrat, loyalty, or pledges of loyalty in the future, was the criterion that distinguished the good from the bad, the Ariels from the Calibans. For the citizens it was the familiar route to elite status and wealth Chapter Five also deals with these various modes of accommodation and survival adopted by the ruling and indigenous elites

The process of reconstruction and repression in the city took two decades to realize In 1877, when Oudh was amalgamated with the North-Western Provinces to form one administrative unit, Lucknow lost its position of capital city to Allahabad and for the next three decades remained an uneventful provincial town Eighteen seventy-seven is, therefore, a logical year at which to conclude this study. The effects of these two urgent decades, 1857 to 1877, are visible in Lucknow even today, the colonial legacy of urban government and the patterns, trends, and direction of civic policies have undergone no radical or qualitative change, even though the motivating force behind them disappeared long ago. The dynamics that transformed Lucknow were also at work in other precolonial cities such as Delhi, Agra, Meerut, Jhansi, Bareilly, Moradabad, and others, where rebellion converted the old cities into battlefields. They had to be resubjugated, replanned, and rebuilt. The era of re-

construction in Lucknow, therefore, serves as a paradigm for the understanding of urbanization in the mid-nineteenth century colonial setting At a more general level this study attempts to understand the social impact of an intrusive bureaucracy into the private lives of the urban populace and measure the degree of *social control* the colonial regime exerted in an era when tinkering with the structure of society had been officially and unambiguously forsworn

A direct outcome of the revolt was the systematic elaboration of a more penetrating and effective means of controlling Indian society This is, in fact, what I consider the central finding of my research, and it needs to be spelled out. In their own unflamboyant, understated, and bureaucratic style the military and civilian officers who undertook the reconstruction of Lucknow and other war-ravaged cities of the north Indian plain unleashed a revolution in social control and with a quiet efficiency succeeded in institutionalizing it This conclusion was by no means foregone, since the opposite view is commonly held by historians of South Asia of the same period. The earliest and best formulation of this view is found in T R. Metcalf's *The Aftermath of Revolt* (1964) The moral of 1857 for the British, Metcalf persuasively argued, was to abstain in future from interfering in the social customs of the "natives" however barbaric these might appear from the standpoint of the metropolitan culture; thus legislating against social "evils" such as *sati* or widow burning, female infanticide, and hook swinging was scrupulously avoided, although most of these customs, it must be pointed out, had already been legally abolished. Instead the British sought stability through conciliation: the Raj rested upon the loyal support of the conservative and aristocratic elements and upon *the principle of complete noninterference in the traditional structure of Indian society*. Other scholars like S. Gopal and Francis G Hutchins in their equally well-known studies of British imperial policies are of the same mind.

A healthy debate could be generated between these two

incompatible views if they were, indeed, looking at the same phenomenon, but obviously this is not the case These historians examined the colonial decision-making process at its highest, almost abstract levels and in the context of the anti-imperial mood of mid-nineteenth century Britain. I have focused on the lowest levels of local decision making and action in the *urban* context to arrive at a radically different conclusion. I will demonstrate that social control took on a far more subtle and therefore invidious form *after* the mutiny. True, there were fewer Acts of Parliament legislating the moral uplift of the people of India; the action shifted to the municipal committees with native participants that framed innumerable bylaws which regulated city life and ensured the safety of the Raj Queen Victoria's famous proclamation of 1858 had expressly guaranteed legal and official protection for the ancient customs and usages of Indian society, at the same time Brigadier Napier of the Bengal Engineers was executing his master plan in Lucknow that converted the main Muslim holy places into temporary barracks. the Friday mosque permanently ceased to be the Muslim center for prayer and ritual In an oversimplified way this small example points to the root of the historiographical problem. It is only by examining local sources that we chance upon the true depth of the continuing and conscious efforts of the British to "improve" the Indian way of life.

At one level we have the personally articulated guarantee of the Queen in England, at another, more direct, self-serving level we have the bureaucrats, shaken by their personal experience in a bloody revolt, with their jobs, their very livelihood in jeopardy The contradiction between the normative assertions of the remote policy makers and the tireless, small, practical decisions made in the field stemmed, to no small extent, from the Indian civil (or military) servants' perception of hostility around them, in the people and in the environment alike, and from their will to survive them both The monarch was an abstraction to be vener-

ated; what had to be safeguarded was their personal stake in the longevity of the Raj.[3] This argument is also very forcefully made by Spangenberg in his study of the Indian Civil Service, which goes a very long way in demythologizing the Indian Civil Service officer His careful analysis of their public and private papers shows that their motivations often were mundane and career oriented, and this image of the civil servant contrasts sharply with idealized and romantic views of the bureaucracy perpetuated by laymen and historians for generations.

The urge for social control was a natural product of bureaucratic nervousness in what was otherwise an era of laissez faire, as we shall see. It became a pervasive force that shaped the urban environment, the habits of life, and even the aesthetic perception of the ordinary citizen. The emergent civic institution was charged with duties ranging from sanitation, collection of taxes, and construction of public works, to determining ratios of window-to-wall space in new buildings[4] Municipal regulations now controlled and dictated the location of burial grounds and burning ghats, the manner of disposing of the dead, religious procession routes and fairs, and even the scale of a religious event, the design of houses, latrines, and shops, the licensing of all trades, and the manufacture and consumption of liquor, opium, and drugs

These measures profoundly affected the way of life in Lucknow and amounted to a far more comprehensive and deeper penetration of Indian society by Western ideas than it had hitherto experienced. The legislation was no longer inspired by "concern" for their benighted subjects but rather by a pragmatic regard for their own survival in a hostile environment If this entailed socially meddlesome legisla-

[3] Bradford Spangenberg, *British Bureaucracy in India* (Delhi: Manohar, 1976).

[4] The police and public works were later reconstituted as separate departments for the purpose of administrative efficiency.

tion, they expected that the involvement of Indians at the local level would certainly serve to help them gauge and possibly influence public opinion The new measures for political control—disarming the populace, for example—limited the expression of discontent to the innocuous mode of petitioning the rulers. So, while the era of social reform was theoretically proclaimed at an end, the policies pursued by a threatened bureaucracy after the crisis hastened the transformation of the traditional structure

By 1877 the task of restructuring the government and politics of Lucknow was nearly complete and was followed by a dull, quiescent, and stable period that continued well into the second decade of the next century I have therefore chosen to fill only a small gap in the social history of Lucknow and to work out the significance of that single political event which shaped its future, and by extension the urban future of the mutiny zone in modern India.

A few words of explanation for controversial terms and spellings I have used may be in order here I use the word *mutiny* in its all-encompassing sense as a rebellion, a mutiny, and perhaps even a war of independence, and not just a sepoy mutiny as the British chose to see it I also use *Oudh* instead of *Awadh* (or Avadh) because the sources I use spell it that way and because I find it a very acceptable transliteration of the name I have also retained the old-fashioned spelling of Urdu words and names as I encountered them in the sources in order to retain the flavor of a bygone era and to avoid diacritical marks. I use the word *native* both in its regular and its pejorative sense; in the latter case it is always within quotation marks. There is no glossary but an Urdu or Hindi word is explained when first used.

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curiously enough all books and manuscripts had a single "auspicious" call number), and the Tagore Library at the University of Lucknow. I would particularly like to thank Maureen Patterson and Rosemary Seton for the special interest they took in my work and Mazhar Alam, Taqi Ali Khan, and Mr. Abdi, who helped me in reading some of the source materials in Urdu and Persian. Karbalai Nawab and Pratap Singh Nahar served as my guides to the old city and arranged several interviews.

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The Making of Colonial Lucknow, 1856-1877

CHAPTER ONE

The City as Battlefield

"A madness ate into all the Army, and they turned against their officers That was the first evil, but not past remedy if they had then held their hands But they chose to kill the Sahibs' wives and children. Then came the Sahibs from over the sea and called them to most strict account "

"Some such rumour, I believe, reached me once long ago They called it the Black Year, as I remember."

"What manner of life hast thou led, not to know The Year? A rumour indeed! All the earth knew, and trembled "

"Our earth never shook but once—upon the day that the Excellent One [the Buddha] received Enlightenment."

—Dialogue between a retired soldier and the lama, in *Kim*[1]

The urban panorama of mid-nineteenth-century upper India had as its centerpiece the gracious, feudal court-city, Lucknow, the capital of the nawabs of Oudh. It was, at that point in history, the largest and most prosperous existing precolonial city in the subcontinent. In contrast, Delhi, Lahore, and Agra, the once great Mughal capitals, were greatly diminished centers of a progressively enfeebled Mughal authority, not quite equal to half the population or the commerce of Lucknow As the capital of Oudh it commanded the richest hinterland, since Oudh was the wealthiest and most coveted province of Mughal India. Only the

[1] Rudyard Kipling, *Kim*, in *Kipling. A Selection of His Stories and Poems*, by John Beecroft, 2 vols. (Garden City, N.Y.. Doubleday & Company, 1956), 1 41.

three colonial port cities of Madras, Calcutta, and Bombay exceeded it in size or affluence

In the eighteenth century Lucknow shared the changing fortunes of several indigenous inland cities in the subcontinent.[2] The weakened authority of the Mughals had enticed the governors of imperial provinces such as Oudh to assume de facto sovereignty Cities like Murshidabad in Bengal, Lucknow in Oudh, Hyderabad in the Nizam's territories, and Poona in the Maratha confederacy blossomed into important administrative and commercial centers for their own hinterlands The growth and vitality of these cities were closely tied to the fortunes and policies of local rulers Dacca, for example, lost its position as an important commercial center when the nawab of Bengal shifted his administrative center to Murshidabad[3] Lucknow too expanded dramatically in response to a similar nawabi whim. Asaf ud Dowlah (ruled: 1775-1797) moved the capital of Oudh from Faizabad-Ayodhya to Lucknow in 1775 in order to escape his domineering and politically influential mother. For eight splendid decades it remained an unsurpassed regional capital. It declined after its annexation by the British, and the deposed king tried in vain to re-create a city in Matiya Burj, near Calcutta, where he was forced to live with his courtiers in exile.

The principal city in a kingdom in the Muslim era was therefore the embodiment of the court, with the king at its head. Political exigencies often induced the king to move

[2] The generalizations that follow are based on Bernard S. Cohn, "Urbanization and Social Mobility in 'Early Modern' India· An Exploration" (paper presented at the Conference on International Comparisons of Social Mobility in Past Societies, Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, N.J , 1972)

[3] Philip Calkins, "The Role of Murshidabad as a Regional and Sub-Regional Center in Bengal," in *Urban Bengal*, ed Richard L. Park, South Asia Series Occasional Paper, no. 12 (East Lansing· Michigan State University Asian Studies Center, 1969), pp. 19-28

the court, so the center of power was frequently relocated, deserting the city that had grown up around it and inspiring a new city to bloom. The best known and documented examples of such abrupt transfers of the capital and court are from the reigns of Muhammad bin Tughlaq, Akbar, and Aurangzeb The case of Lucknow after 1856, as we shall discover in the course of the following chapters, is interesting because its king was forced into exile with a limited entourage, too large to leave Lucknow unaffected and too small and powerless to will another city into existence. Lucknow was truncated and pruned while the new masters, whose needs inspired a differently built environment, grafted onto it a new urban species to create a hybrid city that was both peculiar to and typical of the colonial era

The Backdrop

Oudh, comprised roughly of the broad, flat, fertile plain between the Himalaya and the Ganga River, had been a defined political region for two millennia before it was absorbed into the British Empire Its distinctive dialect is Oudhi, a form of Hindi, which developed over the centuries and is still the speech of the countryside within the physical boundaries of what was once Oudh. After the Muslim invasion, Persian, and later Urdu, became the language of the court and the city of Lucknow, while Oudhi held strong in the rural areas Successive Hindu dynasties ruled it from Vedic times until it was conquered by the Muslim Sultanate of Delhi between 1206 and 1526. The Emperor Akbar formally incorporated it into the Mughal Empire as one of its twelve constituent provinces and there it remained until 1819 when the nawab of Oudh declared it to be an independent kingdom.

Lucknow, too, like most riverine cities of the north Indian plain, has traceable Hindu origins couched in myth and

fable. The city has an ancient past.[4] Its founder was said to be Lakshman, the brother of the hero of the *Ramayana*, Rama Chandra of Ayodhya, and was named Lakshmanpur, but was more popularly called Lakhanpur or Lachmanpur. Lucknow is located on the south bank of the Gomati (now Gomti), a tributary of the Ganga, some three hundred miles east-southeast of Delhi and six hundred miles northeast of Calcutta. The town's most prominent landmark was a hillock called Lakshman Tila Upon this rise once stood a cave shrine that had been associated since the dim past with the worship of *Sheshnaga*, the serpent with a thousand heads forming the couch upon which the god Vishnu rests between creations. The earliest settlement was a colony of *brahmins* and *kayasths* located around this shrine. Over the centuries, waves of Rajput invaders and a steady flow of immigrants from the countryside—*ahirs* (cowherds), *pasis* (toddy palm tappers), *kurmis* (cultivators), and *koris* (weavers)—made Lucknow a sizable township and a large center for trade in grain.

Lucknow was already a flourishing town by the sixteenth century when the fleeing Mughal emperor, Humayun, sought refuge there for four brief hours and received from the sympathetic townsfolk a sum of ten thousand rupees and fifty horses. Its political importance was underscored by the fact that when Emperor Akbar reorganized his vast empire, which included nearly all of the subcontinent, Lucknow was chosen to be the seat of the governor of the

[4] There are two reputable compilations of the fragments of the early history of Lucknow *Lucknow A Gazetteer*, vol 37, *District Gazetteers of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh*, ed H. R Nevill (Allahabad· Government Press, 1904), pp 136-165 and 200-227; and the magnificent work by Abdul Halim Sharar, *Lucknow. The Last Phase of an Oriental Culture*, trans. and ed. E. S Harcourt and Fakhir Hussain (London· Paul Elek, 1975), pp. 36-44. I have drawn on both for the sketch presented here. The early history of Lucknow is outside the scope of this study so I have confined my comments to a short summary.

key *suba* of Oudh in 1590. Akbar liked the city and built several *mohallas* or neighborhoods south of the *Chowk* or the main bazaar of the city. His son, Jehangir, built the very ornate Akbari gate, which still adorns the south entrance of the *Chowk*, and the Mirza market, which was destroyed after the mutiny. A very small but sustained trickle of immigrant Shaikhs and Pathans refurbished the noble families in the city, the former being the dominant group who were closely linked to the court in Delhi. Lucknow continued to grow, gaining in palaces, gardens, and markets founded by and named after the principal noblemen.

In the reign of Aurangzeb (1658-1707), the last and most controversial of the great Mughals, Lucknow acquired added significance as a notable Sunni theological center. Aurangzeb visited the city and built a mosque upon its famous hillock to erase any lingering signs of Hindu sanctity He also ordered the transfer of the confiscated property of a wealthy French trader—a complex of four buildings called "Firangi Mahal"—to Mullah Nizam ud Din Sehalvi. The learned mullah founded the famous Sunni theological school, which produced several important scholars. The original building and the school survive to this day, and the mullah's descendants continue to be a widely respected font of religious and moral authority for their community in India.

The history of the Oudh dynasty of Shia nawabs of Irani lineage based in Lucknow was as tortured as it was brief. A very complicated series of stratagems of successive governors general and residents (the envoys of the East India Company to the court of Oudh) employed against the nawabs of Oudh marked their troubled eighty-year-long relationship and culminated in the outright takeover of the province [5] Briefly, Oudh was rich and extensive, and the

[5] For excellent contemporary views of the British connection in pre-annexation Oudh written by an acting resident see R. W. Bird [Samuel Lucas], *Dacoitee in Excelsis; or, the Spoliation of Oude by the East India Company* (1857; reprint ed., Lucknow: Pustak Kendra, 1974), and H. C. Irwin, *The Garden of India; or, Chapters on Oudh*

British longed to control its revenues They eagerly sought alliances with the strong and able early nawabs, and their ambitions in this region were whetted by the regular morsels received from the nawabs in the shape of military subsidies and loans

In the eighteenth century the British, while using Oudh as a buffer against the hostile northwest, steadily nibbled away at its territory and revenues. Several treaties were signed between the nawabs and the British to legitimize the erosion: in 1775 the nawab ceded the Benares region and the revenues of Ghazipur, in 1797 the British absorbed Allahabad and the surrounding region, and in 1801 the nawab formally ceded Lower Doab, Gorakhpur, and Rohilkhand While Oudh shrank in size, the powers of the British resident grew in inverse proportion He extended his jurisdiction beyond matters of defense and intelligence into the politics of the court He disbursed the interest payments on the loans taken by the East India Company from the nawabs to members of the royal family as *wasiqas* or pensions. He gradually arrogated to himself the right to hold a *darbar* or court (which had been so far the exclusive prerogative of the nawab) and assumed the de facto guardianship of the *wasiqadars* or pensioners against the nawab himself

In 1819 nawab Ghaziuddin Hyder (ruled: 1817-1827) was persuaded to break the frayed ties between the nearly defunct Mughal Empire and Oudh and declare it an independent state He was now called king, but for all formal

History and Affairs, 2 vols (1880, reprint ed , Lucknow. Pustak Kendra, 1973) For a recent analysis of the same period see Michael H. Fisher, "The Imperial Court and the Province· A Social and Administrative History of Pre-British Awadh (1775-1856)" (Ph D diss , The University of Chicago, 1978). My summary account is drawn from these works and from T R Metcalf, *The Aftermath of Revolt India 1857-1870* (Princeton, N J Princeton University Press, 1964), and P. D Reeves, ed , *Sleeman in Oudh An Abridgement of W. H. Sleeman's A Journey through the Kingdom of Oude in 1849-1850* (Cambridge. Cambridge University Press, 1971)

and ceremonial purposes the resident was deemed his equal. In absolute terms the resident even had an edge over the king; as a representative of a company that enjoyed the backing of the most formidable imperial power in the world he could threaten and bully while the king could only sulk and occasionally protest The remaining kings of Oudh were indeed not as capable as their predecessors, but their ability to rule was considerably undermined by the competing power structure created by the East India Company and its large-scale interference in the economic affairs of the province The situation progressively sapped the authority and purpose of the Oudh government.[6]

The aggressiveness of the resident found its complement in the grasping policies of Lord Dalhousie, the governor general of India from 1848 to 1852 He annexed several Indian states and waited for an opportunity to absorb Oudh as well "The King of Oude," he wrote, "seems disposed to be bumptious I wish he would be. To swallow him before I go would give me satisfaction." Pursuing the metaphor, he alluded to Oudh as the luscious "cherry that will drop into our mouth one day," especially if the British continued "shaking the tree to help it down "[7] On 13 February 1856, after weighing other alternatives, the British annexed Oudh on the self-righteous ground that "the British Government would be guilty in the sight of God and man, if it were any longer to aid in sustaining by its countenance an administration fraught with evil to millions."[8]

British Images of Nawabi Lucknow

Lucknow was fortunate to have among her sons Abdul Haleem Sharar, a chronicler and storyteller par excellence,

[6] This point is excellently made by P. D Reeves, ed , *Sleeman in Oudh*, pp. 18-21.

[7] J G.A Baird, ed , *Private Letters of the Marquess of Dalhousie*, 2d ed (Edinburgh. William Blackwood, 1911), pp 262, 33, and 169, respectively.

[8] As cited in G W Forrest, *Cities of India* (New York. E P Dutton & Company, 1903), p. 217

who drew as intimate and detailed a portrait of the life and times of the Oudh court as one could wish.[9] His writings also provoked European chroniclers—officials and visitors alike—to comment on the city at length. I will therefore use a series of British perceptions of the city and contrast them with the perceptions of the court elite in order to provide some small sense of the former's understanding of the character and ethos of the entity that is referred to as nawabi Lucknow. This brief, impressionistic sketch of Lucknow will serve as a necessary point of reference and contrast when viewing the two decades of urban change that followed.[10] After sorting and sifting the observations of Europeans about Lucknow in the first half of the nineteenth century, the picture that emerges is one of an exotic, rich, populous, and hostile city.

To Western observers the architecture of some of its principal buildings gave Lucknow an unduly "exotic" appearance.[11] An Englishwoman who married a Lucknow nobleman and lived there for twelve years was frequently "reminded in these scenes of the visionary castles conjured to the imagination, whilst reading 'The Arabian Nights' Entertainments' "[12] W H. Russell's first view of the city

[9] Sharar, *Lucknow*.

[10] The use of literary images of cities as data for the social scientist has been endorsed in three important articles on the subject collected in *Urban India Society, Space, and Image*, ed Richard G Fox (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Program in Comparative Studies in Southern Asia, 1970). Mahadeo L. Apte, "Reflections of Urban Life in Marathi Literature", Eleanor Zelliot, "Literary Images of the Modern Indian City"; and A K Ramanujan, "Toward an Anthology of City Images"

[11] I do not plan to give a guidebook description of the landmarks on the nawabi cityscape. For that see G. H. Rouse, ed , *The Lucknow Album* (Calcutta. Baptist Mission Press, 1874)

[12] Mrs Meer Hasan Ali, *Observations on the Mussalmauns of India*, edited with notes and an introduction by W Crooke (1917, reprint ed , Karachi. Oxford University Press, 1974), p. 20 The first edition was published in 1832.

from the rooftop of the Dilkusha palace recorded as a diary entry in March 1858, excels anything written about Lucknow in this genre·

> A vision of palaces, minars, domes azure and golden, cupolas, colonnades, long facades of fair perspective in pillar and column, terraced roofs—all rising up amid a calm still ocean of the brightest verdure. Look for miles and miles away, and still the ocean spreads, and the towers of the fairy-city gleam in its midst Spires of gold glitter in the sun. Turrets and gilded spheres shine like constellations. . Is this a city in Oudh? Is this the capital of a semibarbarous race, erected by a corrupt, effete, and degraded dynasty? I confess I felt inclined to rub my eyes again and again [13]

Close up the view was less enchanting

> When visited in detail, the gorgeousness of the picture is obscured by the more than ordinary degree of dirt, filth, and squalid poverty, which are placed in juxta-position with its grandest feature. the lanes leading from the principal avenues are ancle-deep [*sic*] in mud and of the many hovels, which afford an insufficient shelter to a swarming population, are the most wretched habitations the imagination can conceive [14]

These incredible extremes of wealth and poverty were typical of the feudal or preindustrial civilized city that was "dominated by a small, privileged upper stratum" where the sovereign personage, his numerous dependents, and the administrative elite bask in "comfort, splendor and luxury "[15]

[13] W. H Russell, *My Indian Mutiny Diary*, ed. Michael Edwardes (London Cassell and Company, 1957), pp 57-58.

[14] "Oude," *The Asiatic Journal and Monthly Register* (Calcutta), vol. 15, n s (September-December 1834). 216

[15] Gideon Sjoberg, *The Preindustrial City, Past and Present* (New York. The Free Press, 1965), p 220 Sjoberg's carefully formulated generalizations fit the Indian preindustrial city, particularly the case of Lucknow, very well.

The quarters closer to the royal palaces, the mosques and *imambaras* (sacred buildings commemorating the Shia *imams* or high priests) and the seat of government, are consistently described as "splendid," "fairy-like," "luxurious," but the stately ruins that dot present-day Lucknow confirm that these buildings did not equal the marble and sandstone splendors of Agra and Delhi. Even the best buildings in Lucknow were built of brick and plaster in the whimsical architectural styles introduced by European favorites at the Oudh court.

The nawabi city of Lucknow formed the administrative and cultural core of vast, rich hinterland and the center of its voluminous grain trade The court city thrived on revenues from the Oudh countryside that supported its lavish consumption of goods and services Workshops of artisans, craftsmen, jewelers, bankers, and tradesmen sprang up around the court to supply its needs, and Lucknow became the locus for the largest complex of luxury industries in northern India [16] Approximately a crore of rupees (one million pounds sterling)[17] was spent by the nawab and his nobles in the city of Lucknow in legendary prodigality on luxury goods and the patronage of urban culture, while the artisans, who made up two-thirds of the population, lived on a subsistence wage in the mud and thatch huts observed by Russell.

For the native elite the nawabi city represented the special environment of the Indo-Mughal cultural epoch. The court was the hub of city life, and the city was the center of administrative, commercial, and military existence When the court of Oudh moved from Faizabad to Lucknow in

[16] For a survey of these industries see William Hoey, *A Monograph on Trade and Manufactures in Northern India* (Lucknow American Methodist Mission Press, 1880)

[17] I will use the Indian units of lakhs and crores: one lakh equals 100,000 rupees and one crore equals 10,000,000 rupees, in the mid-nineteenth century 10 rupees equaled 1 pound sterling

1775, it was as if the kernel of the court shed its old husk and acquired a new one and the city largely grew in and around the existing town to accommodate the influx of the court The nawab constructed the large palace-garden complexes, the major mosques and gateways, the *imambaras*, the *Chowk* (literally square, the main bazaar for luxury goods), and a dozen major markets to form the core of the royal quarter of the city

A digression might be useful here since there were several terms for "market" and "street" in Lucknow (and other Indo-Muslim cities of the north), and the historical meanings imbedded in the terms are indicative of the various phases of town building. *Bazaar* was the most general term for market, but it was a word introduced by the Muslims and was, therefore, also associated with foreign trade for instance, the Kandahari Bazaar and Chini Bazaar in Lucknow were so named because they were at one time centers of the Afghan and China trade, respectively. The Sanskrit word *gunj*, also in common use, was generally confined to a grain market, though several *gunjes* expanded into retail centers for a variety of goods Since the bulk of the trade in India was in grain and raw produce it was not surprising that the word occurred in so many place names, either as names of streets or quarters in big cities or the names of new centers of the grain trade that grew into towns The name or the title of the founder was usually prefixed to the word to create names of markets such as Hazratgunj, Nawabgunj, Wazirgunj, and finally Victoriagunj. *Mandi*, or wholesale market, was usually the word associated with bulky articles of low value, such as vegetables, timber, grass, or coal The name *katra* was given to a bazaar that sold small, cheap goods, but it originally denoted the quarter or suburb dominated by artisans of a particular trade, small towns would only have one *katra* where all the artisans lived, manufactured their wares, and sold them Finally, the artisans of different trades and crafts tended to form caste guilds and gravitated into distinct and local groups, giving rise to

streets and quarters named after the guilds. Such a quarter would be called a *tola* if it arose before Persian words became fashionable and *mohalla* if it did so later Thus we have in Lucknow a Rastogi Tola and a Kashmiri Mohalla although both were preeminently Hindu neighborhoods built at different times This rough schema will serve as a fair guide to interpreting and explaining not only place names but to some extent also the distribution of the working population of the city and the stages of its growth [18]

The administrative and military elite were concentrated in and around the royal quarter, including the Machhi Bhawan fort, in lesser palaces The nobility built their own residential palaces and created *mohallas* with their own mosques and bazaars [19] These in turn attracted merchants, traders, and craftsmen who serviced the needs of the households and retinues of the nobility, and a city would replicate itself in miniature around each royal or noble residence In describing the development of the Mughal *padshahi shahar* (imperial city) of Shahjahanabad (old Delhi), Stephen P. Blake concludes that the *amiri* (noble) mansion or *amiri mohalla* constituted the dominant form of residential organization within the city and the patron-client form of social organization characterized the economic life of the city. Of the two hundred mosques in Shahjahanabad all

[18] This is not to imply that the population in the city has not shifted around, but my research in the city in 1976 and 1977 led me to believe that some of these observations hold good even today. After the British came to Lucknow, the word "colony" was often used instead of *mohalla*, and neighborhoods like River Bank Colony are developments from the colonial period. The postcolonial government still uses the term "colony" but has also revived the Hindi word *nagar* (which really means city) to name the latest additions to Lucknow on the north of the river such as Mahanagar and Nirala Nagar and a Punjabi refugee settlement called Singar Nagar in South Lucknow.

[19] For a detailed list of the nobles and their eponymous *mohallas* for the years 1775 to 1856 see Sharar, *Lucknow*, pp 36-74

the large ones and more than half of the *mohalla* mosques were built by the Emperor Shahjahan or his great dependents[20] The nawabi city of Lucknow followed this general pattern of growth and was enlarged and embellished by each successive nawab.

The propensity of the nawabs to "squander" their fabled wealth had been roundly condemned by Western observers Nasiruddin Hyder (ruled 1827-1837), who was allegedly under the influence of a wily European barber, paid "nearly nine thousand pounds a month for the barber's bills" from the annual revenue of Oudh, which was reputed to be "upward of a million and a half [pounds]."[21] There is little doubt that the last king, Wajid Ali Shah (ruled. 1846-1856), was completely given to pleasure in the closing years of his reign. He was devoted to his large harem, his boon companions, budding singers and dancers, his columbaries, and his large and impressive menagerie A précis of a translation of the daily report of the court *akhbar nawiz* (news chronicler) made by the assistant resident Frayer captures, quite flavorfully, a day in the life of the king·

> His majesty was this morning carried in his *tonjon* [palanquin] to the Mahal, and there he and so-and-so (ladies) were entertained with the fights of two pairs of new rams, which fought with great energy, also of some quails Shawls worth Rs 100 were presented to the jemadar who arranged these fights His majesty then listened to a new singer, and amused himself afterwards by kite-flying till 4 p m , when he went to sleep. . . Jewan Khan, daroga

[20] Stephen P. Blake, "Dar-ul-Khilafat-i-Shahjahanabad: The Padshahi Shahar in Mughal India, 1556-1739" (Ph D. diss., The University of Chicago, 1974)

[21] William Knighton, *The Private Life of an Eastern King*, 2d ed (New York. J S Redfield, 1855), p. 104 More than any other work, this quasi-fictional account of the Oudh court popularized in England and America the image of the Oudh kings as debauched, cruel, and profligate

of the pigeon house, received a khilat of shawls and Rs.2000 for producing a pigeon with one black and one white wing His majesty recited to Khas Mahal his new poem on the loves of the bulbuls.[22]

Dozens of anecdotes circulated in the city, so that the scandalized Europeans could gossip about "a purse of gold flung at a beggar, another of a life pension granted to a tailor for inventing a new way of sewing spangles to a waistcoat, for there was no lack of insensate munificence "[23]

The townspeople viewed the nawabs from a different perspective. Asaf ud Dowlah (1775-1797), the court city's founder-patron, whom Lakhnawis remember with the greatest affection, was best known for his generosity Shopkeepers in Lucknow, even to the present day, are reputed to repeat the couplet. "jis ko na de Maula/ tis ko de Asaf-ud-daulah," which means "who from Heaven nought receiveth/ to him Asaf-ud-daulah giveth "[24] The nawabs of Lucknow were renowned countrywide for the distinctive culture they developed in Lucknow—an exaggerated version of the highly Persianized Indo-Mughal style of living and consumption that had flourished in the imperial court in Delhi. Lucknow gained a reputation as a center for the finest cuisine, for more local Urdu poets than lived in the rest of India, for music and dance, for religious men and litterateurs, for fairs and grand Moharram processions, and for what was considered the best in taste, manners, refine-

[22] Joseph Frayer, *Recollections of My Life* (Edinburg and London. William Blackwood and Sons, 1900), pp. 94-95

[23] Flora Annie Steel, *On the Face of the Waters*, 3d ed (London: William Heinemann, 1897), p. 3.

[24] As quoted and translated in Irwin, *Garden of India*, 1 85. The Nizam of Hyderabad had a similar reputation for generosity, see Harriet R Lynton and Mohini Rajan, *The Days of the Beloved* (Berkeley and Los Angeles· University of California Press, 1974), pp. 71-82

ment, and culture[25] A popular adage coined outside Lucknow is a measure of the fastidious lengths to which the nobility of Lucknow took their refinements: "Lucknow ki nazakat hai ki rasgulle bhi chhil ke khaye jate hain" can be translated literally as "the elegant manners of Lucknow are such that even *rasgullas* are peeled before they are eaten " It suggests that the sophisticates of Lucknow tackled even the delicate confection of cheese and syrup by first "peeling" it because otherwise the nonexistent "skin" of the *rasgulla* would surely irritate their sensitive palates. The ceremonious etiquette sometimes provoked laughter and parody, but the nawabi elite were oblivious to the rude world outside their court-centered ken.

Yet it was this extravagance that cost the proud king his kingdom, and he spent the rest of his days in exile with a small coterie of loyalists and twelve lakh rupees as his annual gratuity Without the court and the king the city was desolate. Its chilling plight was captured by the pen of Flora Annie Steel.

> Going! Going! Gone!
>
> The Western phrase echoed over the Eastern scene without a trace of doubt in its calm assumption of finality.
>
> . on that March evening of the year 1856, when long shadows of the surrounding trees began to invade the sunlit levels of grass by the river, the lately deposed King of Oude's menagerie was being auctioned. It had followed all his other property to the hammer, and a perfect Noah's Ark of wild beasts was waiting doubtfully for a change of masters.[26]

[25] Sharar, *Lucknow,* p 193 Sharar's work studiously recaptures the society, manners, morals, and extravagances that characterized the nawabi His work has become the source of historical myths in circulation among the descendants of the Oudh courtiers today

[26] Steel, *On the Face of the Waters,* p. 1

This marked the formal end of the nawabi cultural epoch, even though its dim afterglow still haunts the old city

Another persistent European perception of the city was that it was dense with people, its streets a constant jam, its houses distastefully overcrowded. The unfamiliar "oily, steaming crowd, redolent of unsavory odors"[27] was as unattractive as it was threatening to Europeans. Mrs. Meer Hasan Ali, an avid spectator of religious processions, saw Lucknow filled with "vast multitudes of people parading backwards and forwards, on horseback, in palkies [palanquins], and on foot."[28] In its "narrow but picturesque streets bazaars were abundantly stocked, the population was literally 'teeming,' so that it was impossible to ride or even drive in the streets save at a walk."[29] The "native" habit of milling in the streets not just to buy and sell but more often just to see and be seen created these perpetual crowds that daunted the indoors-loving visitors from a colder climate

These impressions of Lucknow as a place with "swarming," "teeming" throngs has led to gross overestimations of its population.[30] In 1858 Russell cited the generally accepted view that "the city is said to contain about a million of people, and 150,000 armed at the very least."[31] This misconception was probably aided by the fact that the British strongholds in the city were under siege and the enemy appeared more numerous than they really were The precise number of the population, had it been known, would

[27] Knighton, *Private Life*, p. 149

[28] Mrs. Meer Hasan Ali, *Observations*, p 16

[29] Rouse, ed , *Lucknow Album*, p. 6.

[30] See Cohn, "Urbanization and Social Mobility," pp. 21-22, where he finds this to be true of Benaras and suggests that the narrow streets and small *chowk* (squares) and bazaars that formed the commercial areas gave a sense of huge crowds See Blake, Dar-ul-Khilafat-i-Shahjahanabad," p 153, for the case of Shahjahanabad

[31] Russell, *My Indian Mutiny Diary*, p 59.

probably not have affected these perceptions In fact, in 1867, when the population of the city was officially estimated to be well below 300,000, the Lucknow correspondent for the *Pioneer* was still talking of "the teeming population of Lucknow, said to be nearly a million "[32] A more realistic figure for the population of Lucknow at the time of annexation in 1856 would be around 400,000 The 1872 census of Oudh states that in 1856 the city had 370,000 inhabitants, with the caveat that most government and nawabi records were destroyed during the mutiny and therefore it was "not known" on what data this estimate was based [33] The first official count, made for tax purposes in 1862 and repeated in the census of 1872, showed that the population was 284,779 [34] It continued to decline marginally for the next forty years. In 1911 it was 259,798, but it was still greater than that of Delhi It might have surprised the British observers to learn that the population density of Lucknow was only 12,278 per square mile and less than a third of that of London [35]

In spite of the decline the city suffered first from its annexation to the British Empire and the exile of the Oudh court and a year later from the full-scale mutiny and rebellion against the new rulers, Lucknow managed to keep its rank as the fourth most populous city in the Indian Empire Only the presidency towns of Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras were more populous In area the city was a compact twenty-nine square miles of which the cantonment comprised one-third [36] It also included some thirty-three villages within the city limits, of which more than half were

[32] *Pioneer* (Allahabad), 13 November 1867

[33] *Report on the Census of Oudh* (Lucknow. Oudh Government Press, 1872), vol 1, Appendix E, p i

[34] *Census of India, 1911* (Calcutta Superintendent of Government Printing, 1913), vol. 1, pt 2, p 16 (table 4).

[35] Ibid

[36] *Lucknow. A Gazetteer* (1904), p 63.

privately owned[37] As we shall see, some of these villages were gradually acquired by the colonial government or by private interests and developed The city had, therefore, wide stretches of open space and was not the dense mass it was reputed to be

Another pervasive and perhaps the most enduring image was that of Lucknow as a city noticeably hostile to Europeans Bishop Heber reported that "the English often spoke of the anarchical condition, the frequent affrays, the hatred of the European and Christian name, the robberies and murders" in Lucknow On his visit he was "cautioned expressly, by more people than one, never to go into the populous parts of the city except on an elephant, and attended by some of the Resident's or the King's chuprassees [guards]," even though his own experience in the city convinced him that Lucknow had shown

> a far greater spirit of hospitality and accommodation than two foreigners would have met in London . . Some instances, indeed, which related of Europeans being insulted and assaulted in the streets and neighbourhood of Lucknow, were clearly traced to insolent or overbearing conduct on the part of the complainants themselves[38]

This impression was undoubtedly created by the fact that men went about armed with either matchlocks, guns, or pistols or "with a short bent sword called a *tulwar* and a shield certainly."[39] The nobles were

> usually accompanied about the streets with their armed retainers, the more numerous in proportion to their rank,

[37] Letter no. 3476, from Secretary to the Chief Commissioner to Secretary to Government of India (GOI), Home Department, 11 August 1869, basta no 69, "municipal," Municipal Corporation Reading Room (MCRR), Lucknow

[38] Reginald Heber, *Narrative of a Journey Through the Upper Provinces from Calcutta to Bombay, 1824-1825*, 3 vols , 4th ed (London: John Murray, 1829), 2:63.

[39] Knighton, *Private Life*, p. 11

> and it is by no means an unusual thing to witness fights between such bands in narrow streets of the lower town Much blood is often thus shed [40]

As if to live up to its reputation the hostile city turned into a battlefield swarming with thousands of armed sepoys in the summer of 1857.

The City as Battlefield

NOT TO BE ISSUE

The fortunes of the nawabi city were inextricably linked to the upheavals in the politics of the larger world outside it It is therefore surprising that studies on colonial urbanization have neither systematically scrutinized nor appreciated the most significant historical event for the British in India I hope to use this neglected perspective to connect the experience of the mutiny to the distinctive patterns of governance and planning that ensued in Lucknow

In just over a year of British rule in Oudh most of northern India was convulsed by the mutiny and rebellion of 1857. This event proved traumatic for the tiny number of British rulers who controlled the vast Indian Empire It is necessary to recall this trauma in some of its horrifying detail in order to understand how the siege of Lucknow was to transmute and shape the form and function of the city. The mutiny is the best documented event in Indian history, and the story of the 140-day-long siege of Lucknow has been told in letters, diaries, memoirs, reminiscences, plays, poems, novels, newspapers, government documents, military histories, and scholarly accounts.[41] I will present

[40] Ibid , pp 110-111

[41] It would be both impossible and unnecessary to list even a small part of this literature The most recent narrative of the mutiny as a whole is Christopher Hibbert, *The Great Mutiny India 1857* (New York The Viking Press, 1978). On the Lucknow siege, see the popular account by Michael Edwardes, *A Season in Hell· The Defence of the Lucknow Residency* (New York. Taplinger Publishing Company, 1973)

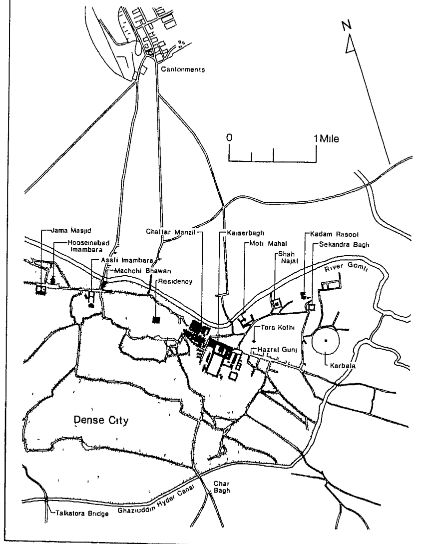


Figure 1
Lucknow in 1856

only a few selected flashbacks from contemporary sources in an attempt to re-create the despair of the embattled Europeans

In Lucknow the mutiny began in the cantonment a few miles north of the river (see Figure 1) Indian sepoys, acting on a prearranged signal, set fire to the lodgings of officers and soldiers of the Thirty-second Foot, the only European regiment in Lucknow. In the heat of June the Europeans were hastily evacuated from the cantonment, and European women and children from lesser stations in Oudh were also ordered to Lucknow The residency and the Chattar Manzil palace complex served as the ill-protected retreat for the dwindling numbers of the besieged. In October 1857 the exact count was 2,396 European men (soldiers, civilians, and local inhabitants), 755 native soldiers, 245 European women, 227 European children, 2,706 camp followers, and 611 native servants—a total of 6,938 people [42]

Fear was pervasive because the residency was located in the thick of the city, albeit on an eminence. "We were in no fort at all· we occupied a few houses in a large garden with a low wall on one side and only an earthen parapet on the other, in a middle of a large city . . swarming with thousands of foes."[43] Civilians and military men cooped within the residency compound acted in terror and desperation Martin Gubbins, the "short-tempered and even more stubborn" financial commissioner, converted his large house into a veritable fort. He found that "a volume of Lardner's Encyclopaedia could stop a musket ball after passing through 120 pages," and Sir Henry Lawrence's military secretary sacrificed his "splendid library . . of priceless Oriental manuscripts"[44] for the barricades. The

[42] F C. Maude and J W Sherer, *Memories of the Mutiny*, 2 vols , 2d ed (London Remington and Company, 1894), 1.324.

[43] G Harris, *A Lady's Diary of the Siege of Lucknow* (London John Murray, 1858), p 192.

[44] Hibbert, *Great Mutiny*, pp 219, 224-225

residency gardens were uprooted and giant trees cut down to dig trenches and lay mines. The city—the old, dirty, native city with its crooked streets and closely built houses—seemed almost impenetrable by contrast

Many of the thrusts against the rebels in the city were disastrous. A lengthy account of the progress of a relieving column making its way to the residency vividly reveals the frustrations of the men who had to defend the key city in the province against *itself*·

> The city [on the south side] . . is skirted by very thickly wooded gardens, with high walls of mud, and long, narrow lanes, with straggling lines of houses and mud huts, forming excellent covers for the enemy, who only fight behind mud walls Well, we had to go through at least three miles of this and thousands and thousands of rebels were lurking in the thick sugar canes on all sides
>
> Well, we went on . . losing men left and right, on and on through the most intricate places [with] halts innumerable . . . while roads were picked and routes determined. . [We] had to pass under the very walls while the rebels on the walls hurled down stones and bricks, and even spat [at us] . . a fierce fire being kept up from the loopholes . It was cruel work; brave troops being exposed to such unfair fighting. What can men do against loopholed houses? *We ran the gauntlet regularly through the streets* . Our men were knocked down like sheep without being able to return the fire of the enemy with any effect . Excited men can seldom fire into loopholes with any certainty . with sheets of fire shooting out from the houses On we went about a quarter of a mile, being peppered from all sides Their guns poured in round-shot day and night, being placed in such dodgy places that our batteries could make no impression upon them. The engineers had so little time to run them up, that most of them were, from a military point of view,

> quite useless, being exposed to the fire of guns from positions which they had no power of commanding.[45]

The besieged, nearly maddened with fear, waited for the enemy to falter and for fresh relieving forces.

> There would be heavy cannon fire and musket balls would hammer and dance on walls "like peas in a frying pan" . . . The [European civilian] volunteers would peer into the darkness, listening for the sounds of bodies creeping through the long grass, fancying they saw figures which would then disappear, mistaking the moonlit leaves of the castor-oil tree for the folds of turbans, and opening fire at phantoms.[46]

Others were dying not so dramatically or heroically but wretchedly, of disease There was an outbreak of cholera and smallpox during those terrible months Women and children were sickening and dying constantly. Mrs. Brydon's diary has the following entries

> *25 July* Poor little Helen Grant died yesterday of cholera . Baby still ailing and so thin. Mary Anne drooping sadly, quite lost her appetite very feverish.
> *August 17* Mrs Green died last night and Mrs Levin's baby the night before Major Bird's baby was buried this evening
> *August 30* A sergeant's wife and baby both died today.[47]

Mrs Boileau's account of her daugher's death is equally moving:

> *September 1st* My darling Ina very ill, with ulcerated sores and diarrhoea. . . I fear she can never get over this.

[45] Extract from a letter by Henry Davis Willock, printed in Maude and Sherer, *Memories*, 1.542-546. Emphasis in the original

[46] Hibbert, *Great Mutiny*, p. 245.

[47] Ibid , p. 249

> *September 2nd.* Baby is not better. . . . I get a little milk for her and break up a hard ration biscuit in it.
> *September 13th* My little darling was taken from me at five o'clock after such a night of agony and painful watching as I pray God I may never spend again . . Sergeant Court made her a little coffin . I put her into it with my own hands . . She was carried away to that wretched, mournful churchyard. . . Oh, God Almighty comfort me.[48]

There was in the makeshift hospital, a "squalor and disagreeable fetid smell which pervaded the long hall of the sick", latrines were full, and since the sweepers had deserted there was no one to empty them. "To the smell of these was added the stench of corpses and carcasses of animals left rotting in the heat "[49] There were mosquitoes and flies and other vermin:

> I have never before appreciated how terrible a thing a plague of flies can be; they have been bred by the innumerable dead bodies of men and animals. The moment one sits down they settle on every exposed part of the body· they drown themselves in tea and gravy, immolate themselves on the ends of cigars, accompany to one's mouth all one's food and render sleep next to impossible [50]

These encounters with disease, dirt, and death were etched on the minds of the survivors and were commemorated in their attempts at city planning after their almost miraculous relief and eventual victory in 1858

[48] Ibid

[49] Ibid., p 241.

[50] Gerald Lloyd Verney, *The Devil's Wind. The Story of the Naval Brigade at Lucknow, from the Letters of Edmund Hope Verney* (London Hutchinson and Company, 1956), pp. 139-140.

CHAPTER TWO

The City Must Be Safe

> The army of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief is in possession of Lucknow, and the city lies at the mercy of the British Government, whose authority it has for nine months rebelliously defied and resisted From this day it will be held by a force which nothing can withstand, and the authority of the Government will be carried into every corner of the province
>
> —Lord Canning, Viceroy[1]

The mutiny dramatically changed the British view of Lucknow: the long-coveted nawabi capital was now a sinister and dangerous city with all the characteristics that had made rebellion easy and defense almost impossible Eric Hobsbawm's model for an "ideal city for riot and insurrection" incorporates almost exactly the physiognomy of the city where the British had found themselves besieged

> Suppose, then, we construct the ideal city for riot and insurrection. It ought to be densely populated and not too large in area. Essentially it should still be possible to traverse it on foot . . It should perhaps not be divided by a large river, not only because bridges are easily held by the police, but also because it is a peculiar fact of geography or social psychology that the banks of a river look away from each other, as anyone living in South London or on the Paris left bank can verify Its poor ought to be relatively homogenous socially or racially . . .

[1] Proclamation, 26 March 1858, Foreign/Secret Consultations nos 71, 72, National Archives of India (NAI), New Delhi.

> It ought to be centripetal, that is to say, its various parts ought to be naturally oriented towards the central institutions of the city, the more centralized the better [2]

Hobsbawm goes on to say that in cities where palaces, town houses of the great nobles, markets, places of worship, public squares, and slums are interspersed a riot could be organized fairly quickly and the rulers would be at the mercy of the mob By these standards the distinctly "Islamic" city of Lucknow, with its central Friday mosque, tortuous lanes and teeming population, rows of buildings that served both residential and commercial needs, and several smaller mosques, temples, and public assembly halls, favored the rebels of 1857 Therefore it was logical and necessary to modify the form of the city to make it less congenial for rioting

The physical structure of the city defied comprehension Its densely labyrinthine areas remained uncharted In a British map of Lucknow (see Figure 1) there is no attempt to delineate more than a few major thoroughfares, the major part of the city is simply a shaded patch labeled "dense." In April 1856 Captain Moorsom of the Fifty-second Regiment was commissioned to undertake a detailed survey of the city and prepare a map for the better understanding of the layout of its closely built-up areas [3] His services as an intelligence officer proved invaluable during the revolt since he was probably the only European who understood the structure of the native city.[4]

During the siege, it became increasingly more obvious to

[2] Eric Hobsbawm, *Revolutionaries Contemporary Essays* (New York New American Library, 1973), p 222.

[3] Letter from Colonel C. Campbell to Lieutenant W. R Moorsom, 5 April 1856. Moorsom papers, India Office Library and Records (IOL), London

[4] Dispatch, Sir J Outram, from Camp Alam Bagh, 25 November 1857, printed in the *London Gazette Extraordinary*, 17 February 1858. Cutting among Moorsom papers, IOL, London

the military that mosques and larger residences must be seized and demolished as these provided convenient shelter for the rebels. Sir Henry Lawrence, who was the commanding officer in Lucknow until he was killed during the siege, resisted the sound tactical advice of the Bengal Engineers, and Brigadier Inglis was not loath to point out the harm done by his "conciliation policy" and the "tenderness" shown to "the religious prejudices" of the rebels:

> Indeed, our heaviest losses have been caused by the enemy's sharp shooters stationed in the adjoining mosques and houses of the nobility, the necessity of destroying which had been repeatedly drawn to the attention of Sir Henry by the staff of the Engineers But his invariable reply was—'Spare the holy places and private property too as far as possible,' . . The fact is of itself sufficient to prove that without new men we shall have no new system, that it is not sufficient to change merely the laws of our regime.[5]

These counsels were quickly heeded after the siege was over. The daily toll of European lives reflected a grim and hardening experience: Sir Henry's death in July 1857 removed the obstacle to the "new system" to be deployed by the "new men."

Demolitions

Most ambitious of these new men was Colonel Robert Napier of the Bengal Engineers, who arrived with the relieving force "in the nominal capacity of Military Secretary in Chief . but practically as Chief Engineer and Chief of Staff."[6] Robert Cornelius Napier, later to become the illustrious military hero Napier of Magdala, was born in 1810

[5] *Friend of India* (Calcutta), 9 January 1858.

[6] H. D Napier, *Field Marshal Lord Napier of Magdala, G C.G., G C S I* (London: Edward Arnold & Company, 1927), p. 71.

to a British army officer stationed in Ceylon. He trained as an engineer at Addiscombe, worked for two years in Chatham, and landed in India in 1828 There he began work as a construction engineer on an irrigation project and gained some valuable practical experience, but sickness recalled him to England Here he observed at first hand the planning and execution of public works in the new industrial towns In 1838 he returned to India to engage in his first major attempt at urban development—the building of Darjeeling He designed roads through dense forests, cleared sites for building, and laid the foundation for the settlement.

As captain of the Bengal Engineers he took on the responsible post of executive engineer of Sirhind division in the Punjab in 1841. Here he designed and constructed a new cantonment in Ambala to replace the one in Karnal that was notorious for the mortality of British troops, making Ambala "one of the most healthy and desirable situations in Northern India "[7] His next military and engineering feat was the reduction of the fortress in Kote Kangra, also in the Punjab, where he built a road in what was considered to be impossible terrain. His various contributions to public works in the Punjab soon resulted in his promotion to the position of civil engineer to the Punjab government

His knowledge of road building and environmental hygiene in military settlements made Napier the obvious choice as the man to reshape the unhealthy and indefensible city of Lucknow in 1858. Within a week of the capitulation of Lucknow he produced, in conjunction with his equally impatient subordinates, the document that was to change the face of nawabi Lucknow This little-known "Memorandum on the Military Occupation of the City of Lucknow," dated 26 March 1858, contained the rationale and the blueprint

[7] E. Thakeray, *The Royal (Bengal) Engineers* (London: Smith Elder and Company, 1900), p. 193.

for making the city invincible[8] The plan was simple and effective and, judging from the similar style of defense activity that went on in Delhi, he may well have been the inspirational force behind that as well[9]

The city of Lucknow, wrote Napier, in his master plan for civic defenses, "from its vast extent, and from the absence of any very prominent features of the ground on which it stands, must always remain difficult to control except by a large body of troops"[10] This difficulty was overcome by establishing several military posts in prominent buildings and "clearing" for permanent access all construction and habitations around these posts and along their lines of communication with the countryside. He used his perfected method of opening broad streets through the city and practicable roads through and around the suburbs so that troops would move efficiently and quickly to any danger spot. The nawabi Machhi Bhawan fort, which had a commanding view of the two bridges and the densely built native city, would be converted into the principal post in the city. He also proposed to clear out a six-hundred-yard wide esplanade in the most heavily populated and built-up area of the city around the Machhi Bhawan and to drive roads radiating from it through the city.

This was not all he further proposed that every building and garden-enclosure not required for military purposes

[8] Robert Napier, "Reports on the Defences of Lucknow," *Professional Papers* [of the Royal Engineers], vol 9, n.s. (1860) 17-38

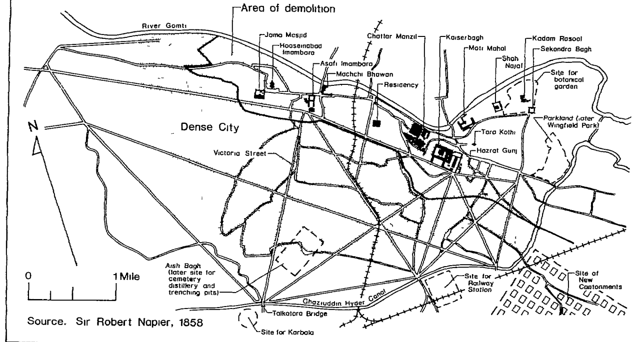
[9] Percival Spear, *Twilight of the Mughuls* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1951), pp 218-221 See also Narayani Gupta, "Military Security and Urban Development: A Case Study of Delhi, 1857-1912," *Modern Asian Studies* 5, no 1 (1971). 61-77. Gupta, however, does not discuss the author of the Delhi plan, but it is plausible that Napier's ideas influenced the redesigning of Delhi Napier also wrote a lengthy memorandum on the defenses of Kanpur while convalescing from a wound in that city See H. D Napier, *Field Marshal*, p 93

[10] R Napier, "Reports," p 19.

Figure 2

Lucknow in 1858

(++++++ indicates railway lines built by 1875)



Source. Sir Robert Napier, 1858

existing between the Martinere and the Gomti should be expeditiously razed to the ground. He justified the destruction of two-fifths of the city by implying that the "dangerous overcrowding" inside the old city would be automatically reduced with these demolitions. "Hardship," mused Napier, "will no doubt be inflicted upon individuals, property may be destroyed, but the community will generally benefit, and may be made to compensate the individual sufferers."[11] The construction of boulevards undertaken as a remedy in European capitals that had recently (1848) been threatened by revolutionary mobs profoundly influenced military engineers entrusted with the redesigning of vulnerable cities elsewhere. The redoubtable Haussmann, who rebuilt Parisian main streets so that they could not be easily barricaded,[12] probably inspired a good deal of the esplanade and road construction that became the vogue in Indian cities after 1857.

Napier's memorandum encapsulated his vision of a safe city, and it took two decades and vast sums of civic revenue to realize His plan, with only minor changes in the routes of certain roads and a hundred-yard reduction of the proposed esplanade to five hundred yards "in order to avoid cutting into the Chowk,"[13] was fully implemented. Though there is no evidence of any citizen being consulted, these modifications were probably achieved by local pressure because the *Chowk* was the heart of the commercial world of the old city.[14] Later, when Urdu newspapers were available to record protest, there are several instances of complaints

[11] Ibid.

[12] David H Pinkney's *Napoleon III and the Rebuilding of Paris* (Princeton, N.J · Princeton University Press, 1958) is an appreciative account of Haussmann's contribution to the rebuilding of Paris.

[13] R. Napier, "Reports," p. 20.

[14] In Delhi, the Dariba, the street of the silversmiths, was saved by a petition from city *panchayats* (neighborhood committees) See Spear, *Twilight of the Mughuls*, p. 222

against the plan that had called for destruction on such a large scale

> After the Mutiny, when the houses of the city were levelled to the ground, the graveyard, passing by the home of Tukya Hazrat Shah Peer Jaleel, was dug out in the middle, four feet deep, to form a road 150 feet broad, thereby destroying hundreds of graves . The few remaining sepulchres have recently been dug out by a European, who chose their clay to build his house with, and had it removed to the Kaiser Bagh in carts [15]

Anything that came in the path of a proposed road, be it a house, cemetery, or mosque, was summarily leveled Even the Chief Commissioner of Oudh implied in a memorandum that these demolitions disrupted normal life and spread chaos in the city "Lucknow," he suggested, "requires emergently [*sic*] and at once a Civil organization vigorous and complete" because "what with demolitions, Prize Agents, uncontrolled police, oppression of the soldiery, etc the wonder is not that there is an exodus, but that any people are left at all."[16] The memo described how demolition squads arrived in an area destined for clearance and proceeded to engage in their work, often without taking even the elementary precaution of making sure that the houses about to be razed were empty He ordered that in the future the city magistrate ascertain "the lines of demolition absolutely in progress" and "give to the inhabitants on such lines three days notice and point to them suitable localities now empty where they may reside unmolested " He was also to ensure "that houses marked for demolition

[15] *Karnamah* (Lucknow), 25 November 1872, *Selections from Vernacular Newspapers Published in the Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and Central Provinces* (VNR)

[16] Memorandum of the Chief Commissioner, "Civil Organization of the City of Lucknow," Foreign/Political Consultations, 23 July 1858, no 186, NAI, New Delhi

are empty" at the time of the actual blasting For the citizens of Lucknow this frenetic "construction" work was an extension of the battle they had just lost They continued to dwell in the midst of the dust and debris, reacting in panic to the noise of dynamite charges, but they were warned that if they evacuated their houses "on foolish alarms" their property was liable to be confiscated [17]

The nawabi buildings taken over for military purposes were to have individual esplanades with "all suburbs and buildings not required for our establishments" cleared away so that "the buildings occupied by our troops" may not be approachable under cover and "may command as great a range as possible."[18] These were the palaces extending along the line of the river from the Residency to near the Kaiser Bagh, including Chattar Manzil and Farid Baksh (see Figure 2). The Napier plan far exceeded the bounds of strategic necessity It was implicitly punitive against the Muslim community whose role in the revolt was perceived as being far more culpable than that of the Hindu The two main sacred targets were the Jami Masjid and the Asafi Imambara The *imambara* was seen as a "strong building"

[17] Ibid The research for this thesis was done in Lucknow and Delhi from October 1975 to December 1976—the era of Mrs. Gandhi's Emergency It was not difficult to visualize the demolitions of 1858 because in 1976 municipal demolition squads accompanied by truckloads of policemen would descend upon a locality where a road-widening or slum-removal plan was being executed Though presumably notice of the demolitions had been given, the actual bulldozing would take place at 7 A M. or earlier, surprising people in their houses While interviewing a shopkeeper early one morning, I witnessed the dismantling of the entire Nakhas bazaar, declared to be an encroachment on the edges of Victoria Street There was panic for some moments, but soon the shopkeepers began to voluntarily remove their portion of the "encroachments" to save their merchandise and to avoid any direct confrontation with the police and the "Emergency Raj "

[18] R Napier, "Reports," p. 20.

that could readily be fortified to command the approach to the city from the north and to shelter an entire regiment In the case of the Jami Masjid, however, there was little or no justification from the military point of view to divest it of its ritual purpose. It could billet only one hundred men, was only eight hundred yards from the next post, and its conversion into a barracks, even Napier conceded, as "not absolutely necessary."[19]

No restraining conscience or voice of moderation spoke out on the unnecessary occupation of the most important mosque in the city after the revolt. The implications of using the Asafi Imambara, which was also the tomb of one of the best-loved nawabs of Oudh, as a regimental barracks deeply riled the Shiite Muslims British troops ate pork, swilled alcohol, trampled the sacred hall in regimental boots, and manifested every other kind of contempt for the religion of the old rulers of the province [20]

The takeover of the Jami Masjid, which seemed merely wanton at the time, had far more damaging effects on the city as a whole and on the Muslim community in particular The corollary to the decision to appropriate the mosque was the plan to extend the esplanade well beyond the main post, as is evident from the plan (see Figure 2) which destroyed several *mohallas* that formed the core of the city. What had been the heart of Muslim socioreligious life in the city, where Shia and Sunni, rich and poor alike, congregated several times a day and for the *namaz* on Friday,[21]

[19] Ibid.

[20] The Asafi Imambara today may be visited by tourists, but no footwear is permitted inside the main vault The tourist guide's Urdu commentary includes details of the desecration wrought by the soldiers during the occupation of the *imambara* for nearly thirty years after the revolt

[21] The role of the Friday mosque in any "Islamic" city is well established in Xavier de Planhol, *The World of Islam* (Ithaca, N.Y . Cornell University Press, 1959), p. 6. "First of all, the cornerstone of Islam is prayer, and communal prayer The most important

dwindled into a picturesque ruin on a barren eminence with an unpeopled esplanade around it. Periodic attempts at rehabilitating it have failed since it now stands on the periphery of what remains of the old city and is no longer the convenient locus it once was Lucknow has no Friday mosque The small mosques serviced only the neighborhood clientele because they were restricted in space and privately owned. None of these could physically or symbolically replace what had specifically and grandly been built as Lucknow's Friday mosque and maintained by the largess of the nawabs of Oudh.[22] The seizure of the venue for the traditional weekly rituals for congregating, praying, and socializing for the Muslim community as a whole probably led to a greater polarization between Shiites and Sunnis. They were as a consequence forced to use only the smaller *mohalla* mosques that had a more sectarian character.[23]

The demolitions were a slow and expensive business, and the citizens learned to resign themselves to the desolate rubble heaps, deteriorating neighborhoods, and the financial burden of these operations A thoughtful municipal committee put a resolution on the register to remove the ruins more promptly. It stated:

---

prayer of all occurs on Friday, when the whole community assembles to pray. Such a custom requires a permanent mosque, where an important assembly like this can take place Originally the [Islamic] city was simply the place of the great Friday-prayer mosque, as opposed to several little mosques for daily prayer "

[22] Several small mosques had been seized and used as shops and homes for non-Muslims The demand for their restitution became the Muslim *cause célèbre* for the next two decades (see also my commentary on mosques, pp. 210-211, and burial grounds, pp 112-115)

[23] This conclusion is based on several interviews with Muslims of both sects in the city; it remains to be substantiated by direct documentary evidence. I did find a great number of written complaints, both to the government and in the Urdu newspapers, against the desecration of mosques.

The levellings and smoothings consequent upon the war, have long since been effected at very heavy expenditure by local funds . These operations destroyed about a fifth of the best habitations of the city. . The committee cannot too strongly impress upon the government the imperative necessity of obliterating from the minds of the inhabitants of this town the remembrance of their losses in demolished houses [24]

In May 1865 the "demolition improvements" were still in progress[25] and remained so well beyond the period under consideration

For intracity connections three major roads (numbers 1, 2, and 4 in Figure 2) and seven lesser ones were opened in the "dense parts of the city" to form the main arteries They were one hundred fifty feet broad since they were "absolutely necessary in a military point of view to reduce to order a large and turbulent city, of which not a single inhabitant came forward to our assistance, either openly or secretly, during the time of our misfortune "[26] Road building within the city was given top priority and had some unexpected social consequences.

The new roads were qualitatively and functionally different from the streets, lanes, and alleys that the people of Lucknow traversed and used for a variety of purposes Streets in the old nawabi city were neither broad nor straight If anything, they were narrow and meandering and often had blind curves and encroachments that made traffic move very slowly. For instance, road number 8 in Napier's scheme was "very urgently wanted" because "the only existing road wanders through the suburbs [*mohallas*] and may be altogether condemned "[27] Many such tortuous streets disap-

[24] Proceedings of the Municipal Committee (PMC), Resolution no. 334, 29 May 1861, MCRR, Lucknow.

[25] *Pioneer* (Allahabad), 10 May 1865, p 4

[26] R Napier, "Reports," p. 19

[27] Ibid , p 20

peared. "The winding street is gone," reminisced a veteran of the Lucknow siege about one of the daring sortees along a twisting alley, "and a broad thoroughfare takes its place, and the visitor finds it difficult to realise [how] the tormented column struggled along."[28] This was characteristic of streets in all old cities. Streets served principally as areas where people milled, mingled, and socialized, where itinerant hawkers lined the curbs, where goods and services were bought and sold, and where traffic, which chiefly comprised pedestrians or beasts of burden, was slow moving and yielded to those who were standing and transacting business The street was a public space with social and recreational functions. In Lucknow the custom was often to go to the street not to get anywhere, the street itself was a destination and an event [29]

Another feature of the old city that proved fatal to British forces was the innumerable cul-de-sacs in which in the residential parts of the *mohalla* meandering lanes would abruptly end. The concept behind the new streets, therefore, was not only to widen them for quicker troop movement but to build them from one end of the city to the other so that there would be an uncircuitous exit from the maze of the old city. The cul-de-sacs were structurally very important to keep a *mohalla* compact and private, to control and limit traffic, and to preserve the community spirit and integration that was typical of the city's neighborhoods.[30]

[28] W H. Fitchett, *The Tale of the Great Mutiny*, 2d ed (London: John Murray, 1912), p 422

[29] The present-day equivalent of this custom is called "*gunjing*" by the Anglicized elite, but the strolling and walking is done on the footpaths rather than on the street itself. For an eloquent account of the sidewalk in American cities see Jane Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (New York Vintage Books, 1961), pp. 29-87.

[30] Many colorful descriptions of Lucknow's *mohallas*, bazaars, and streets, have been immortalized in accounts by travelers and citizens. The following works are excellent as first-hand descrip-

Several *mohallas* had gates that were kept closed at night for security reasons. The new streets cut through several *mohallas*, destroying their organic unity and disrupting their organization. These social costs were difficult to reckon, and even more so at a time when the city was being rebuilt in a nervous hurry Attempts were also made to train traffic policemen (the recent invention of Sir Robert Peel in Britain) to regulate traffic and reduce the seeming chaos of a city street.[31]

The direction and dimensions of the military roads were conspicuously unsuited to both the proportions of the *mohallas* and the river-oriented logic of the vast spread of the city The older main streets ran in an east-west direction, from the densely populated neighborhoods in the west to the low-lying, flood-prone east side where there were scattered orchards, groves, and the main *karbala* (Shiite burial ground), several smaller burial grounds, and suburban homes of the nobility Victoria Street (road number 2 in Figure 2), to take only one example of a military road, had a deliberate north-south orientation; it emanated from the Machhi Bhawan fort and cut a swath through the old city,

tions of nawabi Lucknow Mrs. Meer Hasan Ali, *Observations on the Mussalmauns of India*, edited with notes and an introduction by W Crooke (1917, reprint ed , Karachi Oxford University Press, 1974), Reginald Heber, *Narrative of a Journey Through the Upper Provinces of India, from Calcutta to Bombay, 1824-1825*, 3 vols, 4th ed (London· John Murray, 1829), vol 2; and Abdul Halim Sharar, *Lucknow The Last Phase of an Oriental Culture*, trans. and ed E. S Harcourt and Fakhir Hussain (London. Paul Elek, 1975) Though much was destroyed, some of these patterns have lingered to the present day

[31] See sections 31 and 34 of The Police Act, No V of 1861 (Government of India Legislative Department, *The Unrepealed General Acts of the Governor General in Council*, 4th ed [Calcutta· Superintendent of Government Printing, 1909], 1. 376-395) Neither the wide roads nor traffic policemen improved traffic conditions; with the coming of motorized vehicles the situation is indescribable.

dissecting *mohallas* and ending at a bridge on the Ghaziuddin Hyder Canal at the southern edge of the city. In time the small *karbala* near this bridge became the chief Shiite burial ground and the termination point for the Mohurram procession, which now traveled along Victoria Street since the customary route and *karbala* had been physically obliterated by the development of the civil lines.[32] The eastern section grew into an exclusive enclave, forming a detached colony for the ruling elite.

While some *mohallas* tended to wither away, new and uniform rows of shops were built along the edges of the new arteries in an attempt to check the decay of the old city. The small bazaars, built around twisting and often blind alleys shaded by the height of the buildings on both sides of which people worked and lived, bought and sold, prayed and played, were dislocated in the execution of the grandiose and tidy schemes of a generation of military town planners.

It was not until 1916 that their work was appraised and indicted by Sir Patrick Geddes. He was appalled at the exceptional and unnecessary width of Victoria Street and proclaimed all the roads built in the Napierian era to be not only disproportionately wide but plainly ugly. After an intensive first-hand survey he officially reported the new arteries to be "monotonous" and "fatiguing" to traverse and quite as "unbeautiful as they are destructive and costly."[33]

[32] Evidence for this has been deduced from a study of pre-1858 and later maps and from interviews with prominent Shiites in Lucknow, particularly two lawyers, Mirza Raza Ali Khan and Afsar Husain. Both testified to the drastic effects of the demolitions and the fact that Victoria Street and the *imambaras* along it have become the hub of the Shiite world in the city. The interviews took place between August and December 1976.

[33] Patrick Geddes, *Town Planning in Lucknow: A Report to the Municipal Council* (Lucknow: Murray's London Printing Press, 1916), p. 21. The entire report is suffused with very strong disapproval of the insensitive and unaesthetic ways in which Lucknow was planned under the aegis of its municipal council.

He strongly advised that these be narrowed and beautified to restore some of the splendor of the old city and also the value of streets as places for commercial and social transactions [34]

Communications

With Lucknow no longer the hub in the wider imperial network, the rebuilding and extension of communications in Oudh was the next item on the Napierian agenda. It was not that the official world was unaware, before the rebellion, of the fact that good communications were basic to firm political control in Oudh; it was just that this truth glared with uncomfortable intensity after the failure of existing communications had put an empire in jeopardy. The lesson was not lost; precipitate action was taken to build inter- and intracity roads, to open Lucknow to rail, telegraph, and postal systems, and to repair and rebuild bridges.

The building of roads to make Lucknow district more accessible to the capital city and to facilitate troop and vehicular movements within the city was an integral part of the plan to strengthen civil defenses The chief commissioner, Mr Montgomery, reiterated this intent in his report to the governor general in 1859, stating that the roads from Lucknow to Faizabad, Bahramghat, Sitapur, Rai Bareli, and Sultanpur, which were essential for "rapid communications," for "military purposes," and for the "furtherance of commercial traffic," would be metaled and kept in good repair.[35] As a result of this enormous expansion Lucknow

[34] Ibid , pp 6-10.

[35] As cited in *Lucknow*, vol. 37, *United Provinces District Gazetteers*, ed V. C Sharma (Allahabad: Government of Uttar Pradesh, Revenue Department, 1959), p 182 For a detailed account of road and river traffic between Lucknow and its hinterland see William Hoey, *A Monograph on Trade and Manufactures in Northern India* (Lucknow. American Methodist Mission Press, 1880), pp. 28-31.

was better articulated not only with its hinterland but also with the rest of the Indian Empire

In addition to modern roads, mechanical communications came to pre-industrial Lucknow. Already during the nawabi, between March and September 1855, there had been abortive negotiations between Wajid Ali Shah, who was anxious to establish a telegraph line between Kanpur and Lucknow, and the British government. The latter refused to sell their technology and expertise to the nawab but pressed instead for exclusive rights to control the enterprise (which would have included the investment, the laying down and operating of the line, and receiving the revenue for it) because its utility at this stage was strictly strategic in nature [36] The king declined permission, and the arrival of the telegraph era in Oudh had to wait until the following year, when the British took over the entire province, its protesting king and all The telegraph, and later electricity and telephone wires strung on poles, would soon become a permanent and ubiquitous feature of the townscape.

With the arrival of the railway in 1862, the symbol, if not the substance, of Britain's industrial revolution, arrived in Lucknow as an auxiliary of the military establishment. In November 1865 Colonel Crommelin, who had served as chief engineer of Oudh under Brigadier Robert Napier, was despatched on special duty to Lucknow to consult with secretaries of the Public Works Departments (PWD) of Oudh and the North-West Provinces, the chief engineer of the branch railway, and the executive engineer of the PWD, Oudh, "to take into consideration the best measures for the formation of the great Military Post which is to be made

[36] For details of these negotiations see Dispatches, Foreign/Political Consultations, 22 March 1855, 7 August 1855, and 25 September 1855, IOL, London. I am grateful to Michael Fisher for bringing this exchange of letters to my attention.

in the South Side of Lucknow to include the Railway Station, Magazine, etc"[37]

The railway station was located in a vast open garden called the Charbagh, which was contiguous to the cantonment The site was thought to be "commercially central and strategically good, with the Cantonments in its rear"[38] The rebellion had prompted the official decision to convert all railway stations in British India into military posts This entailed considerable expenditure to redesign and fortify existing nonmilitary railway stations. The Lucknow railway station was conceived at the right historical moment to fulfill the decision admirably well. It included a fort, arsenal, and barracks, and extra accommodation for the evacuation of Christians in the event of another outbreak in the city[39]

Its primary military function made the railway station a restricted area where only bona fide passengers were allowed onto the platform. To make the city safe it was necessary to erect these intramural barriers between officialdom and the townspeople at large, sometimes with uncomfortable consequences Ordinary citizens were not allowed to receive or see off friends or relatives who were traveling Public discontent about these strict regulations was editorialized in the *Akhbar Anjuman*, the Urdu newspaper of the otherwise extremely loyal British Indian Association of Lucknow[40] Passengers, "after much pushing and elbowing," would get their turn at the ticket window only to be shortchanged or insulted. There was no time to "seek redress" with the station master

[37] *Pioneer*, 15 November 1865 "All larger stations were turreted and fortified in case of another mutiny," wrote George Wheeler in his *India in 1875-76. The Visit of the Prince of Wales* (London Chapman and Hall, 1876), p 217

[38] *Pioneer*, 30 October 1865, p. 4.

[39] *Pioneer*, 18 September 1865

[40] *Akhbar Anjuman* (Lucknow), 29 February 1868, VNR The quotations in the following account are excerpted from this editorial

> since so little time is allowed for the distribution of tickets that the train frequently approaches the platform before all who require them have been supplied. . At some stations it is customary to prevent travellers from approaching too near [the Station] and only when tickets are being distributed are they allowed to go near the Station.

In Lucknow a warning bell was sounded, but this was often so faint that travelers missed the opportunity of buying tickets at all. After the tickets were bought, ticket holders "were placed in a room and locked" and when the train arrived they were "opened out," but the confusion and panic this system created could not be checked. Then, as a further service, railway peons "order travellers into carriages, and use force if they do not do so quickly, whether there be room for them or not."

Third-class compartments, in which no Europeans traveled, were overcrowded since no reservations were permitted in that class. Theoretically, of course, Indians could travel in the first- or second-class carriages, but at their own peril, for in practice they were unceremoniously and sometimes violently thrown out of a compartment in which a European held a seat. Another informal practice was "to lock up people in the carriages, so that if anyone wishes to get out at any station, and asks the peon to open the door, it depends entirely on the temper of the peon whether he will do so or not " The editor suggested that some of the inconvenience to the public would be reduced by, first, permitting general admittance to the platform for the price of a one-pice ticket (one pice = 1/64 of a rupee), which would discourage those who wanted to come to the station out of curiosity, and, second, by reprimanding the peons for their rudeness It was common for "European ticket collectors . . [to] beat or rather kick" the passengers, and those who went to the station to see friends off were "very harshly treated by the police, turned out of the station, beaten and

kept in restraint" so that it was very humiliating for "any respectable Hindustanee to travel by railway."[41]

It is abundantly clear from these first-hand accounts of the experiences of Indian passengers that the Oudh and Rohilkhund Railway Company attracted customers not by the quality of its services but because it was far quicker, cheaper, and more comfortable than the closest native equivalent, the bullock cart The crowds in the third-class compartments testify to the growing demand for faster and cheaper means of travel, even though trains became a prolific source of racial friction and confrontation.

A glimpse of how the railway impinged on the consciousness of the local gentry is provided in a contemporary picaresque novel, *Fasane Azad*, set in Lucknow and written by one of the most well-known men of letters of the time[42] In about 1875, Azad, the cultured and open-minded hero, plans a train journey from Lucknow to Delhi with a companion They arrive at the station only to be informed that the train has been delayed because of an accident caused by a drunken European engine driver Azad happily goes into the railway restaurant to sample the fare even though his friend refuses to accompany him because pork and liquor (both forbidden in Islam) are served on the premises When Azad emerges from the restaurant, he is surrounded and queried at length by other Muslim passengers who had eaten from the various licensed food vendors on the platform Azad admits to having used a knife and fork, in the British fashion He tells them how wonderfully clean and comfortable the restaurant was and how tasty the food, but he convinces none of them They jeer at him for aping alien ways and betraying his own culture. Azad privately decides that he will never again venture into a "forbidden"

[41] *Ukmil-ool-Ukbar* (Delhi), 15 September 1869, VNR

[42] Rattan Nath Sharshar, *Fasane Azad* (New Delhi· Maktabah-yi Jāmi'ah, 1970), pp 192-200 This was originally published in Urdu in four volumes by the Newal Kishore Press at Lucknow in 1880

place in view of his obscurantist friends.[43] Clearly, there can be little doubt that the metropolitan culture with its sophisticated technology was envied and admired by a growing number of Indians who had the opportunity to be exposed to it. Yet pressure from conservative friends and the fear of ritual pollution inhibited even irrepressible characters like Azad from practicing their predilections openly, and British racism made them even more ambivalent to the situation.

The railway was designed more to transport freight than to carry passengers, and the government was its biggest customer. Local merchants remained wary of entrusting their goods to railway authorities because of the high incidence of "loss and inconvenience suffered by the people in the transport of their goods by rail" and continued to "transmit their goods largely by means of boats and carts "[44] The officials themselves doubted its value as a stimulant to the flagging commercial pace of the city.

> On the contrary, it is expected that the railway, on its completion, will carry past the city such trade as is at present being carried on, and that it will be more concentrated at the two ends of the line, Byramghat and Cawnpore, as the one will be the point of collection and the other of distribution of the commodities.[45]

These doubts proved to be well-founded because Kanpur, which was linked directly to Calcutta, quickly outdistanced Lucknow as the center for trade and industry in the region The volume of trade on the Lucknow-Kanpur line in 1868 and 1869 was 218,302 maunds (1 maund = approximately 85 pounds) to Lucknow and 587,963 to Kanpur, or nearly three times the weight destined for Lucknow.[46] Lucknow

[43] Ibid , p 198.

[44] *Akhyar-ul Akhbar* (Lucknow), 10 February 1874, VNR.

[45] *Report on the Administration of Oudh, 1868-69* (Lucknow· Government Printing Press, 1869), p 150

[46] Ibid , p. 105.

was sidetracked until British technology made it possible for a railway bridge to be completed in 1872 to span the Ganges and connect Lucknow with Calcutta via Kanpur

By 1875 Lucknow had become an important junction and was linked by rail to Kanpur (a 42-mile track was completed in 1867), to Nawabgunj (a distance of 18 miles, completed in 1872), and to Shahjahanpur via Hardoi and Sandila. It was a major link in a network of 332 miles on the main line and 210 miles on the branch line, and more miles of track on both lines were under construction [47] But progress was not without its price. not only was the city lacerated anew with the laying of railtracks but road traffic in the old city was (and still is) constantly held up at its half-dozen or so level crossings.

The Cantonment

Beyond the railway station lay the new Lucknow cantonment. "The cantonment or permanent military station" as defined by Anthony King, "was the institutionalized form of settlement for the military representatives of British colonial power in India from the eighteenth to the twentieth centuries "[48] A full half century before Oudh was formally annexed in 1856 the British had solidly entrenched their military machine in a cantonment they had developed to the north of the Gomti and a few miles distant from the nawabi capital. When the capital of Oudh was transferred from Faizabad to Lucknow by Asaf ud Dowlah in 1775, the British military establishment followed suit. The nawab supported it by paying an annual subsidy of thirty-four lakhs of rupees (340,000 pounds sterling), which escalated, as a result of threats and flattery, into an incredible million

[47] *Report on the Administration of Oudh, 1874-75*, pp. 50-51

[48] Anthony D. King, *Colonial Urban Development* (London· Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1976), p 97 For a fine account of the cantonment in colonial urban development see pp. 97-121.

pounds sterling and led to the virtual disbanding of his own forces by 1801.[49] Land for the Lucknow cantonment was reluctantly granted by the nawab in 1806, in Muriaon village north of the river.[50]

The annexation of the province ended this era of machinations, and the mutineers destroyed the Muriaon cantonment in 1857. Its bungalows were set on fire, and the entire habitation was quickly abandoned.[51] After the rebellion was suppressed, the "cantonment" spread its outposts into the center of the old city when its prominent buildings, which had once been palaces, harems, or religious edifices, were recaptured, vacated, and converted into a string of armed camps. These could be defended by small numbers of troops because of the summary demolition of all vestiges of habitation in their immediate vicinity. There were fourteen such "emergency" posts created, and the number of men allotted to each varied from 150 to 600.[52] These posts were retained until 1877, even though they were neither strategically necessary in the halcyon times that followed 1858 nor politically wise because they continued to rankle and offend the aggrieved Muslim community. In July 1869 Colonel Nicholson, a veteran of the mutiny and now the engineer in charge of the military works of the PWD, drew up plans to reorganize the chief post at Machhi Bhawan, strongly recommending the return of the Asafi Mosque and Imambara to the Muslim community.[53]

[49] For a detailed account of these negotiations see R W Bird, *Dacoitee in Excelsis, or, the Spoilation of Oudh by the East India Company* (1857; reprint ed , Lucknow. Pustak Kendra, 1974), pp. 1-40.

[50] Dispatch, Bengal Political Consultations, 10 October 1786 and 13 November 1806, IOL

[51] M R. Gubbins, *An Account of the Mutinies in Oudh and the Siege of the Lucknow Residency* (London R. Bentley, 1858), pp 102-103, also see map facing p. 101.

[52] R Napier, "Reports," p. 22

[53] Foreign/General B Proceedings, July 1869, nos 33-39, NAI, New Delhi.

Two years later the restitution was still pending and the commander-in-chief at Lucknow urged in a note that the religious places be returned without delay because he considered the population of the city "subdued and disarmed" and with the cantonment "at close range . . . a small exhibition of troops is enough."[54] This note produced no results since in December 1877, even after Oudh had become a part of the North-West Provinces, the Muslim community sent up yet another petition addressed to Queen Victoria on the occasion of her receiving the title of Empress of India at the *darbar* held in Delhi. In precatory tones the "Citizens of Lucknow and loyal subjects" pleaded that "the Great Imambara and mosque in the Machhi Bhawan in Lucknow be restored to the Muhammedans."[55]

The regular, new cantonment, one of the 114 British-style cantonments in the Indian Empire, was finally located in the east of the city in the spacious Dilkusha garden and a half-dozen contiguous villages that provided an open, well-drained area for "one of the largest military cantonments in India."[56] The selection of a new site was indubitably influenced by the profound concern for health and sanitation in Indian bureaucratic circles and often overrode strategic and economic considerations. The final decision may well have been made as it was in *The Chronicles of Budgepore*,[57] where it represented the end product of several meetings, discussions, and a reconnaissance trip made by the civil surgeon, the commissioner, and the military engineer, the three key bureaucrats in any provincial town.

[54] Ibid., May 1871, no. 191.

[55] Petition no. 409, p. 10, Foreign/Political A Proceedings, December 1877, nos. 286-296, NAI, New Delhi.

[56] Sir Joseph Frayer, *Recollections of My Life* (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons, 1900), p. 364.

[57] Iltudus T. Prichard, *The Chronicles of Budgepore or, Sketches of Life in Upper India* (London: Richard Edward King, n.d. [ca. 1880]), is one of the finest satires on the British bureaucracy in India. The following quote is from p. 153.

According to *The Chronicles*, the cantonment site "was a plateau of high ground, well drained, and well raised . a bare place with only one tree upon it," not unlike the urban villages acquired for the purpose in Lucknow, except that the vegetation was plentiful in the latter. The Budgepore military engineer, appropriately named Major Wrangler (and reminiscent of Brigadier Napier), had "a hearty contempt, as you may suppose, for his coadjutors" because he had "contempt for men who did not belong to the Engineers." But, ponders the author, "What would become of the world if everybody was an engineer? Why, it would be scooped inside out, and there would be no place to live in "[58]

The Lucknow site required plenty of scooping out since the Dilkusha and adjoining villages were studded with villas surrounded by gardens forming the country residences of the native nobility. More than three thousand acres of valuable land with an annual revenue demand of nearly twelve thousand rupees was taken over without any prior negotiations with the lawful owners The explanation for this arbitrary acquisition of private property was that in the "urgent necessity" for building the planned barracks, "the usual preliminary formulas were not observed "[59] The total compensation paid for this entire area, together with its country palaces, wells, timber, groves, and standing crops, was only 57,537 rupees and left the owners discontented since the market value of property was normally reckoned at twenty times its annual rental value.

[58] Ibid , p 148. This indeed was increasingly the case in Lucknow, where habitations were razed to make room for esplanades

[59] Letter, from Assistant Secretary to the Chief Commissioner to Secretary to GOI, 27 February 1860, Foreign Correspondence, 16 March 1860, nos. 147-148, NAI, New Delhi. The land thus acquired was valuable enough to accommodate two *taluqdari* (landed) estates The minimum review yield of five thousand rupees annually on land entitled the owner to apply for *taluqdari* status See Chapter 6 for a discussion of this.

Cantonments mushroomed in Oudh after the rebellion. The vast sum of 1 9 million rupees, or 75 percent of the entire budget of the PWD for the province, "was expended on military works, owing to the continued imperative requirement of the European troops at the several new cantonments for barracks accommodation "[60] These escalating military costs were passed on to the public in the form of new taxes designed especially for urban areas.[61] It was the responsibility of the officers of government "to make it intelligible to the people" how the mutiny

> has rendered it imperatively necessary that Her Majesty's government should call upon her faithful people in India, European and Asiatic alike, to contribute towards the costs of the large Military organizations which have been rendered necessary, and which cannot be suddenly dissolved.[62]

The spatial arrangements in the cantonment were the antithesis of those in the old city and typical of this genre of colonial building. In the nine-and-a-half square miles of space (which was more than a third of the city's total area) along wide paved roads were located the barracks and bungalows of the sentinels of the Raj. Typically, the European troops were "accommodated in brick built or wooden barracks" in the cantonments.[63] The European officers lived in rather more opulent and spacious homes. Each officer was housed in his own bungalow, within a complex of gardens, servants' quarters, and carriage house, in a "com-

[60] *Report on the Administration of Oudh, 1859-69*, p. 27

[61] See Chapter 5.

[62] Circular no 5727, from Secretary to GOI, Foreign Department (Secret), to Chief Commissioner, 19 September 1859, file no. 700, Board of Revenue, Oudh General (BROG), Uttar Pradesh State Archives (UPSA), Lucknow.

[63] King, *Colonial Urban Development*, p. 100. King's generalized descriptions apply precisely to the Lucknow example. I have summarized them in the text that follows.

pound" of half an acre or more Senior officers' compounds in some cantonments were five to ten acres in size The native troops lived in self-constructed, thatched huts at some distance from European quarters.

The cantonment included other facilities that satisfied European cultural and social needs There was a Catholic and an Anglican church with private cemeteries, a race course, a clubhouse with rooms for dancing, drinking, dining, and indoor games, several racquet courts, public rooms for European officers, including a canteen, and a ball court and library for European soldiers The aim was to create a small European cosmos at the edge of the city not only to compensate the officers for the hardship of serving their country in an alien land but also to provide European soldiers with adequate recreational facilities so that they would be less tempted to taste the pleasures the city had to offer. The regimental bazaars obviated trips to the city markets, and the army canteen supplied them with goods imported from "home" (and exempt from local taxes) to keep nostalgia at bay and patriotism from flagging To keep the soldiers physically fit and their martial skills in good repair, there were parade, camping, and exercising grounds, shooting ranges, a magazine, an arms store, workshops, gunsheds, and horse lines, and to remind them of their patriotic duty there were equestrian statuary, prominently located memorials to the heroes of the mutiny, and ceremonial parades on the grounds of the battle-scarred Residency.

To complement the extensive engineering works, a far larger force than the regular garrison was stationed in Lucknow, the headquarters of the province.[64] In April 1858 there were four cavalry regiments, four infantry regiments,

[64] A garrison is defined as consisting "of a regiment of British cavalry, a battery of horse artillery, two battalions of British infantry, a regiment of native cavalry, and a battalion of [illegible] infantry." See *Lucknow A Gazetteer* (1904), p 110.

two brigades each of engineers and rifles, and two crack regiments from the Punjab[65] This preparedness may have come a bit late, but its thoroughness paid off "There will never be," remarked a veteran,

> the siege of another Residency at Lucknow The lessons of the Mutiny are not forgotten If a new outbreak took place, there would be no need for sudden improvised defences The four great barracks that now stand at Lucknow are really disguised forts. . No one can look on the fortress barracks of Lucknow without seeing how much of foresight and vigilance on the part of the British they represent And the blackened ruins of the Residency show what memories lie behind that foresight and vigilance, and explain them[66]

The railway also helped augment the force and added to the above list two companies of Oudh and Rohilkhand Railway volunteers In 1875 the total population of the cantonment, including approximately 4,000 Europeans, was 23,154, which was estimated by the civil authorities to be roughly one-thirteenth of the total population of Lucknow city in the same year[67] The numerical presence of Europeans in Lucknow was still fairly small and never exceeded 2 percent of its population.

The cantonment was a separate administrative unit managed by a cantonment committee, with the commanding officer of the province at its head, a magistrate, a sanitary officer, an executive engineer, the district superintendent of police, and a few other officers who were appointed for fixed periods of time to serve as members of this committee The creation of a separate legal jurisdiction under the cantonment magistrate implied an "extra-territoriality" for Eu-

[65] J.R J Jocelyn, *A History of the Royal and Indian Artillery of the Mutiny of 1857* (London. John Murray, 1915), p 371.

[66] Fitchett, *Tale*, p 440

[67] *Lucknow: A Gazeteer* (1904), p 110.

ropean residents of the cantonment on their excursions to the city They could only be tried in their own martial law court for civil or criminal offenses The abuse of this privilege by soldiers on their visits to the city in search of women or native liquor was frequently brought to the notice of the civil authorities in the local Urdu newspapers

> Such was the disturbance caused by them [drunken European soldiers], that all the communication with the Mohulla was stopped, and the inhabitants shut up the doors of their houses [details of forced entry] . it was with difficulty that they were driven out, the Police through fear, remaining silent spectators of this scene of violence and spoliation all the while
>
> The editor regrets that, though complaints of mischief done by allowing European soldiers to go into the city in a state of intoxication are so often brought to the notice of the authorities, no steps are taken by them for putting an effective stop to the grievance [68]

The situation was anomalous, since the cantonment, though a distinct and important component of colonial urbanization and technically a part of the city since it received a municipal subsidy, was considered outside the municipal limits and without any reciprocal obligations to it [69] As the city's self-appointed guardians against its own citizens, the Europeans in this privileged quarter of the city preserved a marked social distance from the local population.

The Civil Station

The rapidly expanding civil organization, adjacent to the cantonment and insulated from the old city by vast new

[68] *Roznamcha* (Lucknow), 11 February 1873, VNR

[69] The cantonment was represented on the municipal committee, but it tried to shirk its fair share of taxes The relationship of the civil and military authorities will be explained in Chapter 4

open spaces, created another colonial pocket called the civil lines. This was mainly a residential area for the use of the European nonmilitary community comprising civil servants, traders, shopkeepers, and school teachers. Like the officers in the cantonment, each occupied a "bungalow-compound complex," the basic residential unit of the colonial government[70]

Land had been hastily appropriated to build this sprawling, tidy, European section of the city The generous acreage attached to each roomy bungalow was the result not only of the notions of sanitation and health that had widespread currency in the mid-nineteenth century but also of the timeless and pitiless logic used by conquerors everywhere The royal or *nuzul* lands were now at the disposal of the British, and other real estate could be cheaply and even forcibly acquired.

This area together with the cantonment and railway station could be said to constitute "New Lucknow" and bore the same spatial and social relationship to "Old Lucknow" as New Delhi does to Old Delhi or Secunderabad does to Hyderabad. A contemporary remarked that the civil station in Lucknow has "a complete country appearance and though its architecture is not pleasing to the oriental eye, its numerous streets with parks and gardens interspersed everywhere, and an almost dustless atmosphere, have made Lucknow famous as the garden city of India "[71]

A simple, spartan, and unaesthetic barracks-style of housing was adopted for building living quarters for employees of other strategic services in the civil station Soon a proliferation of "police lines," and "lines" for railway, post, and telegraph men striped the cityscape and caused

[70] See King, *Colonial Urban Development*, pp 123-155, for a fine analysis of European residential space in the colonial urban environment.

[71] P. C. Mukerjee, *The Pictorial Lucknow* (unpublished galley proofs dated 1883), p. 81, Uttar Pradesh Sanghralaya, Lucknow

Geddes his well-articulated distress These endless straight rows of small brick cells with a small front verandah and kitchen were as ill-adapted to the environmental and climatic conditions as they were ugly, although some of the barren architecture was compensated for by the zealous garden and tree planting that was undertaken during the period An eminent English journalist who had been in Lucknow before the siege and returned to it twenty years later found that hundreds of acres, once occupied by houses, have been turned into market gardens "Swarded parks, vistas, rides, and drives, far prettier than those of the Bois-de-Bologne, spread out where once were streets, bazaars and palaces."[72] In a more facetious tone, the correspondent of the *Pioneer* commented on the rapidly changing cityscape that characterized the decade:

> [T]he demolition of brick fields around the residence are to be let out to native cheggees, or market-gardeners. . . . in a word Lucknow in a few years will be one vast park with an occasional street at wide intervals, and all the space not required by roads will be occupied by cabbages.[73]

Other features borrowed from the metropolitan townscape began to accrete in the new sections of the city. A clock tower, statuary, a shopping arcade with expensive European merchandise, a theater and a services club (located in the nawabi palace, the Chattar Manzil) grew in and around Hazratgunj, the main market for the civil lines. Several Calcutta-based European retail firms opened branches here, and shopping in this area was qualitatively different from that in the *gunjes* of the old city There was

[72] W H. Russell, *The Prince of Wales' Tour A Diary in India; with some account of the Visits of His Royal Highness to the Courts of Greece, Egypt, Spain, and Portugal* (London· Sampson, Low, Martson, Searle and Rivington, 1877), p. 392.

[73] *Pioneer*, 10 May 1865

neither bargaining nor bartering and certainly no footpath hawkers and vendors Another well-planted, spacious provincial town had been spawned to match the universal description of such places in the empire

To bolster the massive physical rearrangements, a series of radical legislative acts were passed to render the populace politically innocuous. Chief among these was the Arms and Ammunition Act (Act XXVIII of 1857), which ordered the populace to be disarmed.[74] Except for "officers, soldiers or sailors—Volunteers—police or revenue officers—or other persons specially exempted by Government" no citizen of British India could possess a weapon The penalty was severe: it could amount to a maximum of 5,000 rupees and/or up to two years in jail. Those exempted were, in effect, either Europeans or loyal Indians. Passed at first as an emergency measure, it became a permanent statute that was periodically reviewed, amended, and expanded [75]

This measure indubitably chastened the entire province, particularly the trigger-happy courtiers of the Oudh court "Everyone," observed Frayer, "in Lucknow in those [pre-annexation] days went about armed "[76] He also claimed that disputes were often settled by weapons, as in the instance of long-standing rivalry between two wrestlers, where the one discharged a blunderbuss at the other to end the matter. The work of disarming the province was vigorously executed by the military police. By August of 1859 a very impressive number of weapons had been collected and 1,569 forts had been destroyed.[77] This was tantamount to leaving

[74] William Theobald, *The Acts of the Legislative Council of India from 1856 to 1859*, 4 vols (Calcutta Thacker, Spink and Co , 1961), 3·427-429

[75] The Arms Act became a general measure by the passage of Act XXXI of 1860 and was consolidated and amended in the form of Act XI of 1878 It remains operative in independent India today.

[76] Frayer, *Recollections*, p 109

[77] Iltudus T. Prichard, *The Administration of India from 1859 to*

only licensed arms with loyal men for protection against the disarmed public. It certainly made another armed revolt a rather difficult proposition.

Another piece of legislation of this nature was Act X of 1858, an act against "Rebellion" itself, that remained in force for two years Its application was extended to all villages, towns, and cities in all areas that had "since the 1st day of May, 1857, been guilty of rebellion, or of waging war against the state or of murder" in effect, a city *mohalla* or an entire village or town would be collectively responsible for its rebellious inhabitants:

> [I]f it shall be proved to the satisfaction of a Magistrate that any European or American has been murdered or subjected to any violent personal outrage in any such Village [or City or Town], and it shall not be proved to a Magistrate that the Inhabitants of such village [or city or town] used all the means in their power to prevent the commission of the offence; it shall be lawful for the Magistrate to impose a fine upon the Inhabitants . . . or upon any specified class of the Inhabitants of such village [or city or town].[78]

This act marked the beginning of almost a century of Pax Britannica in Oudh.

In summary, the pattern of colonial urbanization after the revolt was largely predicated on strategic needs Its main architects were men of military training and vision, the scathed survivors of the siege of Lucknow They executed a plan to make the capital city, and therefore Oudh,

1869, 2 vols (London Macmillan and Company, 1869), 1 35 The official figures cited by Prichard on the weapons surrendered after the promulgation of the act were 684 cannon, 186,177 firearms, 565,321 swords, 50, 311 spears, and 636,683 weapons of "miscellaneous character "

[78] Act X of 1858, section 1, in Theobald, *Acts of the Legislative Council*, 3·468-473

invulnerable to future émeutes. Large areas of the city were cleared and new sections built with military priorities in mind. Communications were an essential part of the defense establishment The formerly integrated "personality" of the city was split into its colonial and indigenous halves.

Ultimately we must ask the question, How well did the city plan fulfill its prime objective, that of making the city safe? The old city had been breached, but a large portion of it still remained sacculate and impenetrable The initial strategic blunder of having built the pre-annexation cantonment three to four miles away from the residency on the other side of the river had cost the British dearly, and the new arrangements demonstrated that the lesson had not been lost The civil station, on the other hand, with wide roads and single family bungalows was easily accessible The low boundary walls of the civilian and military compounds were no challenge to a riotous mob, and within each compound the colonial master and mistress were woefully outnumbered by the dozen or more native servants and their families in the servants' quarters. Yet, what imparted a sense of security to the European community was the fact that the cantonment and the police lines flanked the civil station and the three formed a large, well-linked unit. Not only could troops quickly come to the defense of civilian families but these families could hastily withdraw into the cantonment or be evacuated from the city by rail. The British perceived themselves to be far more secure than when they were in the Residency since they were now at some distance from the jumble and din of the old city.

Lucknow and other cities of the Gangetic plain cannot be looked at in isolation. This era in Britain was the self-confident "age of improvement," an age in awe of its own technological achievements, where even the pettiest official had faith in his ability to make things better. In Britain it was the harsh demands of industry that influenced the morphology of older cities; in the empire it was the need for political control for the safety of the overseas posses-

sions that dictated a new civic design in the older cities The "priority of industrial discipline in shaping all human relations" made "other aspects of urban life seem secondary" with the same "total indifference to social costs"[79] as strategic priorities had produced in Lucknow or Delhi "We can and should criticize," urges Asa Briggs, "the appalling living conditions in Victorian cities, the absence of amenities, the brutal degradation of natural environment and the inability to plan and often even to conceive of the city as a whole "[80] Yet the new cities in industrial Britain and the new parts of the old cities in the Indian Empire were regarded at the time as symbols of "improvement " High-handed urban "planning" in the middle decades of the nineteenth century catered to Britain's industrial or imperial imperatives rather than to the common-sensical, socio-ecological needs of civic inhabitants "Lucknow," as Russell summed it up, "has been fairly improved off the face of the earth."[81]

[79] Asa Briggs, *Victorian Cities* (New York Harper & Row, 1963), p. 18

[80] Ibid , p 17.

[81] Russell, *The Prince of Wales' Tour*, p. 392

CHAPTER THREE

The City Must Be Orderly

> In India, where civilisation, in the modern sense of the term, is still an exotic, the secret of growing which is at present almost confined to its foreign rulers, the duty of the government is considerably wider than in a country of which the civilisation is indigenous, and has been worked out from within
>
> —H C Irwin[1]

After the mutiny the strategic requirements for rebuilding a colonial city were met relatively simply, given the tenacity and will of the military men who took on the responsibility. It had needed little more than an examination of a city map and imposing upon it roads and esplanades, bungalows and barracks by knocking down all that interfered with the execution of the plan. Once the physical undertaking was completed—as it was in the first five years of intense activity by the public works department—the prospect of another battle in the city seemed to be permanently dispelled

The postannexation government, which had barely functioned for a year, ground to a halt at the outbreak of the revolt It was only after the turmoil in the capital was brought under control that the administrative machinery could be overhauled.[2] Lord Canning's famous proclamation of March

[1] H. C Irwin, *The Garden of India; or, Chapters on Oudh History and Affairs*, 2 vols. (1880, reprint ed , Lucknow. Pustak Kendra, 1973), 2·279

[2] The provincial government of Oudh has been extensively discussed in T. R. Metcalf, *The Aftermath of Revolt India 1857-1870* (Princeton, N J . Princeton University Press, 1964). A detailed

1858 set the tone of the new administration, and the inspiration to tighten the reins of government came from the Punjab where the revolt had been nipped in the bud, it therefore "seemed to the Anglo-Indian community that the sooner the whole of India was subjected to the process of Punjabization the better."[3] In addition, the Lahore administration had also supplied regiments of loyal Punjabi soldiers to assist in the recapture of Delhi and Lucknow and to subdue the countryside. This prompted the transfer of Sir Robert Montgomery, former judicial commissioner of Lahore, to the chief commissionership of the turbulent, nonregulation province of Oudh.[4] Montgomery was indubitably a man of iron and a spiritual ancestor of the notorious General Dyer who was to order the Amritsar massacre of 1919. He spent ten decisive months consolidating the administration in Oudh.[5]

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though unanalytical overview may be found in Tej Pratap Chand, *The Administration of Avadh (1858-1877)* (Varanasi: Vishvavidyalaya Prakashan, 1971).

[3] Iltudus T. Prichard, *The Administration of India from 1859 to 1869*, 2 vols. (London: Macmillan and Company, 1869), 1,63. Also see Philip Mason, *The Men Who Ruled India*, vol 1, *The Founders* (1953, reprint ed., New York: Schocken Books, 1964), p. 300.

[4] The term "nonregulation" is defined in *Hobson-Jobson* as.

> [T]he style of certain Provinces of British India (administered for the most part under the more direct authority of the Central Government in its Foreign Department), in which the ordinary Laws (or Regulations, as they were formally called) are not in force or are in force only so far as they are specially declared by the Government of India to be applicable. The original theory of administration in such Provinces was the union of authority in all departments under one district chief, and a kind of paternal despotism in the hands of the chief . . . Military men are still eligible to hold office in the civil administration.

Henry Yule and A. C. Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson*, ed. William Crooke (1903; reprint ed., Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1968), p. 629.

[5] For a brief account of Montgomery's repression of the Punjabi rebels see Philip Mason, *The Founders*, pp. 370-377.

When Montgomery arrived, he found the capital of the province in an unspeakable shambles Large-scale military demolitions were in progress, search parties were looking for caches of arms and fugitive rebels Hordes of unemployed and desperate men roamed the city for food or treasure, and bands of soldiers plunderd and terrorized those inhabitants who had not fled into the countryside for safety.

> Enquiries I have been making convince me that [in] the city of Lucknow . . there is no authority . and anyone and everyone issues orders The police amount to a thousand men, the canaille and off-scouring of people. Any man who chooses places a badge on his arm and plunders on his own acount [6]

Out of this bureaucratic exasperation over the state of affairs in Lucknow a strong, centralized civil government took shape to tackle the immediate chaos and replace it with a stable, orderly, and effective rule over the townspeople.

The Police

The reorganization of the police force was placed on top of the administrative agenda Before the force could be depended upon to curb the rampant lawlessness, however, it was imperative to discipline the policemen who under cover of their newly received official uniform were themselves a threat to life and property It was a challenge to men like Montgomery to transform an unruly canaille into a reliable body of men who would uphold and enforce the law. Difficulties in carrying out this enterprise arose from the different expectations of the police force held by the

[6] Chief Commissioner's memo on the "Civil Organization of the City of Lucknow," no 186, Foreign/Political, 23 July 1858, UPSA, Lucknow.

rulers and the ruled Whereas the former expected a politically quiescent atmosphere, the latter hoped for protection for their lives and property. As might be expected, the rulers determined that more emphasis be placed on maintaining order than on the prevention and detection of crime. The Police Act of 1861, which shaped the orientation of the colonial police force, had long-lasting results even today in independent India the police is conspicuously involved in suppressing riots, quelling agitations against government policies, and breaking strikes. Their day-to-day endeavor in solving crimes is less spectacular, and the police rank low in public esteem as guardians of the law.

Apart from being responsible for law and order the police aided the municipality in its multifarious tasks of collecting local taxes, supervising conservancy and sanitary arrangements, helping in the execution of public works (such as demolitions and road building), and generally "improving" the city At this stage the police did not constitute a separate department, and two-thirds of the cost of its administration was met by local funds The chief burden of civic cleanliness was borne jointly by the police and the municipality under the executive direction of the city commissioner.[7]

The city police force was distinct from the district force, and a superintendent was appointed to oversee its operations. The city was divided into western and eastern police circles, each managed by an inspector, an arrangement that tended to reinforce the separation of the old city from the new The two circles were in turn subdivided into three

[7] The following summary is constructed from the scattered facts available in *Lucknow: A Gazetteer*, vol. 37, *District Gazetteers of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh*, ed. H. R. Nevill (Allahabad: Government Press, 1904); the annual *Report on the Administration of Oudh, 1859-60* and *1861-62* (Lucknow: Government Printing Press, 1860 and 1862), pp 14, 10-12, respectively; and the annual *Report on the Police Administration of Oudh* (Lucknow Church Mission Press, 1865 and 1868 through 1876)

thanas (police precincts) whose boundaries were also those of the six municipal wards of the city The eastern circle consisted of Ganeshgunj, Wazirgunj, and Hasangunj *thanas*, and the western circle of Daulatgunj, Chowk, and Sadatgunj Every *mohalla* in the city came under the purview of a *thana* and selected "a representative who formed the medium of communication with the police "[8] The cantonment had its own *thana* supported by cantonment funds.

Smaller police *chowkies* or posts that were scattered inside the old city *mohallas* were now reduced in number and relocated along the new, wide roads The traditional hereditary post of *chowkidar* (night watchman), prevalent during the nawabi, virtually disappeared. Under the old system a *chowkidar* was assigned a small area with rougly four hundred inhabitants, which he patrolled all night long The inhabitants paid the *mohalla panchayat*, or traditional neighborhood committees of five elders, who in turn paid all the *chowkidars* for their services. This system was effective because it was supported by a network of men who were familiar with and loyal to the inhabitants of the *mohallas* on their beat and who could recognize strangers prowling at night Under the new system the chief commissioner insisted that no resident of Lucknow or of the area within a radius of two miles be employed as a policeman unless his "security be ample and the character fair."[9] This replacement of the *chowkidars* with far fewer policemen concentrated on the main arteries contributed to a rise in the crime rate and brought in many complaints from the residents, as we shall see. In Delhi, too, a similar decline in day-to-day security in the postmutiny period resulted in vociferous protests from the townsfolk [10]

[8] *Report on the Administration of Oudh, 1859-60*, p. 15.

[9] Memorandum from Chief Commissioner of Oudh, "Civil Organization of the City of Lucknow," no. 186, Foreign/Political, 23 July 1858, UPSA, Lucknow.

[10] Narayani Gupta, *Delhi Between Two Empires, 1803-1931 Society, Government, and Urban Growth* (Delhi· Oxford University Press, 1981), p. 80

The full establishment of the civic police in 1862 and 1863 numbered 855 men, and their total expenses for that year were 93,084 rupees, of which only one-third was chargeable to imperial funds (unlike cities that did not rebel where the whole expenditure was borne by the government of India).[11]

The colonial urban police, curiously enough, were a far smaller force than the approximately five thousand men that served as policemen under the nawabi. The ratio of policemen to citizens actually declined from 1:75 during the reign of the last king, Wajid Ali Shah (1847-1856), to 1:333 after the department was revamped under the Police Act of 1861.[12] With four thousand fewer men on the police payroll it might be logical to assume that the new establishment was, at least, more economical in its use of the taxpayer's money. This proves not to be the case, however, when we compare nawabi salaries with colonial ones. The *muhatamin* (superintendent) of the nawabi police earned an average of 44 rupees, the *naib muhatamin* (deputy superintendent) only 28 33 rupees, and an ordinary constable an average of 3.6 rupees per month The corresponding British salaries for the European officers at the executive level were more than ten times as great, while native constables now made 6 rupees.[13] Also, a tenth of the police

[11] *Report on the Administration of Oudh, 1862-63*, p 10

[12] These ratios have been calculated on the basis of the following data the population of the city at the time of annexation is given in the Oudh census of 1872 as approximately 370,000, and the nawabi city police numbered 4,929 men (see *Oude· Papers Relating To* [London Harrison and Sons, 1856], p. 88). For the British period the population of the city in 1872 was reckoned at 284,779 "excluding Europeans, Eurasians and the native military and criminal population," and the police numbered 855 (see *Report on the Census of Oudh, 1872,* 3 vols [Lucknow Oudh Government Press, 1872], vol I, Appendix E, p. 32, and *Report on the Administration of Oudh, 1862-63*, p. 10)

[13] *Report on the Administration of Oudh, 1862-63*, p. 10 The data

budget was now spent on uniforms, badges, and equipment. If we assume that the profile of the precolonial Lucknow police force was similar to that of the provincial police, then the total cost of the extensive city police establishment under the nawabi would not have exceeded two lakhs of rupees.[14] During the colonial period under consideration, the annual cost of the police establishment was just under a lakh, a reduction of roughly only 50 percent of the nawabi payroll, even though the actual number of men employed was trimmed by a drastic 83 percent. The colonial appropriations were absorbed by the few salaries for senior Europeans, forcing scores of discharged native policemen to turn to crime for a living. The cash salaries for Europeans were officially supplemented by such fringe benefits as housing and touring allownces, which, if computed into the cost of the establishment, would bring the figure even closer to the nawabi total.

The most significant result of this drastic retrenchment and the withering away of the *chowkidari* system was double edged: on the one hand, a trim force of better-trained and equipped men stationed at a half a dozen posts managed to eliminate the political crimes, such as riots or popular

for the nawabi salaries is taken from Michael H. Fisher, "The Imperial Court and the Province: A Social and Administrative History of Pre-British Awadh (1775-1856)" (Ph.D. diss., The University of Chicago, 1978), pp. 177-179, and from Wajid Ali Shah, *Jawabat-i Shukuk Mundarijah Blu Buk*, UPSA, Lucknow.

[14] This figure was computed from the following equation:

$$\frac{\text{cost of Lucknow police}}{\text{cost of Oudh police (Rs 1,374,306}^{b})} = \frac{\text{no. of Lucknow police (4,929}^{a})}{\text{no. of Oudh police (34,586}^{b})}$$

Sources. [a] *Oude Papers Relating To*, p. 88, [b] Fisher, "The Imperial Court and the Province," pp. 177-179. Any corrupt practices that might have existed during the nawabi among constables could not have changed very much because the difference in their real wages in the two periods was very small.

agitations, most feared by the authorities in a politically volatile city, on the other hand, the continually swelling ranks of the unemployed (as more departments were streamlined and posts abolished in a city) resulted in a surge of petty economic crimes The increase was annually attributed, in more or less the same official phrases, to "the high price at which grain sold in the city during the year, and the amount of misery thereby entailed," and the police seemed ineffectual in preventing offenses that affected the average citizen.[15] This outcome appeared not to ruffle the authorities, as the annual reports on the police administration of the province seem to indicate. A typical comment on the state of crime in Lucknow read

> Lucknow city has the highest number of cognizable crimes reported in Oudh The city has more crime than the whole of Faizabad district. . . Altogether the city during the year has been well conducted, there has been but a single case of "riot" and but a few "aggravated assaults," which speaks well for a large city not accustomed in the past years to much law and restraint [16]

The annual police reports claim, without exception, an improvement in the functioning of the police over the previous year's performance and then proceed to supply the evidence in the shape of statistical information that does more to expose the disingenuous use of statistics than to back the authenticity of the claim I have compiled two sets

[15] *Report on the Police Administration of Oudh, 1865-66*, p. 1. Similar statements can be found in other official appraisals of the crime in the city, for example, *Report of Civil and Criminal Justice in Oudh, 1869-70* and *1872-73* (Lucknow Oudh Government Press, 1870 and 1873), pp 1 and 1, respectively. In fact, the very first page of almost every report in the latter series offers this information

[16] Letter no 103, from Officiating Inspector-General of Police in Oudh to Secretary of the Chief Commissioner, Lucknow, 10 April 1862, Police, City Annual Report, p 1, MCRR, Lucknow.

TABLE 1
POLICE ACTION IN LUCKNOW, 1867-1871

	1867	*1868*	*1869*	*1870*	*1871*
Cases					
Investigated by police	1,673	2,602	2,437	2,458	2,593
Resulting in conviction	761	1,612	1,194	1,313	1,464
Persons					
Tried	1,353	4,102	4,110	2,951	3,510
Convicted	1,193	3,834	3,743	2,660	3,108
Acquitted	160	268	376	291	402
Property (in rupees)					
Stolen	47,064	31,391	35,868	43,797	55,856
Recovered	25,086	8,562	13,175	14,998	12,412

SOURCE. *Report on the Police Administration of Oudh,* for the years 1867-1871 inclusive (Lucknow. Church Mission Press), IOL, London.

of tables from the figures on crime in Lucknow city for five consecutive years (from 1867 to 1871) to illustrate the falsity of these allegations (see Table 1 and Table 2)

Looking at Table 1, it appears that the police were fairly lackadaisical in 1867: in an average day they made only 4 5 arrests, sent up 3.7 people for trial, managed to get a couple of felons convicted, and recovered an impressive 53 percent of the goods stolen. From 1868 onwards there was a very dramatic numerical increase in each category, suggesting an unusual amount of vigor and commitment on the part of the patrolling constable. In 1868 the apprehensions were up by 58 percent (an average of 7 1 persons per day) and the convictions more than doubled, but the property recovered dropped to 27 percent of that reported stolen. In the following years this general pattern remains roughly the same.

Table 2 indicates that the number of cases that were

TABLE 2
CRIME IN LUCKNOW CITY, 1867-1871

Type of Crime	*1867*	*1868*	*1869*	*1870*	*1871*
Murders and attempts	3	3	4	6	3
Culpable homicide	1	1	1	–	–
Dacoity	–	–	–	–	–
Robbery	4	1	7	7	8
Rioting and unlawful assembly	1	3	–	2	13
Theft by house breaking or trespass	501	475	615	506	556
Theft simple	563	674	945	802	672
Theft of cattle	9	9	16	15	8
Offenses against coins and stamps	–	2	3	2	3
TOTAL	1,082	1,168	1,591	1,340	1,263
Total number of investigated crimes from Table 1	1,673	2,602	2,437	2,458	2,593
Sanitary "crimes" (Table 2 totals minus Table 3 totals)	591	1,434	846	1,118	1,330

SOURCE *Report on the Police Administration of Oudh*, for the years 1867-1871 inclusive (Lucknow. Church Mission Press), IOL, London

actually related to crime were only marginally higher than those reported for 1867; the sudden jump in the number of cases investigated by the police after 1868 resulted from the strict enforcement of sanitary bylaws of the municipality after the eye-opening visit of the sanitary commission to

the heart of the old city in 1868 The numbers do not speak of greater vigilance against local criminals but of the diverting of a substantial proportion of constabulary energy to keep the city clean and therefore safe. People could now be arrested for urinating along the roadside or creating a sanitary "nuisance." The story behind the inflated criminal investigations was confessed in a letter from the inspector-general of the police:

> The working of the Lucknow City Police during 1868 shows great *improvement* over former years. The percentages of apprehensions and convictions are very high and the percentage of stolen property recovered is good
>
> Theft has been well kept down . . and the increase in the number of reports of crime is nearly altogether accounted for by the number of nuisance cases taken up during the year showing a greater activity on the part of the police.[17]

Theft had not been "well kept down"; if anything, it had surged. But while crime was rampant in the city, almost all of it was petty, unpolitical, perpetrated by natives against natives and, in sum, only a small inconvenience to the European population.

The reaction of the public against the police and the rising crime rate was less insouciant. Apart from the ignominy of being convicted for "committing nuisance"—in 1876 some 2,722 cognizable cases of "nuisance" alone were added to the *thana* ledgers, and one person in every hundred was actually convicted of committing a "nuisance"[18]—there was a great deal of resentment expressed on the subject of

[17] Letter no 30-1356, from Major R.M.H. Aitken, V C, Inspector-General of the Oudh Police, to Secretary of the Chief Commissioner of Oudh, 23 March 1868, Police basta, MCRR, Lucknow The emphasis is mine

[18] Calculated from the *Report on the Police Administration of Oudh, 1875-76*

the city becoming less safe for its citizens The local Urdu newspapers burgeoned with reports of specific crimes and editorials on economic distress, the increase in crime, and the indifference of the police. More often than not the police were thought to be implicated in the crime In a lengthy editorial on the state of "Local Government" in the *Oudh Akhbar* the police appear to be the least efficient part of city government.

> If I am asked to given an account of the heroism of the city police, I could fill a whole room. But, unfortunately, they are accomplices of thieves and unsavory characters whom they help in committing crimes and all sorts of excesses in the bazaars The notion of life and property being secure is an idle dream, and of this the authorities are well aware. Quite apart from this the government's idea that the police would render valuable service in time of need proved mistaken. Whenever the cry of "thief" is heard, the police disappear from their posts and from the mohalla, feign innocence of the event, and then cry out "Catch him," "Catch the thief "[19]

Another editorial disapproved of the centralized reorganization of the police leading to the abolition of the *mohalla chowkis* (posts for chowkidars) on the grounds that the "thieves and other bad characters will have it still more their own way" because the new *thanas* were so few and far between.[20] The *Cawnpore Gazette* noted "the want of good arrangements at Lucknow Police show little inclination to investigate the frequent thefts or prevent public disturbances and outrage, however serious they may be."[21]

In addition to the increase in crime rates, there were also an inexplicably high number of deaths in the city described as "accidental," and these apparently were not investigated

[19] *Oudh Akhbar* (Lucknow), 13 November 1868 My translation.

[20] *Asah-ul-Akhbar* (Lucknow), 17 September 1874, VNR.

[21] *Cawnpore Gazette* (Kanpur), 2 July 1866, VNR

judging from the lack of comment in the annual police reports. On an average 303 people perished "accidentally" every year between 1867 and 1876, and two-thirds of these mishaps were described as people, overwhelmingly women, "falling into wells "[22] There appears to be no evidence of any forensic enquiry into these alleged accidents, and it is not improbable that many of these deaths were suicides or murders. With no similar data on the nawabi period, however, it is difficult to say whether the colonial period saw an actual rise in the "accidental" death rate [23]

The apparent contradiction between the official and public assessments of the performance of the police lies in the differing definitions of the rulers and the ruled of what

[22] Average compiled from the yearly figures for accidental deaths in the *Report on the Police Administration of Oudh, 1867-76*. The average annual figure for the province is 3,361

[23] It is difficult to believe that so many women accustomed to drawing water from the courtyard well from a young age would be so accident prone It is not farfetched to suggest that a young bride who was thought not to have brought enough dowry was probably either unceremoniously pushed into a well or sufficiently harassed to commit suicide This postulate is strongly supported by the fact that in north Indian cities today the newspapers are replete with instances of brides being discovered as charred corpses "accidentially" immolated or with suicide notes that usually say that death was preferable to the indignities they had to suffer for not bringing a larger dowry. Kerosene and matches appear to have replaced the nineteenth-century push into the well, especially since urban wells have been replaced by municipal taps. A growing feminist movement and consciousness in Indian cities has led to the exposure of these latter day "accidents" as murders or forced suicides. The far more erratic and occasional practice of *sati* or widow burning had shocked and appalled the British who brought about its abolition, and these deaths certainly merited equally stern action Whether this was not taken because social reform measures were foresworn after the mutiny or because the police did not trouble themselves to investigate the "accidents" is a matter of conjecture and requires further research

constituted an "orderly" city. Officialdom was pleased that there were no more than an average of 3.2 "riots" and 3.6 people murdered annually in the decade between 1867 and 1876, a formerly violent populace now existed peacefully. In their view it was probably wiser to accept an average of 927 thefts committed every year in the city during the same decade as the inevitable result of the higher prices for grain (which were also the inevitable result of imperial economic policies) and permit the lesser crimes to serve almost as a safety valve against the pressures of inflation and unemployment in the city. Official satisfaction with the police for having achieved the prime goal of transforming the population of Lucknow into a politically harmless mass was, in their minds, justified·

> Lucknow city police is not a mere body of men kept for watch and ward, but it is a highly organized body of police which deals with crime It has brought this great city, formerly a hot-bed of violent crimes of all sorts into a condition as peaceable and secure as that of any city in India There is not an institution in the city the value of which stands so high in the native estimation as the police.[24]

The officials clearly ignored the published opinions of the average citizens. Instead, the loyal protestations of the native members of the municipal committee often were taken for an accurate representation of the feelings of the people on the workings of the new government.

The Municipal Committee

The notion of an institution that would specifically look after civic affairs came to Lucknow with the British. During

[24] Letter no. 3476, from Secretary to the Chief Commissioner [I. F. MacAndrew] to Secretary to GOI, Home Department, 11 August 1869, unnumbered basta, MCRR, Lucknow

the nawabi, there was no such separate institution, although the nawab, the court, a *kotwal* or chief police officer, and his numerous officers or *darogas* were responsible for many of the functions that later formed the core of municipal government The nawab commissioned public works ranging from city palaces and mosques to roads, drains, and wells. He heard complaints against his officers and other grievances during the daily *darbar* or public audience. The obvious difference was that there were no rigid administrative boundaries between the city and countryside The nawab was the fountainhead of absolute power, and Lucknow was the center of a prosperous kingdom, the new municipal committee had limited functions and powers and operated strictly within newly defined municipal limits Even the cantonment fell outside of its authority The genesis and functioning of municipal government mirrored the transformation of Lucknow from a nawabi capital to a provincial town in a larger empire.

In an official appraisal of the municipal committee undertaken in 1941 its formative years up to 1884 are dismissed as "obscure,"[25] even though an overwhelming amount of source material on the period was lodged in *bastas*, the enormous cloth bundles in the record room of the building that housed the institution since the 1920s. Because there is no scholarly work on the municipal committee, as it was then called, it is worthwhile not only to fill this chronological gap but also to uncover the biases that influenced local policies and to re-create the atmosphere in which the mentality of later politicians was shaped.[26]

[25] *Report of the Lucknow Municipal Board Enquiry Committee* (Allahabad: Superintendent, Printing and Stationery, United Provinces, India, 1942), p. 7

[26] For a current account of the municipal corporation see Roderick Church, "The Politics of Administration in Urban India. Citizens, Municipal Councillors and Routine Administration in Lucknow" (Ph D diss , Duke University, 1973). Tej Pratap Chand's *Administration* omits municipal administration in Oudh altogether

The first year of muncipal government is shrouded in obscurity because no records survived the general pillage in 1857 and 1858. A small managing body, consisting of the deputy commissioner as president, the city magistrate as secretary, the treasury officer, and a native extra-assistant commissioner, appears to have been constituted in 1858, but of its functioning and responsibilities there is no record. We do know, however, that it consisted chiefly of officials in contrast to its counterparts in the Punjab where committees were allegedly "composed of citizens chosen by trade panchayats or selected for their public spirit" and where "district officials seem to have remained entirely in the background."[27] This body appears to have managed *nuzul*, or the civic property of the ex-king that was escheat to the new rulers.[28] Shortly afterwards it expanded its membership from among the officials and enjoyed a brief existence as the local agency committee. In this guise it acquired municipal functions, which at this rudimentary stage included collecting civic taxes and *nuzul* rents and supervising public works, the police, and conservancy.

In 1862 the local agency committee was dissolved at the request of the chief commissioner, and a new body called the municipal committee was constituted on the first of the year. The latter continued to collect taxes and took charge of the conservancy of roads, made improvements in the

[27] Hugh Tinker, *Foundations of Local Self-Government in India, Pakistan and Burma* (Bombay: Lalvani Publishing House, 1967), p. 35.

[28] Letter no. 393, from W. Capper, Officiating Commissioner, Lucknow, to Deputy Commissioner, Lucknow, 27 April 1867, unnumbered basta, MCCR, Lucknow. The same source informs us that *nuzul* property was later reclassified to include the following: "1) State property—houses, etc. constructed by the Kings of Oudh; 2) Old Nuzool Property—appropriated by the Kings of Oudh or that lapsed to them as escheat; 3) New Nuzool—escheats taken in payment of penal tax imposed on inhabitants of Lucknow."

city, appointed all necessary officers and servants, made and amended the rules of procedure, defined and prohibited "nuisances," and took punitive action against violators of such rules.[29] The judicial commissioner of Oudh was appointed president, the commissioner of Lucknow district the vice-president, and the deputy commissioner the secretary There were nine other members including the inspector-general of police, the superintendent of city police, the civil surgeon and city magistrate as official members, and four unofficial members, two each from the Hindu and Muslim communities. The Muslim representatives were two nawabs, Mohsun ud Dowlah and Mumtaz ud Dowlah, both prominent Shiites, and the Hindus were two prominent *mahajans* (bankers), Shah Benarsi Das and Shah Makhan Lal. The inclusion of Indians as members in a governing body, although it did not signify a revolution, marked the entry of a tentative native toe in the door From the official perspective the move was made in order to bring in acquiescent men with a stake in the Raj to endorse the levy of local taxes rather than to create a forum where local opinion would be aired This assessment of the role of native members was borne out in practice in the early years, since their participation remained perfunctory [30]

The impetus for the next stage in the evolution of the municipal committee came from the government of India when it attempted to relieve itself of the burden of subsidizing the town police, instead passing it on directly to the townspeople. By a special act for the city of Lucknow, Act

[29] PMC, 6 January 1862; the instructions of the Chief Commissioner were communicated in a letter from the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, no. 2876, 19 December 1861, and its enclosures detailed the composition of the new municipal committee.

[30] After a careful check of the attendance at committee meetings held in 1862 I discovered that Benarsi Das attended five of thirty-seven meetings and the other three came but once each (abstracted from the PMC volume for 1862, MCRR, Lucknow)

XVIII of 1864, which served as its legal charter, an expanded municipal committee of twenty-five members "for levying duties on certain articles brought within the limits of the city for consumption" and generally for the regulation of all matters related to "conservancy and improvement" was called into existence. This act provided for the annual election of nineteen nonofficial members "by and from among the inhabitants of the city."[31] This would have been an unprecedented leap forward had the opportunity been treated with less indifference by the townspeople Arrangements for an election were indeed made in 1875 and an election held, "but as only seven votes were recorded, the Members of the Committee were nominated."[32] There is no evidence, either in the municipal records or in the newspapers, of any other election between 1864 and 1877, and what evidence there is supports the conclusion of Hugh Tinker who states that "in fact the elective principle was held in abeyance. . . In general [municipal] boards were formed by the District Magistrate from among his mulaqatis [acquaintances] and other 'respectable' citizens "[33]

The number of meetings between the years 1864 and 1877 varied from eight to twenty-two in any single year, becoming fewer as civic matters became routine.[34] The nonofficial members, among them a few European residents of Lucknow, improved their attendance at meetings, but their role in the decision-making process was negligible. The picture that emerges from the proceedings of these thirteen years is one of a compliant group of a dozen and

[31] Section 3 of Act XVIII of 1864; the act was also "[a]n Act to provide for the appointment of a Municipal Committee for the city of Lucknow" and received the assent of the governor-general on 24 March 1864 (appended to the PMC volume for 1864, MCRR, Lucknow).

[32] *Report on the Administration of Oudh, 1875-76*, p. 35.

[33] Tinker, *Foundations*, p 37.

[34] The information for this paragraph was abstracted from the manuscript registers of the PMC, 1864-1877, MCRR, Lucknow

a half "respectable" men who represented their own interests rather than those of the residents of their wards Although the city population had a far greater number of Hindus than Muslims, the native members were drawn equally from both communities Neither the potential for the slowly democratizing ethos of the Raj nor the "threat" from the Hindu majority were, as yet, perceived, but in an increasingly "representative" format where the Hindu majority would automtically carry more political weight, and Muslims, the former rulers of Oudh (and much of India), would be reckoned merely as a "minority," religion was bound to play an increasingly political role

In these two decades, however, the only interests represented in the municipal committee were the narrow, economic self-interests of the monied and propertied class—a religiously mixed group of bankers, *wasiqadars* (political pensioners), nawabs (noblemen), traders, and loyal parvenus The British were quick to identify the prominent men in the city and draw them into cooperating with the government, since these men had a personal stake in the stability and continuity of the Raj. Thus there was even less justification for the official perception of the local population being polarized along religious lines or requiring "representatives" from the two religious groups. Had "communal" interests, in fact, been correctly identified the society would have been perceived as a combination of several sectarian (Shiites and Sunnis among Muslims) and caste (*brahmins, khatris, kayasths*, and *baniyas* among Hindus) groups rather than as one divided vertically along religious lines It is well known that during the nawabi, Muslim Shiites dominated the executive branch of government and Hindu *khatris* and *kayasths* the financial branches Shiites and *kayasths* had mutual interests and were in fact far more politically and culturally compatible groups (the *kayasths* had adopted the Persianized life style of the Shiite elite) than were Shiites and Sunnis, who were dogmatically and politically opposed to each other. The appointment of a Sunni

to the office of the prime minister by Muhammad Ali Shah (1837-1842) was done only at the urging of the all-powerful British resident and was suffered as a shameful "blot" on the Shia imperial escutcheon[35] Violent communal clashes occurred more frequently between the two rival sects of Islam than between Hindus and Muslims in the city.

The British ignored the complex affinities that cut across religious and cultural lines. For political reasons they chose to see the society as simple aggregations of Hindus and Muslims, and accorded representation on official bodies likewise In time, when local representatives began to understand the implications of a religious and vertical division of the polity and to exploit the advantages inherent in it, this straightforward communal representation would generate communal constituencies. It is thus reasonable to suggest that the germ of the bitter and ugly communal strife of the future lay in this early obscuring of class interests in favor of religious ones. The more detailed and painstaking the British effort to define, quantify, and classify the elements that made up indigenous society with census, settlement, and commission reports, the more categorically this artificial and simple dichotomy was reinforced.

In the course of these two decades the nominated members of the two communities established themselves as a coterie that worked in collaboration with the British in the municipal arena and reaped personal rewards for their loyalty in return Table 3 identifies the longest-serving members, there were several others of shorter tenure and spotty attendance who represented the same economic group and probably found their self-interests, especially in matters of taxation and compensation, protected by their more active colleagues. That these men represented neither the interests of the citizens at large nor the interests of their coreligionists in particular is patently obvious They tended to act and vote together rather than as religious units with

[35] Fisher, "The Imperial Court and the Province," p 163

TABLE 3

LONG-SERVING MEMBERS OF THE MUNICIPAL COMMITTEE, 1864–1877

Members	Occupation (where known)	Ward	Number of years served[a]	Period of service
Daroga Mir Wajid Ali	Property and land owner; later taluqdar	Wazirgunj	13	1864-1877
Girdharee Lall	Jeweller, banker	Chowk	10	1864-1877
Lala Shadi Lall	Banker	Dowlatgunj	9	1865-1875
Baboo Somair Chand	Banker	Chowk	9	1867-1876
Aga Ali Khan Bahadur	Property owner, wasiqadar	Chowk	9	1865-1877
Lala Surup Chand	Banker	Sadutgunj	8	1865-1873
Sirdar Mirza		Dowlutgunj	7	1868-1877
Lala Lalta Parshad		Dowlutgunj	7	1868-1876
Chait Ram Choudhury		Husseingunj	7	1868-1876
Daroga Hadi Husain Khan		Ganeshgunj	7	1865-1877
Chuttree Chowdhury		Husseingunj	6	1864-1874
Aga Ushraff Ali Khan	Wasiqadar	Wazirgunj	5	1865-1871
Lala Gujjadher Pershad		Husseingunj	5	1869-1874
Syud Akbar Ali		Husseingunj	4	1865-1870
Yusuf Mirza	Wasiqadar	Sadutgunj	4	1866-1871
Nawab Furukh Mirza		Sadutgunj	4	1873-1877
Syud Wazir Ali	Wasiqadar	Wazirgunj	4	1873-1877
Munshi Newal Kishore	Printer	Ganeshgunj	3	1875-1877

SOURCE Proceedings of the Municipal Committee, 1864-1877, MCRR, Lucknow

[a] Not necessarily continuous Some members continued to serve beyond 1877

conflicting interests. There was as yet no consciousness of community, which is the first stage, according to Paul Brass, that leads to political action in the quest for a separate nation state in a multi-ethnic polity [36]

There were other constraints that made it difficult for these men to be effective representatives of any but their own narrow interests. The formality and protocol observed at meetings was as alien to the indigenous members as it was awesome. The presence of senior bureaucrats and the use of English, which few of them understood much less spoke, doubtless added to the reluctance or the inability of the Indians to particpte in the process of government. The Lucknow *Taj-ul-Akhbar* of 8 December 1874 published a letter of a correspondent complaining about municipal committees in Oudh "The Committee," the letter writer remarks

> is composed of members who, although they are considered wealthy and respectable, are mere puppets, and sit in council like deaf and dumb people, staring at the chairs and tables, "yes" and "no" being the extent of their argument for or against any measure of importance Now tell me is this what is called a Committee? Is this what we have to lean on for reform? When the members are asked, we generally receive this reply—"Who asks me? They [the English members] generally among themselves talk *git pit* [a derogatory term for English], and if they question me, I can acquiesce in what they say. Many things mentioned I do not even comprehend, but to do our duty we obey as members."[37]

The forum was further restricted since several areas of municipal management were reviewed exclusively and kept confidential by official members. The administration of the

[36] Paul R Brass, *Language, Religion and Politics in North India* (Cambridge· Cambridge University Press, 1974), pp 44-45

[37] *Taj-ul-Akhbar* (Lucknow), 8 December 1874, VNR.

police, for example, with an allocation of approximately one-third of the total civic revenue, was such an area, as were larger public works projects that were approved solely by the municipal engineer for both feasibility and outlay [38] It was only within the subcommittees designated for specific purposes that indigenous members were active. they apprised the Europeans of the customary practices of Lucknow bazaars but remained generally compliant in matters that seemed not to conflict with their own interests

This acquiescence was not, however, freely given at all times It was sometimes "purchased" by the officials in return for innumerable small and large favors or concessions to the members These usually came in the shape of contracts for building supplies, sanctions for plots of land for commercial or residential development, licences for liquor or tobacco retail for an enterprising relative, or a clerical post for a member's protégé in the expanding administrative establishment. These "payoffs" seem minuscule when compared to fortunes lavished on favorites by the nawabs of Oudh, but committee membership provided one of the few opportunities in a trim economy of gaining access to the senior civil servants who controlled patronage in the province. It became more and more clear that the vacuum created by the deposition of the king and the dispersal of his court was filled by the municipal committee to serve as the font (albeit with a budget a fraction of the king's) of all jobs and business contracts in the city and the *mufussil* (countryside), to have access in Lucknow was especially prized since a word from the chief commissioner or his secretary could fill a vacancy or secure a contract in any distant corner of Oudh

A growing number of Indian "collaborators" used their official connections to oblige their own friends and relatives and appeared, thereby, to wield real power when in fact

[38] Memo of W. Lane, Secretary of the Municipal Committee, 24 December 1864, PMC, MCRR, Lucknow.

they had no executive function in the council Therfore, when Francis Robinson suggests that nonofficial members of municipal boards actually enjoyed a good deal of real political power and that historians of local self-government have held the opposite view too often and without evidence he confuses opportunities to make money with real political power The more closely we examine the part played by local members of the Lucknow municipality the more patent this confusion becomes [39]

Even in its infancy, and long before its nonofficial members were actually elected, this institution was used as a springboard by several of its members to increase their private wealth and influence The men who made, perhaps, the best use of their connections were Mir Wajid Ali, who served on the committee for thirteen years until his death in 1876, aggrandizing his social position from a nawabi *daroga* (officer) to a man of vast property and influence, Munshi Newal Kishore, who won contracts to print government publications and text books that made his print shop the largest press in all Asia, and nawabs Mohsun ud Dowlah and Mumtaz ud Dowlah, who became the trustees of the largest charitable trust in the city [40]

Daroga Mir Wajid Ali, a Shiite, had served the last king of Oudh in the capacity of a *mahal daroga*, and his job was to supply the daily wants of the multitude of king's wives (reputed to have numbered at least three hundred and twenty) who resided in the Kaiserbagh palace complex [41] For his loyalty to the British during the rebellion he re-

[39] Francis Robinson, *Separatism Among Indian Muslims* (Cambridge Cambridge University Press, 1973), p 52

[40] I shall discuss these men in more detail in Chapter 6

[41] This information is taken from a petition by Daroga Mir Wajid Ali addressed to Sir George Couper, Chief Commissioner of Oudh, n.d , Urdu MS, file no 1931, Board of Revenue, Lucknow District (BRLD), UPSA, Lucknow Also see Chapter 6 for Daroga Wajid Ali's ability to exploit the bureaucracy to his own advantage.

ceived a handsome reward of a lakh of rupees and was appointed to the municipal committee in 1864 He quickly learned how to deal with European officialdom in his long and persistent struggle to acquire property, to press claims for compensation, and to litigate on behalf of the many *begums* (wives of the ex-king) who had been dispossessed after the rebellion He was also associated with charitable causes in the city and was often called upon to collect and disburse relief to the poor of the city.[42] In other words, he became well known in the city as a man who could get things done. For example, after four years of petitioning a succession of senior bureaucrats in the city he managed to get an order of the chief commissioner waived that prohibited the manufacture of *khari* salt in Lucknow district, and, as a result, Colonel Barrow granted him a license to manufacture salt in 1869 [43] However, although Wajid Ali managed to persuade the chief commissioner in his own case, he could do nothing for the general populace about getting the oppressive ban on salt manufacture lifted, which forced expensive, imported salt on the people of Oudh who had been self-sufficient in this basic necessity of life in precolonial times

Even though the *daroga* was an indefatigable member of the committee with the highest attendance record among all of his nonofficial colleagues,[44] he was not loath to take small liberties with municipal laws On one occasion a certain Mrs Johannes filed a written complaint against him for having violated a bylaw of the committee by building, without prior permission, a *gunj* in the vicinity of two flour-

[42] *Oudh Akhbar*, 9 October 1861

[43] For the entire case see file no 2585, from 3 August 1865 to 18 February 1869, BRLD, UPSA

[44] This fact was ascertained by counting the number of meetings attended by the Indian members during the thirteen-year period Attendance was taken at every meeting and a record of it kept in the registers where the proceedings were recorded (PMC, MCRR, Lucknow)

ishing *gunjes* [45] After due consideration of the *daroga*'s undeniable breach of the law (which he may well have helped to frame since he was present on the day the above resolution was tabled) the committee noted the impropriety but decided not to "interfere in the matter."[46] Wajid Ali certainly managed to soften the blows aimed against him

The *daroga*'s attempts to shape government policy on the subject of *gunjes* was perhaps the closest he came to tasting real power As the owner of four major grain markets in the city—Chandgunj, Fatehgunj, Sadatgunj, and Rakabgunj (all of which he had received as compensation for the loss of two villages that were acquired by the government for the new cantonment)—and a tireless builder of new ones his interests were closely tied to any rules the committee might devise to regulate the marketplace In July 1868 he served on a subcommittee of five, which included Mirza Abbas Beg, Sarup Chand, and Chaitram, all who had similar vested interests, "to draft rules regarding the Grant and Registry of Licences to Dullals [brokers], Weighmen, &c "[47] Their careful doctoring of existing practices in favor of *gunj* owners brought forth a howl of protest from *dalals* (brokers) and *arhatiyas* (commission agents) of Rakabgunj (owned by the *daroga*) embodied in a strongly worded petition to the commissioner.[48] The latter immediately or-

[45] The bylaw categorically stated "that there being an undoubted customary law [that] no new bazaar can be opened without express authority, the consent of the Committee must be obtained previous to the establishment of a bazaar. . " PMC, Resolution no 182, 22 July 1863, MCRR, Lucknow

[46] PMC, Resolution no 245, 20 April 1865, MCRR, Lucknow

[47] PMC, Resolution no 76, 25 June 1868, MCRR, Lucknow The committee members are mentioned in the resolution as *gunj* owners

[48] Petition, MS in Urdu, docket no 822, from Commissioner, Lucknow Division, to Deputy Commissioner, Lucknow, 13 September 1869 (original petition enclosed), basta no 69, "Municipal," MCRR, Lucknow

dered the deputy commissioner who had deputed G W. Bonner, the superintendent of octroi, to enquire into the changes in trade practices alleged by brokers. The strongest objection to the new rules was that they "placed . . extra power . in the hands of the owners of the gunjes," and this was confirmed to be true after Bonner's investigation. "Proprietors of Gunjes," he wrote in his report, could not

> formerly claim as a right any fees from either traders or arutheas, neither had they any control over the latter On the contrary they were obliged to conciliate these men, but by the new rules things have been reversed, and what is most galling to the arutheas is the Proprietors having the option of sending up names of those whom they desire should obtain licences [for brokerage] which, in some instances had led to the servant obtaining a licence to the exclusion of the master Proprietors have therefore great powers in their hands, whereas formerly they had none.[49]

Wajid Ali managed to ascertain the contents of Bonner's corroborative report before it arrived on the deputy commissioner's desk In a preemptive bid to invalidate Bonner's findings, the *daroga* accused Bonner and the brokers of collusion:

> The Superintendent [Bonner] having sent for those "Aurutias" who are against me, kept some conversation with them for days and enquired into the matter without giving me any information about the subject, he made an export [*sic*] enquiry and formed his report simply on the statement of those who have complaint against me.
> Now the said "aurutias" say that they will desert and ruin

[49] Manuscript, report by G. W Bonner, Superintendant of Octroi, to Deputy Commissioner, Lucknow, 6 October 1869, basta no. 69, "Municipal," MCRR, Lucknow

> my Gunjes and settle a new one and they say that Mr. Banner [*sic*] has given a promise for doing so.[50]

He also stated that the payment of the disputed fees was customary before 1856 and had "ceased [to be paid] merely from the date when Mr Banner [*sic*] obtained charge of the Choongie" and strongly urged the government to bear these facts in mind when Bonner's report appeared before them. After further tedious wrangling the *daroga* emerged victorious. Proprietors of *gunjes* retained their lately assumed right to charge fees from brokers, for such was the case when William Hoey, excise commissioner of Lucknow, undertook his detailed survey of trade practices in the city in 1879 and 1880.[51]

This case demonstrates how a nonofficial committee member could manipulate minor outcomes by serving on specific subcommittees and extract favors as the price for unswerving loyalty to the regime. Of this mutual tacit self-interest a brief era of intense cooperation and collusion between the government and the native elite was born. Men like the *daroga* were content to wrest financial advantages and increase their social status from their association with the ruling elite. They, however, did not and could not aspire to real political power since it was in the hands of a caste that was most rigidly ascriptive: the European elite.

Having sketched the evolution and structure of its responsibilities, I would like to review briefly the municipal budgets for three well-spaced years. This will allow me to sketch the priorities of the committee before appraising the actual discharge of its civil responsibilities in the next chapter. The budgets will also reveal at a glance the relative

[50] Petition, from Daroga Mir Wajid Ali to Deputy Commissioner, 8 October 1869, basta no. 69, "Municipal," MCRR, Lucknow.

[51] William Hoey, *A Monograph on Trade and Manufactures in Northern India* (Lucknow: American Methodist Mission Press, 1880), p. 60.

importance assigned to a particular function over time (see Table 4)

In the first few years after the recapture of Lucknow the municipal budgets were impressively large since an inordinate amount of money was spent on the reconstruction of a major part of the city, and this sum alone exceeded the average annual budget of later years by almost one-third No detailed annual budgets for the years 1861 to 1870 exist because it was then the practice to sanction bills on a monthly basis, and since no complete records have survived it is difficult to form an annual picture of the receipts and disbursements It was not until the committee submitted reports of its activities and finances from 1872 onward that an accurate account of the scope of its endeavors in the city is available.

Despite the inaccuracy of the early years the contrast between the crude figures of 1859 to 1860 and those of the seventies suggests that once the great and urgent Napier plan had been executed the cost of ongoing public works (road building, repairs to bridges, etc) never exceeded 12 to 15 percent of the annual budget Conservancy, or the disposal of refuse, which included sanitary measures, used more than one-sixth of the total outlay In later years, when road building consumed only a small chunk of the money available, the amount of taxpayers' money budgeted for keeping the city clean and healthy rose to nearly one-third of the total receipts. In 1859 to 1860 "local improvements" included a modest outlay for "draining and metalling principal thoroughfares of the native portions of the city . . and generally improving the town "[52] In addition, improvements were still in order and a large and prosperous market, the Chini Bazaar, was demolished to throw open a view of the magnificent tomb of Sadat Ali Khan, while the elegant square of Kaiserbagh was partially destroyed to accommodate two broad roads.[53]

[52] *Report on the Administration of Oudh, 1859-60*, p 44.

[53] Ibid

Another expense incurred under the same head was a lump sum of ten thousand rupees set aside by the municipal committee to relieve the suffering and distress among the lowest class of people "caused [by] . the high price of grain in consequence to the unprecedented export to the North West."[54] This sum, distributed in the shape of the lowest rate of wages for a day's labor, staved off starvation for the poorest class of people of the city for several months Although the amount expended was insignificant, the members seemed to acknowledge a limited responsibility of the municipality for the "welfare" of its citizens, especially since the scarcity and high prices were man-made rather than the result of natural causes This practice was not a new departure for the citizens of Lucknow, who had traditionally depended on the charity of the nawabs of Oudh in times of natural shortages caused by drought or flood. There were charities in the city that had been endowed by the nawabs, the best known being Nasiruddin's Poor House. The nawabs had also undertaken the building of large palaces or *imambaras* in order to provide employment to the hard pressed in times of famine. The Asafi Imambara, completed in 1791, was the best known of such projects in Lucknow Thus, it was not without precedent that hundreds of poor artisans whose jobs had withered away with the nawabi found themselves temporarily employed in clearing the debris and preparing *kankar* (pieces of brick broken with a hammer) for road building for the lowest possible day wage

In the early sixties the various departments of the provincial government, including executive offices, judicial and land revenue courts, public works, and post and telegraph establishments, which had been disrupted during the rebellion, had to be housed It was decided that the spacious *nuzul* buildings, once the palaces that constituted the nawabi court, would best accommodate the full civic and pro-

[54] Ibid , p 37

TABLE 4
MUNICIPAL EXPENDITURES (in rupees)

	1859-1860	*1872-1873*	*1876-1877*
Head office establishment	–	2,201	2,759
Collection of octroi	–	17,922	15,436
Police	176,663	96,595	89,765
Lighting	–	–	446
Registration of births and deaths	–	–	229
Construction & maintenance of roads[a]	317,913[b]	30,261	31,850
Watering roads	–	1,518	2,862
Drainage works	–	11,375	33,423
Water supply	–	–	–
Buildings	–	9,975	9,187
Other public works, gardens, and similar improvements	–	7,778	9,009
Sanitary and charitable establishments	–	3,643	2,749
Conservancy and cleaning[c]	73,461	42,838	26,647
Education, science, and arts	–	1,200	1,192
Contribution to local or provincial funds	–	6,913	7,725
Interest on debt	–	2,469	500
Repayment of debt	–	4,000	20,000
Collection of other taxes and income	–	–	175
TOTAL	568,037	238,688	253,954

SOURCE The expenditure of 1859-1860 is taken from the *Report on the Administration of Oudh, 1859-60* (Lucknow Government Printing

vincial establishment These buildings were repaired and renovated "at heavy cost from the Local Funds, and the imperial finances [were] put to no charge on this account."[55] In other words, the city taxpayers bore the cost and the municipality the responsibility of refurbishing the vacant, shot-riddled palaces as office space for the provincial government. This extraordinary burden on civic resources was seen as the fair price the citizens had to pay to convert what had been "for three years the seat of rapine and disorder" into the seat of a stable and just government.[56]

In these two crowded decades the institutional framework of modern colonial city government evolved to meet the challenge of administering a city that had been ravaged by war and had its old administrative mode destroyed. The police force and the municipal council, with its multifarious responsibilities, emerged as the twin pillars of the civic establishment The police were primarily trained, equipped, and reorganized to minimize political breaches of law and order and to curb sanitary nuisances rather than to control crime During this time, the city *rais* (men of wealth and local influence) became actively involved in assisting the

[55] Letter no. 3276, from Junior Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Oudh to Secretary to GOI, 7 December 1864, Foreign Department/Revenue A, NAI, New Delhi

[56] Report of Charles Currie, Officiating Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, to Cecil Beadon, Secretary to GOI, 5 April 1860, Foreign Consultations, NAI, New Delhi.

Press, 1860), p 41 The figures for 1872-1873 and 1876-1877 are taken from the *Municipal Report of Oudh* (Lucknow. Oudh Government Press)

[a] This was called "local improvements" in 1859-60 and later incorporated categories such as "buildings," "other public works," etc

[b] Includes the cost of the Napier plan, demolitions, and major repair work on *nuzul* buildings

[c] The figures under this category include the 7,200 rupees annual contribution to cantonment conservancy

new ruling elite to establish their mastery in the capital in exchange for thin slivers of the economic pie. The selected local councilmen had some leverage with patronage or the distribution of government contracts, but they had little scope for exercising any political power, which was exclusively in the hands of the official members.

These bodies never overcame the spirit in which they were conceived Even with liberal reforms and eventually elected membership they remained unsatisfactory arenas for serious political change Nor did these local bodies become, in any significant measure, feeders to the mainstream of national politics. Men who were to make their mark at the national level had to expressly dissociate themselves from the forums of limited self-government provided by the British Jawaharlal Nehru, who resigned in frustration after two years as the elected chairman of the Allahabad municipal board in the mid-1920s, wrote a memorable indictment, which could be more generally applied:

> The main interest of Government in municipal administration is that "politics" should be kept out. Any resolution of sympathy with the nationalist movement is frowned upon. [The government attempts] to keep out political opponents from all municipal and local services . It prefers and pushes on the lap-dog breed and then complains of the inefficiency of the local bodies . We have an all-pervading atmosphere of authoritarianism, and the acccompaniments of democracy are lacking[57]

These bodies still cling to their colonial legacy, and the official component tends to dominate the elected members. In many important cities in India today the elected municipal councils have been suspended—on grounds of cor-

[57] Jawaharlal Nehru, *Toward Freedom· The Autobiography of Jawaharlal Nehru* (New York· The John Day Company, 1941), p 119.

ruption or incompetence—and in its place a colonial-style administrator and his underlings order the city to do their bidding

In the last three decades of the nineteenth century after the disorder resulting from the mutiny had been sorted out the tasks of the municipality became more routine. The real impact of the new civic apparatus on the townspeople was felt through its routine operations, particularly in the multipronged effort to make the city clean, and it is on this that I will now focus my attention

CHAPTER FOUR

The City Must Be Clean

> [T]he routine of defaecation goes to the root of citizenship Defaecation is (or should be) a daily function—to those suffering from "the almost universal complaint" it is apt to be a daily sacrament! If it can also be a daily discipline the foundation of good citizenship has been laid Let me ordain where the nation shall defaecate and I care not who make their laws.
>
> —F L Brayne, ICS[1]

The drive to make the city clean also had its origin in the experience of war The high mortality rate of European troops during the mutiny retold the horror story of the Crimean War more men died of disease than in combat [2] These revelations made the cleanliness of the city as imperative as its strategic security.

The problem of eliminating disease from the urban environment had no simple solution, however The diseases that imperiled European lives were numerous and recur-

[1] Frank Lugard Brayne Collection, MSS Eur F 152, file 39, IOL. I am grateful to Professor Geraldine Forbes for supplying this reference

[2] William H. McNeill, *Plagues and Peoples* (Garden City, N Y.. Doubleday & Company, 1976), p 251 "In the Crimean war ten times as many British soldiers died of dysentery as from all the Russian weapons put together." For the mutiny experience, see J. B Harrison, "Allahabad: A Sanitary History" (paper presented at the seminar on the "City in South Asia" at the School of Oriental and African Studies, London University, 1975) Harrison relies on the 1863 report of the Royal Commission on the Health of the Anglo-Indian Army.

rent, ranging from small, everyday treacheries on the gastrointestinal tract, to sweeping epidemics of cholera, typhoid, smallpox, and the plague Knowledge about the nature and cure of communicable diseases was still primitive, and medical men worked with a jumble of conflicting theories Typhoid fever, for example, was believed to be "due to a poison of animal origin, as malarial fever is due to a poison of vegetable origin."[3] Dr Bonavia, the civil surgeon at Lucknow, believed that the probable causes of the "fevers" that took more than three thousand lives (not all European, of course) in 1868 alone were "insufficiency of food, . excess or defect of heat, . . alterations of temperature, . . bad air, fatigue, . . [and] insufficiency of ventilation in people's houses."[4] Planck and Bonavia, both medical doctors, were presumably as competent authorities on the subject as was possible to find in 1868. Trained in England, these men read the still unchallenged eighteenth-century classic entitled *Diseases of the Army* by Dr. Sir John Pringle (1707-1782), physician general to the British forces Pringle had theorized at length on the role of "putrefactive processes in the production of disease " He inspected dwellings in London and found them unventilated, dark, and damp, the walls and furniture of these "nests of pestilence . . . stored an infinity of ancestral frowsiness and infection "[5] Pringle's miasmatic theory seemed to have a firm

[3] These were the views of Dr C Planck, sanitary commissioner of the North-Western Provinces from 1868 to 1885, expressed in his first annual sanitary report of the province in 1868 Cited in Harrison, "Allahabad," p 4

[4] *Sanitary Report of the City of Lucknow, For The Year 1868-69,* bound with the *Sanitary Report of Oudh, 1868-69* (Lucknow: Government Printing Press, 1869), p. 8, IOL, London The report is signed by Dr. E Bonavia and written in the first person.

[5] Cited in Dorsey Dee Jones, *Edwin Chadwick and the Early Public Health Movement in England,* University of Iowa Studies in the Social Sciences, vol 9, no. 3 (Dubuque. University of Iowa Press, 1931), p. 11.

and satisfactory empirical base. The theory baldly stated that " . . miasma, emerging perhaps from dead corpses or other rotting matter in the earth, encountered appropriately weakened constitutions . . [and] disease resulted."[6]

If Pringle had supplied the most widely held theory of disease at the time, Sir Edwin Chadwick formulated the most commonly used model for combating disease in the built environment in Britain An indefatigable sanitarian, he served as an assistant Poor Law Commissioner and devoted a lifetime to improving working-class health conditions. He too was a sincere disciple of the miasmatic theory of disease He firmly held that various diseases among the laboring classes were caused or aided by atmospheric impurities produced by decaying animal and vegetable matter. His *Report on the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population in Great Britain* (published in 1842) used the Benthamite method of obtaining facts by detailed personal investigation and interviews with working-class inhabitants Written boldly and in the first person, Chadwick's report shocked many complacent Victorians. The forcefulness of his style and the precision with which he documented his facts made his report the model for civil surgeons, sanitary officers, and municipal bodies both in Britain and its colonies [7]

He pointed out that typhoid alone claimed more than fifty-six thousand lives in England and Wales every year (dubbed as the "annual slaughter"), which was more than twice the total number of fatalities of the allied armies at Waterloo Chadwick's battle cry for a cleaner, healthier England echoed in all corners of the empire His remedial formula for the unhealthy environment of England's cities was, in sum, better physical conditions for the poor Destitution and disease for him were inseparable· destitution

[6] McNeill, *Plagues and Peoples*, p 235
[7] Jones, *Edwin Chadwick*, pp 11-15

(because the poor were weak and sickly) led to disease, and disease (because the sick could not work) compounded destitution He proposed better ventilated houses, a plentiful supply of water, a good drainage system, better disposal of refuse and sewage, and the removal of slaughter houses, leather and gas factories, and burial grounds away from residential areas This formula was imbibed by the Bonavias and the Plancks who were to work tirelessly in applying it to cities in India to control disease and reduce European mortality rates [8]

The findings of the Royal Commission on the Health of the Anglo-Indian Army in 1863 also emphasized that it was "indeed impossible to separate the question of health, as it relates to troops, from the sanitary condition of the native population, especially as regards the occurrence of epidemics "[9] The response to this etiological probe into the ill-health of British soldiers, which included an inspection of sanitary conditions in native cities and the personal habits of the natives, was the formation in every town with a considerable number of Europeans of a local "agency" (a municipal committee) that would "secure a minimum standard of health and comfort for themselves at least "[10]

Sanitation

Thus the municipal committee's most important responsibility, its raison d'être, in fact, was sanitation. This was an era when the connection between dirt and disease had been made, but the discovery of bacteria, or the role of house flies, mosquitoes, and other vermin as carriers of disease was yet to be made. The war against ubiquitous vegetable,

[8] Summarized from Sir Edwin Chadwick, comp , *Report on the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population of Great Britain* (London. W Clowes and Sons, 1842)

[9] As cited in Harrison, "Allahabad," p 4

[10] Ibid , p. 5.

animal, and human waste in a city both vast and dense appeared to be a hopeless one, especially given the inadequate weapons and theories the British had to work with If an epidemic of cholera abated, an outbreak of malaria or typhoid could be expected next Then there was the imponderable question about the indigenous citizens themselves Could natives and Europeans coexist and enjoy good health when the very "habits of the natives are such that, unless they are closely watched, they cover the whole neighbouring surface with filth?"[11] In Lucknow large amounts of money and effort had been expended to keep the native and European quarters of the city as far apart as possible, but clearly this was not enough Therefore a mixture of genuine concern for the lack of adequate drainage and rubbish disposal, some good common sense about clean drinking water and more and better public toilets, some prejudice about "native habits," and a spirit of bold experimentation characterized the efforts made to clean up the city

There was also the prevailing belief that cities of the Indian plains were not conducive to prolonged European habitation. The statistical tables of the Royal Sanitary Commission proved that sickness and mortality increased every year with length of residence in India at a much greater rate than was explained by age alone "The natives of temperate zones degenerate in the tropics, as the Esquimaux or negroes do when removed to temperate climates . . . even inferior animals, as cows, dogs and sheep, deteriorate in the tropics."[12] This problem was dealt with in part by transferring the entire official establishment and its at-

[11] Report of the Royal Commission on the Health of the Anglo-India Army, as cited in ibid., p. 6.

[12] Cited in Iltudus T Prichard, *The Administration of India from 1859-1869*, 2 vols (London: Macmillan and Company, 1869), 2.283

tendant paraphernalia to the "hill station,"[13] Nainital, every year between May and September. There the cool Himalayan breezes, the magnificent lake and English-style cottages renewed the health and vigor of the ruling race The other remedy, resorted to biannually, was the grant of "home leave," a two-month or longer spell in Britain to compensate for the hardship endured in the colony The sea voyage to and from England made this absence considerably longer. Officials were also constantly transferred within India in order to make balanced use of its wide range of climatic and topographical possibilities

All of these escape hatches notwithstanding, the ineluctable fact of an unhealthy city had to be confronted The nawabi drainage system, which had once worked efficiently, was a subterranean complex of *pakka* (paved) and *kachcha* (unpaved) drains that fed four main arteries, which in turn combined to form a single large sewer that emptied itself into the Gomti River Years of neglect, particularly during the rebellion, had choked these drains so that they had become "receptacles of filth of all kinds "[14] In addition, there were "small systems of drainage into what are called 'garaias' or tanks" created by the removal of earth for building purposes.[15] The net effect of the supplementary drain-

[13] For a discussion of the "hill station" in the colonial urban system see Anthony D King, *Colonial Urban Development* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1976), pp. 156-170. Nainital served as Oudh's summer capital, just as Simla did for the Indian Empire

[14] Letter no. 3467, from Secretary to the Chief Commissioner to Secretary to GOI, Home Department, 11 August 1869, docket in unnumbered basta, MCRR, Lucknow. The nawabi system of drains is also described in the *Sanitary Report of the City of Lucknow, 1868-69*, p. 9.

[15] Ibid., p. 12. This report was based on a detailed scrutiny of the existing sanitary conditions in the city by E. Bonavia, M.D., health officer, Lucknow, and an official member of the municipal committee. It faithfully followed, on a smaller scale, the precise format of Chadwick's *Report*

age system was to add several cesspools to an ill-drained environment, increasing its potential for disease

Furthermore, there were numerous "filthy depots" dotting the cityscape, referred to in Dr Bonavia's report as "a disgrace to civilization" where ordure and rubbish collected from the city lanes was piled in great heaps This created large malodorous areas in the city and ideal breeding grounds for disease The ruins of buildings that were destroyed during the rebellion or subsequently demolished compounded the already insuperable sanitary problem in the city. Taking cognizance of this, the municipal committee resolved that it was "a most essential duty the government owes the people to remove these ruins, which are calculated to create a pestilence, which [also] harbour thieves and robbers and cripple the operations of the Police."[16]

In the next decade the committee labored to cope with endemic environmental hazards that affected "the salubrity of the city" by expending large sums on leveling ruins, cleaning and repairing old drains, building public latrines, and planning for a civic water works [17] The "demolition lands" that had become "an unhealthy jungle" were handed over by the provincial government to the local agency to take the best possible steps to clear them and provide for their conservancy [18] These lands were given in leasehold for a nominal rate (for five years at 4 rupees and for twenty-five years at 6 rupees per annum) to those townspeople who complied with the terms of the lease to convert the rubble heaps all through the city into "pleasant walks for' the people" with "neat hedges" and "a shrubbery to border

[16] PMC, Resolution no 334, 29 May 1861, MCRR, Lucknow

[17] *Report on the Administration of Oudh, 1863-64 and 1868-69* (Lucknow: Government Printing Press, 1864 and 1869), pp. 69 and 150, respectively

[18] Letter no. 4349, from Financial Commissioner of Oudh to Commissioner, Lucknow, 11 July 1868, file no. 966, BRLD, UPSA, Lucknow

each plot" In the nonornamental areas of the plot the leaseholders could obtain special permission to grow vegetables "conducive to health." These plots were to be inspected periodically to see that the conditions of the lease were being honored, failing which the lessee would "at once be ejected without compensation" Some portions of the cleared area were not leased but reserved for small parks and gardens thought by the committee to be

> as good a measure and as legitimate a way of spending its funds as could be adopted, for the more the people are attracted from the close streets of the city the better, and as it is impossible to make the city itself altogether healthy, the next best thing is to provide a healthy place near at hand for air and exercise.[19]

The notion that open spaces were needed to serve as "lungs of the city" was widely accepted, and many areas that otherwise would have been sold or leased for money were retained as gardens Even the petition of Daroga Wajid Ali for the grant of Aishbagh (the ex-king's pleasure garden) as compensation for certain of his villages acquired by the government for the new cantonment was rejected on the grounds of it being a "lung of the city . . . which the Local Agency would be very unwilling to part with."[20] Sanitary engineers also held that roads, "affording as they do, a free passage for a current of air through the heart of the city, are not less important in a sanitary than in a military point of view."[21] Thus allocation of money to pave some selected city streets in the native quarter was debited to the budget for conservancy rather than for maintenance of roads

[19] Ibid

[20] Letter no 5194, from District Commissioner, Lucknow, to Commissioner, Lucknow, 7 October 1868, file no 864, BRLD, UPSA, Lucknow

[21] *Report on the Administration of Oudh, 1863-64*, p. 69

The other areas where filth tended to accumulate easily were the several scores of *gunjes* (markets) in the city. The committee decided to make stringent bylaws to constrain the owners of *gunjes* and *serais* (inns) to arrange and pay for the proper conservancy and maintenance of public latrines and sweepers on their property Violaters were liable to be fined heavily and, judging from the numerous petitions for the reduction of fines by defaulting owners, it appears that inspections were regularly carried out.[22]

The conservancy arrangements, not surprisingly, tended to be more rigorously executed in the cantonment and the eastern circle of the city than in the western circle, where the bulk of the population resided The unequal treatment of the two portions of the city was built into the system itself[23] The eastern sector (civil lines) was under the direct charge of the committee, while the western section was farmed out to a contractor. After a surprise inspection the committee found that there was "scarcely a sweeper from one end of the [old] city to the other and some portions of it were excessively filthy "[24] The contractor, a European named Ross, claimed that the sweepers were absent because they had been summoned to report to their respective police *thanas.* It was also discovered that Mr Ross had made provisions for cleaning only the main streets

[22] Manuscript report on "Conservancy in Gunjes," 4 October 1865, p. 2, unnumbered basta, MCRR, Lucknow. Also see PMC, Resolution no 86, 5 January 1871, wherein "owners of gunjes [were] to report to the approval of the health officer [about] the arrangement made by them for the maintenance of urinals" and general cleanliness of the markets.

[23] The conservancy "system" is explained at great length in a committee report on conservancy (PMC, 30 July 1862, MCRR, Lucknow). The following account, based on this report, is unsigned, but in all probability it was written by the deputy commissioner who was also the vice-president of the committee

[24] Ibid. All the quotes in this description have been taken from the above report (see n. 23).

since he believed that the "narrow lanes and by-lanes should be the responsibility of the inhabitants," which meant that "two-thirds of the city had not been cleaned at all" The committee was appalled by this neglect but failed to take any punitive measures against Ross and did not abolish the contract system until 1868. They managed to tighten the terms of the contract and from then on the cleaning of "only blind alleys or lanes which [had] no thoroughfare" was the responsibility of the inhabitants This was still a large part of the native quarter because of the abundance of cul-de-sacs The "daily filth and rubbish" collected was to be deposited in "cess-pools in localities, to be constructed by the committee," and it would have to be removed nightly to the outskirts of the city in carts or by donkey.

This discriminatory treatment of the old city did not go unobserved by the natives, and complaints against it appeared in the local Urdu newspapers, which were increasingly becoming a vehicle for local reaction to the new government. The *Oudh Akhbar*, for instance, reported that the

> Hazratgunje [the fashionable civil lines' market] and "Thandi Sarak" [Mall] are kept clean and neat, but in the more remote situations there is said to be neglect apparent, and the stenches and filth are not only disagreeable but unwholesome . . . In Lucknow the money provided for the general good is devoted to the improvement of one or two favoured places [25]

At the same time the police were assigned a prominent role in enforcing sanitation bylaws and overseeing the conservancy arrangements.[26] The head constable of every po-

[25] *Oudh Akhbar* (Lucknow), 5 December 1865, VNR Harrison, "Allahabad," p. 10, reports similar evidence of the disparity in the sanitary service in the European and Indian parts of Allahabad.

[26] PMC, Report on Conservancy, 30 July 1862, MCRR, Lucknow

lice *thana* in the city was answerable for cleanliness of the streets and roads, responsible for keeping a diary (*roznamcha*) in which he would sum up the reports on conservancy made by subordinate constables, and expected to visit every road and lane in his beat at least "once in every twenty-four hours " Any "obstructions, nuisances or breach of conservancy rules" reported to the head constable had to be forwarded, on the appropriate form, to the city magistrate The committee, in a rare flight of poesy, wound up the report by urging that the city magistrate be "ubiquitous, Argus Eyed, Antelope Eared and a Jupiter in Thunder," and all "Municipal Commissioners should be eyes, nose and ears to aid the Magistrate "

By the end of 1864, with the problem no less bothersome, a subcommittee on drainage planned to solicit opinions from the sanitary commissioners in other provinces of the Indian Empire "with a view to gaining the best possible system of drainage for the City", the municipal engineer was dispatched to Calcutta to consult maps and plans for drains in other cities [27] These grandiose schemes were never executed because the pecuniary outlays did not match the ambitions of the subcommittee The imperial treasury in its eternal and insatiable quest for extra rupees annually raided the Lucknow municipal funds for all the "proceeds, generally for property sold or confiscated in the city, and of rents from confiscated houses . and more particularly, of the proprietary profits of all land demarcated as belonging to Villages within City-limits "[28] Between 1867 and 1869 the financial commissioner submitted several pleas to the government of India to retain these funds for civic purposes, including a representation to the viceroy who visited the city in November 1867 when the latter's "special

[27] PMC, Resolution no. 184, MCRR, Lucknow

[28] Letter no. 3792, from Financial Commissioner (Colonel Barrow) to Chief Commissioner, 10 May 1869, file no 757, BRLD, UPSA, Lucknow.

attention . was attracted [by] the ruinous appearance of the interior of the city "[29] The sanction to retain these funds was delayed by the inevitable routine referrals and the transfers of officers; Barrow himself moved up from the position of commissioner of the division to financial commissioner and finally chief commissioner of the province in 1871, which at one stage in the course of the convoluted procedure necessitated his reviewing appeals that he had written himself. The sanction was finally given in 1878, and the rents from the *nuzul* properties were made over to the committee.[30]

While decisions of this nature were mired in the bureaucratic process, the spur for decisive action came from the periodic reviews of the problem of sanitation authorized by the imperial government. In anticipation of the visit of the Imperial Sanitary Commission in December 1866 the city was hastily scrubbed and barely passed muster; it was reported with justifiable pride that

> [t]he Commission [having] indulged optics and nasal organs [and] after the fatigues and endurances of such perambulation [through the city, found it] though still very dirty in pigs and pig sties, in sinks and sewers, in dung heaps and latrines, in personal and domestic cleanliness, [to] rank superior to all the other great cities of this our Indian Empire.[31]

Even while Colonel Barrow seemed to be patiently corresponding with himself to enlarge the municipal outlay, Dr Bonavia inspected the old city, ended the conservancy contract system, and wrought, virtually unaided, "a com-

[29] Ibid The financial commissioner listed all of his previous petitions in this letter.

[30] *Municipal Report of Oudh, 1878-79* (Lucknow Oudh Government Press, 1879), p. 5

[31] *Pioneer* (Allahabad), 17 December 1866.

plete revolution . in the Lucknow latrine system "[32] Latrines, whether public or private, were central to the problem of keeping the city clean The existing public latrines, according to Dr. Bonavia's painstaking research and graphic description, were scandalously dirty enclosures where those who dared to use them at all had to "pick their way through the ordure, and squat in any bit of clean ground " The miasma of feces, urine, and water remained "saturating the ground" until the enclosure was entirely filled. Then a sweeper, armed "with a cow's rib, used as a scraper, and a piece of broken pot, fancied he cleaned the place " The new latrines invented by Bonavia combined all that was, in his opinion, requisite "complete privacy, cleanliness, sweetness, dryness and thorough ventilation, and some of them [even] picturesque " The new latrine was a walled enclosure with a thatch roof, equipped with a simple squatting arrangement made of two large bricks, between which were kept a small basket and a glazed pan half filled with earth for ordure and urine respectively, and a separate screened area where water for washing up was available in a large jar embedded in the ground Each latrine was manned by a male and female sweeper, usually man and wife, who lived in a hut adjacent to a shed for storing dry earth a few yards away from the enclosure They cleaned the latrine after every use, deposited the contents of the containers in a large filth basket, and replaced fresh dry earth in the latrine receptacles The filth baskets were serviced nightly by conservancy carts or donkeys Dr Bonavia conducted his own opinion poll among native users and received responses such as, "*ab bahut safa* [it is very clean now]" or "*hamara makan se behter* [cleaner than my house] " Yet another man thought that the doctor was "building a place for [a] 'cutcherry' [courthouse] "

[32] *Sanitary Report of the City of Lucknow, 1868-69*, p. 13. All the quotes in the following description have been taken from this report

The old latrines were transformed "from stinking filthy holes [that] filled the air with nastiness and impurity into garden-like places," and some townspeople were "building their houses close to the latrine." The revolution was citywide, affecting fifty-seven old public latrine sites with multiple enclosures and one hundred and thirty-four private latrines owned by private sweepers and partially subsidized by the municipality. The owners of the latter charged a small fee for the use of their facilities since they were not employees of the municipality and were liable to be fined if they did not maintain them as expected

The committee recovered its initial investment for remodelling the latrines from an increase in the sale of filth under the direct management system. The revenue from this source more than doubled, exceeding six thousand rupees annually In the past the contractor had payed a lump sum of three thousand rupees for all the night soil in the city and "removed only such quantities that suited him, and left the remainder in great heaps all over the city to corrupt the air and demoralize the people." Dr Bonavia, having played Hercules in the Augean stables, tried to persuade his skeptical European colleagues that the citizens of Lucknow had responded with enthusiasm to the new facilities Official "suppositions" about the "natives" had proved to be "without foundation " The townspeople were "only too glad to have the change" in the style of latrines and "they in *no way dislike* to be screened, when performing their private operations as is generally supposed "[33]

The new latrines undoubtedly reduced the temptation for the male population of the city to urinate in public, and the patrolling constables limited the opportunities The vigil was not without its frustrations since perpetrators of "nuisances" who had left the scene of their "crime" were impossible to trace The policeman's imponderable dilemma haunted the dedicated health officer and defied his inge-

[33] Ibid , p 14 Emphasis in the original.

nuity: "By what sign is he to recognize the committer of the nuisance, so that he may apprehend and prosecute him?"[34] Those caught in the act were zealously punished as our earlier discussion on crime statistics has shown Newspapers published periodic protests against the severity of fines for civic nuisance, which could be as high as two hundréd rupees and fell hard on the poor who were the chief offenders.[35] To Dr. Bonavía's everlasting regret he was neither able to enforce the modernization of latrines in people's homes nor inspect their wells, although conservancy carts serviced private homes and the soil collected was either sold or deposited in gigantic trenches dug in special locations in the city and covered with earth to await sale as manure at a later time [36]

Efficient as these arrangements sounded in the report, they appeared not to work as well as they might in the old city. The citizens manifested a growing civic consciousness, and the complaints about serious abuses connected with sanitation in the city of Lucknow became more numerous. The conservancy carts and donkeys moved slowly through the city spreading "the most offensive smell," the sweepers deposited the full baskets from the latrines and drains on the side of the narrow streets making concourse impossible, and the uncovered drains on the side of the street aggravated the stench in the city.[37] Another editorial went further in its investigation, blaming the "native gentlemen" as much as the superintendent of conservancy for the lapses in night soil removal, "as many of them are members of the Municipal Committee, and yet do not care to take notice of the nuisance. . . . Until honest, conscientious, and able natives are appointed members of Municipal Committees,

[34] Ibid , p 11

[35] For the distress experienced by poor citizens see *Karnamah* (Lucknow), 31 July 1871 and 27 May 1872, VNR.

[36] *Sanitary Report of the City of Lucknow, 1868-69*, p. 15

[37] *Roznamcha* (Lucknow), 21 March 1873, VNR

the comfort and convenience of the public will not be secured."[38] Several decades later, Geddes, echoing the sentiments of these cynical *Lakhnawis*, wryly observed that the conservancy arrangements universalized in Indian towns were

> simply those of in the first place performing the difficult task of collecting all these varieties of filth into gigantic accumulated quantities, and then of attempting . . . the even more extraordinary engineering feat of getting rid of these accumulations again.[39]

He recommended instead a revival of the old customary method of disposing of refuse in the city by permitting "people who have cows [to] get garbage [for their cattle] from their neighbours who have none."[40]

Another source of ill-health that Dr. Bonavia tackled was the quality of the water supply. There were 217 public and 301 private wells in the city on which the citizens depended for their drinking and household needs. Dr. Bonavia ordered a limited assault against polluted wells, putting every police post in the city in charge of the maintenance of a public well nearest it if it was used solely for drinking purposes. The brick work, the drainage, and the immediate vicinity of the well were to be kept in good repair.[41] An abortive attempt was made by the police to install hand pumps in selected locations in the city to increase the potable water supply,[42] but there is no evidence to suggest that this was done before 1886.

These quotidian preoccupations notwithstanding, Dr.

[38] *Karnamah*, 24 March 1873, VNR. For similar evidence see also *Roznamcha*, 24 September 1874 and 20 November 1874, VNR.

[39] As cited in Douglas E. Goodfriend, "Nagar Yoga: The Culturally Informed Town Planning of Patrick Geddes in India, 1914-1924," *Human Organization* 38, no. 4 (1979): 343.

[40] Ibid., p. 351.

[41] *Sanitary Report of the City of Lucknow, 1868-69*, p. 17.

[42] *Oudh Akhbar*, 21 May 1862.

Bonavia mounted a major onslaught (again inspired by Chadwick's example in England) against the traditional Muslim custom of burying their dead in small plots scattered throughout the city [43] These were, to his mind, the major health hazard, so he proposed creating burial and cremation grounds outside city limits [44] When his ideas received no immediate encouragement, he determined to make it his next project (that is, after the "latrine revolution") and, characteristically, to "drive at it day after day till I get it done."[45] His pertinacity finally paid off, and the committee decided that the existing burial grounds in the Dowlatgunj, Ganeshgunj, Chowk, and Sadatgunj wards and in the cantonment be closed. They were replaced by six *nuzul* and three private plots on the periphery of the city [46] By 1873, 222 out of an estimated 399 cemeteries in the city had been closed, and the *takiadars* (keepers of burial grounds) were apportioned land in the new sites The drive to close burial grounds was intensified in that year by repeated proclamations forbidding future burials in the old grounds [47]

This step was far more serious than any that had been taken so far since it interfered directly with Muslim customs and the sensitive issue of the sanctity of the dead. It generated a storm of petitions against the order, and many well-to-do Muslims filed for exemptions for their private cemeteries [48] The Shiites and Sunnis, in separate formal representations, demanded "distinct and separate burial grounds," which sentiment was hastily accommodated by

[43] *Sanitary Report of the City of Lucknow, 1868-69*, p. 16

[44] Letter no 336, from Dr. Bonavia, Civil Surgeon, to Deputy Commissioner, 21 November 1868, municipal basta, MCRR, Lucknow

[45] *Sanitary Report of the City of Lucknow, 1868-69*, p. 16.

[46] PMC, Resolution no 34, 5 January 1871, MCRR, Lucknow.

[47] PMC, Resolution no. 68, 6 January 1873, MCRR, Lucknow.

[48] The petitions are discussed in the PMC, Resolution no. 117, 15 February 1872, MCRR, Lucknow

the new extramural cémeteries [49] Where it was not practicable to provide separate sites a road or a ditch was to serve as the demarcation of the Shia and Sunni portions of the cemetery Further concessions were made to the demands of the influential Muslim families, and a dozen private cemeteries were permitted to continue Nawab Mohsun ud Dowlah's family burial ground in the heart of Thakurgunj *mohalla* was among those exempted [50] The concession was finally extended to those who could comply with Dr Bonavia's specifications Thus,

> all family Masoleums situated inside masonry built houses, or such as are enclosed by [a] high wall . may continue to be used for the burial of bona fide members of the family to which they belong. A pucca masonry receptacle with masonry cover for coffin at [a] depth of six feet from [the] surface [must] be provided [51]

The concession did not appease the outraged sentiments of the Muslim community since Dr. Bonavia's rules only emphasized the notion that sacred burial grounds could be relocated with the same ease as latrines had been remodeled Dr. Bonavia, in uncompromising deference to the miasmatic theory, seemed to disregard the religious and emotional significance of the last rite of human passage and impose on Muslim burial practices his notions regarding the scientific disposal of corpses. The general outrage inevitably found its way into the local newspapers The *Roznamcha*, one of the more outspoken Urdu dailies of the time, bitterly criticized the order "on account of its interfering with the time honoured usage . [It] is felt extremely oppressive by Mussalmans, and has caused great

[49] PMC, Resolution no. 51, 21 September 1871, MCRR, Lucknow

[50] PMC, Resolution no 117, 15 February 1872, MCRR, Lucknow

[51] PMC, Resolution no 69, 6 January 1873, MCRR, Lucknow.

disaffection among them."[52] The newspaper expressed its astonishment at the fact that the "Government of India and members of the Municipal Committee should have tolerated such a prolific source of discontent." The editorial went on to say that the European complaint against Muslim "ignorance" of the proper way of burying their dead was used as a feeble excuse to relocate their cemeteries "in some filthy spot, like that of Aishbagh." The Aishbagh, once the pleasure garden of the nawabs of Oudh, on the southwestern edge of the city, had indeed become a malodorous patch since the central distillery for European liquor and the gigantic trenching pits created by Dr. Bonavia were both relegated to this neighborhood. To locate a burial ground in the vicinity was to add insult to injury. This disrespect for the native dead stood in painful contrast to the new and beautiful graveyard prepared for the Europeans in the civil lines.[53]

The issue became a *cause célèbre*. Other newspaper accounts followed suit in denouncing the measure as insensitive, insulting, and intolerable.[54] The order was also condemned for its blatant discrimination against the poor, since only the rich families could afford paved graves and fancy coffins and become "license holders" for private plots where they would be buried.[55] According to the editor of the *Karnamah*:

> With the exception of the sepulchral grounds belonging to the nobility all other cemeteries and graveyards in the city have been ordered to be levelled to the ground, and the site sold. . . . It is much to be regretted that all new orders which are passed by the authorities bring difficulties on the poor.[56]

[52] *Roznamcha*, 28 June 1873, VNR.

[53] Ibid.

[54] See ibid., 9 and 23 May 1873, and *Karnamah*, 19 May 1873, VNR.

[55] *Roznamcha*, 9 May 1873, VNR.

[56] *Karnamah*, 19 May 1873, VNR.

In June a Muslim member of the municipal committee, Yusuf Mirza, was assaulted by an irate man near the Akbari Darwaza for his passive acquiescence to the hated order that forced the "lower and middling classes of Mussalmans" to be interred at Aishbagh, where the relatives of the deceased had to "stay amid the stench" of the distillery warehouses till the funeral ceremonies were completed The editor in the 17 June 1873 issue of the *Roznamcha* was "at a loss to see" how the burial of the dead bodies of the poor corrupted the air any more than those of the rich and urged that the order be rescinded

The order lent itself to easy abuse The keepers of the private cemeteries in the city accepted bribes to bury "ineligible" bodies. This was an additional expense to those who could least afford it but wanted a customary and dignified burial instead of taking their dead either to Aishbagh or the distant extramural cemeteries [57]

To complicate matters further, occasional furtive burials led to an increase in the night patrol of the police They found that Mirza, the owner of a mosque in the Aminabad area, had buried his five-year-old son in the courtyard of the mosque The police arrived and forced him to disinter the body and rebury it in a regular graveyard outside the city The editor of the newspaper that reported the incident added in wonder: "How rules against one's creed and law can be enforced by these people [the British] " Disinterment of bodies is strictly forbidden in Islam, and he hoped that the sin had been committed in ignorance of this fact by the *haakim* (rulers).[58]

A similar prescription for the polluting problems associated with tanneries and low-caste *chamars* (leather workers) was urged by Dr. Bonavia. The three major tanneries in the city were located close to the workshops of the shoemakers and saddlers in Ahiagunj and Moulvigunj in the

[57] *Roznamcha*, 2 June 1873, VNR.

[58] *Oudh Akhbar*, 24 September 1867, VNR

old city It was suggested that the tanneries and their attendant *chamars* be moved out to Moti Jheel, a lake on the outskirts of the town where the slaughter house and its *kasais* (butchers) had already been removed, even though this would forseeably injure trade and jeopardize the livelihood of the workers' families The distillery, with its personnel of low-caste workers, had been similarly deported, and these three "unclean" trades, inseparable from unpleasant odors and waste materials, came under the general purge of the civic environment Dr. Bonavia envisaged a new, clean, and well-conserved colony for these untouchable workers, "with proper spaces for streets, and drains, &c in accordance with sanitary principles." The land vacated by the tanners could be "dressed up," and it was "not improbable that the well-to-do residents in the vicinity of the present tanneries would gladly contribute something toward compensating the chamars and getting rid of the stench and nuisance."[59] Although Dr Bonavia's plans for the improved sanitation of the city were never fully consummated, they set the inexorable pattern of differential outlays for old and new Lucknow, and his infectious zeal did for the sanitary planning of the city what Napier's had achieved for the strategic.

Control of Building

In addition to its sanitation responsibilities the municipal committee played an increasingly significant role in influencing the architecture and aesthetics of the future buildings of Lucknow. This it achieved by simply arrogating the power to sanction or reject building plans for all construction work in the city, be they for a new building or for extension or repairs to an old one. Napier had decreed such control long before the birth of the municipal body "It is very necessary," he wrote in his epoch-making memorandum,

[59] *Sanitary Report of the City of Lucknow, 1868-69*, p 19.

for the improvement of the city that strict supervision be maintained over the buildings permitted to be constructed in the new streets, and along the front of the esplanade, all houses should be built on sanctioned plans, and no encroachments on the allotted frontage should be permitted The future appearance of the city will depend on the vigilance of the civil authorities on this point [60]

A comparative description of the colonial and upper-class indigenous dwelling forms will help in understanding the subtle social change in the living styles of the native elite and the role that official pressure played in forcing the pace The bungalow, a very elaborate brick and mortar adaptation of the mud huts of Bengal[61] complete with its English-style lawn and enclosing hedge, was the basic residential unit for the colonial elite. The main house was a single storied structure partially or totally surrounded by a verandah. The rooms, as in homes in the west, were functionally distinct and furnished accordingly The drawing and dining rooms were usually interconnected since these were public reception areas The bedrooms, with attached dressing and bathrooms, flanked the reception rooms and had access to the verandah. There was sometimes a hallway that connected the entrance of the house to the back door, in which case the rooms would be arranged on either side with doors leading into it The kitchen was invariably a separate structure in the rear of the compound and close to the servants' quarters since it was the domain of the servants. The noise and odors of the kitchen were excluded from the main bungalow The bathrooms too had

[60] Robert Napier, "Reports on the Defences of Lucknow," *Professional Papers* [of the Royal Engineers], vol 9, n s (1860): 20

[61] Anthony D King, "The Bungalow in India: Its Regional and Pre-Industrial Origin," *Architectural Association Quarterly* 5, no 3 (September 1973) 8-22 Also see Janet Pott, *Old Bungalows in Bangalore, South India* (London By the Author, 1977), for the evolution of the bungalow in India as the standard form of colonial housing

an outside door so that the sweeper had access to them without entering the main living space

The interiors of the rooms were decorated in the style fashionable in England at the time If sofa sets, dining table, grand piano, sideboard, cupboards, hat and umbrella stands, and other functionally specific pieces of furniture were not actually imported from Europe they were, at least, very faithful replicas custom built in one of the port cities and later even in Lucknow The soft furnishings, china tea and dinner sets, cutlery, crockery, and crystal were always shipped from "home."

In contrast, the typical upper-class indigenous dwelling (*manzil* or *haveli*) was structurally inverted. Most *manzils* were built in attached rows with high walls for privacy and a blank brick wall facing the street. There was no surrounding garden or compound outside the built area, instead the courtyard inside the house served as the open space and usually had a well, a tree, some shrubs, a cow or goat (and a shrine if the residents were Hindu), and sometimes an old grave (if the residents were Muslim). This area was where household chores such as cooking and washing and even bathing were carried on, and it was used chiefly by the women, children, and servants of the household [62] In grander homes there was often a smaller, second courtyard in the back, and this was used exclusively by the women

The rooms were built around the open quadrangle and shaded by a pillared verandah that provided protection from the elements [63] The four corner rooms of the house were always small and perhaps the only ones that were

[62] For an inspired description of a *sharif* (respectable) Muslim household see David Lelyveld, *Aligarh's First Generation. Muslim Solidarity in British India* (Princeton, N.J Princeton University Press, 1978), pp. 35-39

[63] For a discussion of the climatic advantage of the courtyard dwelling see Daniel Dunham, "The Courtyard House as a Temperature Regulator," *The New Scientist*, 8 September 1969, pp 663-666

functionally defined. One served as the main entrance or *deorhi* that led into the courtyard from the *gali* or street, another was a storeroom with stairs leading to the roof or rooms upstairs and also a place where the animals stayed at night, the third a kitchen, and the fourth a latrine connected directly to the street from where it could be serviced by the sweeper The other rooms were sexually differentiated and grouped into the *mardana* (male) and *zanana* (female) sections of the household in consonance with the general segregation of the sexes in that social world Logically then, the *zanana* was in the back of the dwelling and was intruded upon only by older married males and boys of the household.[64]

Unlike the rooms and furnishings of the bungalow, the space and furnishings of the *manzil* were functionally versatile. A room used for sleeping at night was a dining or living or prayer room at different times of the day, and a fluidity marked the spatial arrangements as opposed to the rigidly defined spaces in the colonial dwelling The furnishings were very spare, with wooden bunks and bolsters and covered floor space used for all domestic purposes and tin or wooden trunks for storage The rooms were often windowless or only had a single small opening in order to keep out the heat and the dust. Though great attention was paid to climatic conditions for the location of these windows and the orientation of the courtyard, this feature, more than anything else, gave them the reputation among the European bureaucracy of being dark, dank, and airless and therefore unhealthy.

The *mardana* was a large room where the household males congregated and entertained their male friends The *zanana* section was used as the private family space by the

[64] For a normative formulation of the social definition of space in the Indo-Muslim household see Douglas E Goodfriend, "Delhi Wala: Socio-Cultural Aspects of Urban Forces and Policy in Old Delhi" (Ph.D diss , The University of Chicago, forthcoming)

women and children during the day and as bedrooms for the nuclear units within the extended family at night. The flat roof was the most versatile space of all, where the columbaries of the pigeon-fancying elite of Lucknow were located and where clotheslines were strung, pickles matured and spices dried, and neighbors from adjacent connected roofs visited. The lower rooms were used on summer days and winter nights, and the rooftop was used on winter days and summer nights as a dormitory and for all kinds of domestic and social activity It might be added that these highly evolved perceptions of space in both cultures were, first and foremost, restricted to the elite minority The British soldier and the poor local artisan dwelt in single rooms, the latter with his entire family.

The Napierian injuction inaugurated an era of official architecture in Lucknow. Official taste, which necessarily favored uniform, neat, and regular-shaped structures, would put an end to the apparently sporadic, self-expressive, and ornate balconies, façades, and other structures produced by native artisans In Hazratgunj, the fashionable new town center, where a hundred and twenty-three shops, abandoned during the rebellion, were renovated and claimed as *nuzul* property, it was ordered that "these at once be put in a state of repair with neat fronts of a uniform pattern "[65] The commissioner enclosed a sketch of the façade that would "look neat and suitable," and this was to become a blueprint for the appearance of city shops In 1871 a committee circular requested that all "shopkeepers of Hazratgunj remove their present unsightly choppers [thatch roofs] and reconstruct booths according to the plan of the two recently constructed there by the Municipal Assistant Engineer."[66] Similarly, in Aminabad bazaar a row of fruit

[65] Letter no. 107, from Commissioner and Superintendent, Lucknow Division, to Deputy Commissioner, 25 August 1858, file no 2485, BRLD, UPSA, Lucknow

[66] PMC, Resolution no. 133, 17 August 1871, MCRR, Lucknow.

stalls were erected "on a uniform and neat plan" to replace a large shed that had housed them because it was "a great eyesore and disfigurement" The owners were paid only half the cost of reconstruction [67]

A new *gunj* could be established only after the site and plan of the market had been duly approved by the committee and rigidly met its structural and sanitary standards. Encroachments, or any additions to existing buildings that had not been expressly sanctioned, were liable to summary dismantling and often resulted in awkward emendations, as in the instance of the mosque at Firangi Mahal Bridge, "the steps up to which have been pulled down, to the great inconvenience of those who assemble there for prayer every Friday "[68] Similar treatment was meted out to unauthorized extension platforms and verandahs in front of shops The shopkeepers remonstrated against the order to pull these down, claiming that they had been erected for the convenience of the customers in wind and rain, but to no avail.[69] The policy to keep roads wide and uncluttered diminished the real pleasures and conveniences of the bazaar with wares displayed on both sides of the street.

The sharpest opponent of these unfortunate trends in

[67] PMC Subcommittee Report on the State of Aminabad Bazaar, 3 September 1862, MCRR, Lucknow More than a century later the municipal administrator of the city in 1975 and 1976, armed with virtually dictatorial powers in the absence of an elected municipal body and moved by the spirit of his official forbears, ordered that the buildings of the principal markets in the city be painted in a uniform color. The proprietors and tenants of shops were simply billed for the cost plus 15 percent for administrative charges, all billboards were also to be reduced to a uniform size, using only standardized lettering and colors. A faith in barrack-style simplicity and unimaginative uniformity is still manifest in Lucknow to this day in all municipal endeavors to improve the city

[68] *Karnamah*, 18 July 1874, VNR.

[69] *Asar ul-Amsar* (Lucknow), 20 August 1874, VNR

building that continued unabated into the next century was Sir Patrick Geddes. In 1916 he published a detailed critique of the Lucknow municipality's unimaginative bylaws restricting the layout and façades of houses and shops.[70] He found that balconies, which people used as airy extensions of rooms, had been disallowed The frontage of houses were uniform, bald, and ugly. He protested the "destruction of the artistic and hygienic tradition of every oriental city" and bluntly reminded the committee that "bye-laws were made for houses, not houses for bye-laws"[71] On his intensive tour of the various neighborhoods of Lucknow in 1915 he was distressed to see the wholly unsuitable dwelling forms that had replaced the intelligently and aesthetically executed older nawabi *havelis*:

> Everyone with whom I speak on these matters, Indian or European alike, bewails the present lapse of taste and beauty in this city, of which not merely the monuments . . but the simple domestic or shop front detail showed till lately everywhere the style and beauty of the old craftsmanship People may easily be guided to desire this again. . . Thus, instead of killing out the old mistris [masons, artisans] by legal enforcement of prohibitive bye-laws, we may renew their activity throughout the city, and with corresponding gain to health and pleasure everywhere[72]

Geddes ordered photographs to be taken of the ugly new houses and juxtaposed them with sketches of the old-style balconies in order to illustrate his argument and stop the infectious ugliness from spreading. Yet the tyranny of these bylaws was increasingly imposed on Indian cities despite the fact that they were "essentially devised by early sani-

[70] Patrick Geddes, *Town Planning in Lucknow. A Report to the Municipal Council* (Lucknow: Murray's London Printing Press, 1916), pp 10-40.

[71] Ibid., p. 32

[72] Ibid , p 37.

tarians nearly half a century earlier for English manufacturing towns, . and thus deeply unsuitable for India . . [and] in which no conception of architectural beauty or open air life had yet dawned."[73] But Lucknow was never to recover its old graciousness, and even postcolonial construction in the city is remarkable chiefly for its ugliness

The sanitary and construction rules laid down by the committee,[74] tended to favor men of means who were willing to construct dwellings closer to the norm of the bungalow introduced in the civil lines rather than the typical, courtyard-style native *makan* (house), which was considered ill-designed and poorly ventilated A case in point was that of Sehat ud Dowlah, a city *rais*, or man of property, who applied for a plot of land in the Moti Mahal area of the civil lines The committee "considered that it would be a pity to encourage the erection of Native Houses in this part of the station and would prefer him choosing some other site."[75] At the next meeting of the committee, however, the matter was reconsidered, conceivably at the behest of a native member who may have been approached or otherwise induced to reopen the issue by Sehat ud Dowlah because the "applicant was a man of great respectability and quite capable in the pecuniary view" of building a house "equal to the description required by the Committee." He was then asked to submit a plan "with the general disposition of the premises as he would wish to have them eventually laid out," and if these were satisfactory his application would be approved.[76]

This appears to have been the beginning of a slow and steady revolution in the style of elite housing in the city, making "native houses" less desirable if not entirely im-

[73] Ibid.

[74] PMC, resolution no 70, 18 March 1863, MCRR, Lucknow.

[75] PMC, resolution no 286, 16 November 1863, MCRR, Lucknow

[76] PMC, resolution no. 291, 23 December 1863, MCRR, Lucknow

permissible. Newal Kishore, the owner of a printing press in Lucknow, submitted plans for both a native-style dwelling and a bungalow when he decided to construct a house in Hazratgunj The native-style house plan was rejected out of hand and the bungalow plans were approved [77] Unfortunately the plans were not retained for the record, for they would have clearly illustrated the two forms of elite domestic architecture at the time What is important, however, is not what style dominated or prevailed but that the extended use of the mechanism for political control invariably resulted in a direct and unambiguous form of social control

Since the form of the dwelling was designed to suit a way of life, the notion that the design for residential space for the indigenous society should be regulated by the abstract principles of colonial taste proved, in the long run, to be another lever for social change in Indian society. Customs like strict sexual segregation and purdah were more difficult to observe in the bungalows where spatial arrangements made these inconvenient Those among the elite who were influenced by the new culture and who aspired to be "progressive" and accepted the new style of residential space were also more receptive to adapting their way of life to match it [78]

CONTROL OF INTEMPERANCE AND OTHER "SOCIAL DISEASES"

The European garrison, around whose health and efficient functioning the urban environment had been largely

[77] PMC, resolution no 48, 3 July 1869, MCRR, Lucknow

[78] In an informal survey of Muslim families living in the old city and the civil lines I discovered that purdah and sexual segregation are observed less strictly or not at all in the bungalows The correlation is probably dependent on variables such as income and education, but the reinforcing effect of the new residential form can hardly be denied

redesigned, were susceptible to "social diseases," which the authorities, both civil and military, tried in vain to control Drunkenness and venereal disease were the scourge of the British soldiery and the unavoidable result of the nature and quality of military life itself. The soldier was frequently a man from the working class in Britain, doomed to live in sterile barracks in the cantonments, forced by his very role in the colonial state and empire to remain alien and aloof. Submitting to a strict military regimen, he found relief from the frustrations and loneliness of cantonment life in the unsparing use of alcohol and native prostitutes. The soldier's life and philosophy is most sympathetically portrayed by Kipling in prose and verse, and a stanza from his famous ballad "Tommy" illustrates the soldier's bitter attitude toward Victorian hypocrisy and high-mindedness

> We aren't no thin red 'eroes,
>   nor we aren't no blackguards too
> But single men in barricks,
>   most remarkable like you;
> And if sometimes our conduck
>   isn't all your fancy paints,
> Why single men in barricks
>   don't grow into plaster saints;
> While it's Tommy this and Tommy that,
>   and 'Tommy, fall behind'
> But it's 'Please to walk in front, sir,'
>   when there's trouble in the wind [79]

A more prosaic summation of the problem was made by Dr A Shelton, the officiating deputy inspector-general of police in Lucknow:

> Within a period of some two months four men of the Regiment of this station [Lucknow] were so affected by native liquor that one man died in the guard room, an-

[79] Rudyard Kipling, *Collected Verse of Rudyard Kipling* (New York· Doubleday, Page & Company, 1918), p 264.

other died in hospital with all the symptoms of alcoholic poisoning, and two men were rendered perfectly insensible requiring active treatment to restore them

Men leave barracks without any preconceived bad object. They meet women prowling about These women tempt the men with native liquor, under the excitement of which they are led to still further vice, thus the man runs the risk of punishment for drunkenness, renders his constitution most susceptible to disease and probably contracts a venereal affection which is the first step to his total inefficiency and all resulting from liquor as the "origio mali."[80]

Since the prime objective of officials was to maintain a healthy and disciplined fighting force, their approach to the problem of vice and drunkenness was a pragmatic one. They realized that both a compromise of moral principles and some loss in excise revenue from drugs and spirits were necessary to achieve this objective. The problem of excessive drinking was compounded by the dubious quality of the cheap native liquor the soldier was forced to drink, for he was ill-paid and did not receive rations of European liquor as did the officers. To check the rampant drunkenness among the soldiers, it was proposed that the sale of native liquor "simply be prohibited in the city of Lucknow and for six miles around" because native liquor shops found it easy to circumvent the earlier stipulation that forbade them to sell to European soldiers It was thought that "if soldiers and liquor are in close proximity they will always somehow or the other get the liquor Natives are always found to minister to them surreptitously."[81] The proposal

[80] Letter no. 296/3, from Dr. A Shelton, officiating Deputy Inspector General, to Captain Hunter, D A. Quarter Master General, 5 October 1862, file no. 10, BROG, UPSA, Lucknow.

[81] Letter no 7, from G Campbell, Judicial Commissioner of Oudh, to F. Forsyth, Secretary to Chief Commissioner of Oudh, 29 April 1858, file no 185, BRLD, UPSA, Lucknow.

envisaged a loss of sixty thousand rupees in annual revenue from the sale of native liquor as a small sacrifice to make because "the health of our European Regiments is more important than any income which can be received from the Abkaree [manufacture of native liquor] of the town."

Although the proposal was promptly accepted by the governor-general, there was no significant improvement in the drinking habits of the soldiers.[82] On the contrary, it spurred consumption of more harmful drugs like opium, *charas* (hashish), and *ganja* (marijuana), and increased the illicit manufacture and sale of native liquor and large-scale smuggling from outside the proscribed area.[83] The economic loss was not the government's alone; the native *abkars* (distillers of native spirits) were either driven out of business or forced to relocate outside the six-mile limit [84] The poorer section of "the native population" suffered because not only did they have to travel a great distance and pay more to obtain their drink but they were also forced to consume stronger narcotics since "the less deleterious spirits [were] removed from their reach."[85] Ironically the European soldiers were the only community who were not affected by the closing of the shops, "for the boys who supply them with liquor would not object to going to the

[82] Letter no 1506, from G F. Edmonstone, Secretary to GOI with the Governor General, to R. Montgomery, Chief Commissioner, 31 May 1858, file no 185, BRLD, UPSA, Lucknow.

[83] Letter no. 231 of 1864, from E N C. Braddon, Superintendent of Excise and Stamps, Lucknow, to Major J. N Reid, Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, 5 March 1864, file no 10, pt 6, p 2, BROG, UPSA, Lucknow

[84] This was reduced to a two-mile radius from the cantonment by order contained in letter no. 1432 from the Commissioner, 12 December 1863, file no 375, "Abstract of Correspondence regarding Liquor Shops in Eastern Division of Lucknow City," BROG, UPSA, Lucknow

[85] Letter no 231, 5 March 1864, file no 10, pt. 6, p. 2, BROG, UPSA, Lucknow

nearest shops in existence within an area of eight or ten miles "[86] The problem appeared to worsen with these assorted controls

The government also decided to regulate the manufacture of local liquor. The *abkari* system, as the governmentally controlled operation for the distillation of spirits was called, was first tried in Lucknow and was such a great success in their view that it served as the model for other towns in Oudh and the North-West Provinces A tightly patrolled enclosure was created within which all spirits required for consumption were manufactured and where all *abkars* in the city were obliged to erect their stills The object was "to obtain the largest possible revenue on the smallest consumption of liquor" while making it possible to regulate the quality and proof of the spirits. This would also render all stills outside the *abkari* compound illegal, making it simple to force their closure and check smuggling by bootleggers [87] That this new system elicited more than a mild protest from the trade is suggested in another official circular on the subject of handling local opposition·

> The change of the system will, I have no doubt, be very unpopular first, both with the Abkars and with the people generally, and both are likely to discourage its introduction to the best of their ability; here [Lucknow] they made all manner of objections, and even attempted at one time to excite religious prejudices against the measure The remedy for all this is to convince the Abkars, especially the leading men among them, that you are quite in earnest, and determined at all risks to carry out your plans; that any opposition on their part is worse than useless, and that by far, the best plan for them is to accept the change cheerfully, and make the most they can of it

[86] Ibid.

[87] Circular no. 6/1390, from Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Oudh to all Commissioners in Oudh, 23 April 1861, file no. 10, pt. 4, BROG, UPSA, Lucknow

Where influential Abkars are numerous, by pitting one against the other, Officers may manage without much difficulty to induce some of them to cooperate heartily [88]

Other rules and regulations for the sale of native spirits proliferated.[89] The native shops had to be licensed and their premises remained under "effective supervision" to restrict all sales to persons who had not obtained a pass issued by the superintendent of *abkari* Notices in English prohibiting the entry of European soldiers were prominently posted on the doors of shops Liquor dealers "whose object might reasonably presumed to be to supply European soldiers" would be prosecuted and if these cases "resulted in convictions [they] would have a salutary effect" on the others.[90] To discourage "camp followers of all descriptions, including cook boys, grass cutters and punkha coolies," from producing liquor for soldiers, they were never to be issued passes, "and all liquor purchased by them must, therefore, be drunk on the premises" of the shop itself. Anyone who tried to outwit the inspectors but was caught was liable to be fined up to a hundred rupees and severely flogged.[91] There were some second thoughts about the practicability of some of the strictures, particularly the one that insisted that natives consume the liquor they purchased

[88] Circular no 165 of 1862, Demi Official to all Revenue Authorities in the North-West Provinces, file no 10, pt. 4, BROG, UPSA, Lucknow

[89] "The new rules for the guidance of Abkari inspectors," enclosure in letter no 273, from City Magistrate to Major of Brigade, Lucknow, 27 January 1864, file no. 10, pt. 5, BROG, UPSA, Lucknow

[90] Ibid

[91] Ibid. Women were exempt from flogging, a fact rued by the chief commissioner, since prostitutes were considered the most effective smugglers of liquor to soldiers See letter no 1045, from Chief Commissioner to Adjutant General, H.M 's Forces in India, 14 April 1865, file no 10, pt 5, BROG, UPSA, Lucknow

on the premises of the shop. The measure was too harsh since "a native grog shop is not a comfortable tap room where men can lounge over their bottles and it has not ordinarily room or accommodation" for the customers to wait and drink all they had bought [92]

However difficult it may have been in theory to obtain liquor, the regulations failed to achieve the desired sobriety in European regiments [93] Even the sacrifice of revenue seemed in vain The impact of these regulations was felt more by natives of the lower classes, who were fined and flogged, or of the upper classes, whose servants normally did their shopping for them and therefore found it difficult to buy liquor without personally undergoing the inconvenience of obtaining a pass There were frequent petitions from retailers of country liquor against the two-mile dry zone encompassing the cantonment and the Machhi Bhawan (where troops were still billeted) that, in effect, banned sale in two-thirds of the entire city and against the cumbersome pass system. Passes were only issued to those of "good character," and since this was difficult to establish in the prevailing atmosphere of mistrust, business for the *abkars* was further ruined. One such petition explained the repercussions of these measures on the retail trade of country spirits·

> People of lower caste used to take liquor .. when there was any punchayat [neighborhood meeting] &c and the nobility of Lucknow used to send for bottles daily and they never came [personally] to the shop. By the order

[92] Letter no. 231 of 1864, from E N C Braddon, Superintendent of Excise and Stamps, Lucknow, to Major J N Reid, Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, 5 March 1864, file no. 10, pt. 6, BROG, UPSA, Lucknow

[93] File no 10, pt 6, BROG, UPSA, Lucknow, contains many letters of the type already cited which suggest that the problem of drunkenness continued unabated among the European soldiery.

> of the Deputy Commissioner the sale is much decreased . It is inconvenient for a respectable man to go before the Tehseeldar to prove his good character and then get a pass. The respectable men of the city have stopped taking liquor.[94]

The upper classes were too diffident to fetch their "grog" personally, so they turned to imbibing the finer, more expensive spirits imported from Europe that were available without fuss or bother in the fashionable shops in Hazratgunj. The advertisements in the *Pioneer* of many importers of European liquors, such as Messrs Peake, Allen and Company, and Murray and Company, between 1862 and 1877, suggest a growing demand among the native clientele not only for whiskey, rum, and gin but also for exotic champagnes, sherries, and vintage French wines. Drinking habits and tastes were slowly transformed among the native elite in Lucknow, whereas in the *mufussil*, owing to "the great improvement in the manufacture, distribution transports [*sic*] and profits on spirits [by the new distilleries in every Tehsil] . . the habit of drinking among the people increased at no slow rate "[95]

An even more nagging and persistent problem was that of venereal disease and its inevitable link with local prostitutes The real remedy, it was tacitly understood, lay not in treating the symptoms of venereal infection but in reducing the temptation for the average European soldier to visit local brothels by permitting the young men to marry and take their wives with them to their colonial posts

> Both morally and medically, there can be little doubt of the desirability of a large number of married men among

[94] Translation of the "Petition of Ahmed Allee, Tilluck, and other Guddeedars [retailers of country spirits] of Lucknow," July 1866, file no. 10, pt 7, BROG, UPSA, Lucknow.

[95] P. C. Mukerjee, *The Pictorial Lucknow* (unpublished galley proofs dated 1883), p. 66, Uttar Pradesh Sanghralaya, Lucknow

the rank and file. . . Sir John Lawrence himself stated "I believe a great deal of unhealthiness [among soldiers] arises from their being unmarried. . . There can be no question that marriage opposes a barrier to immorality of a certain nature and consequently to disease."[96]

But prevention was more prohibitive in its costs than the cure, and officialdom was resigned to view the matter as "simply a matter of finance. . The condition of the public revenue will long, probably ever, forbid the spectacle of a standing army of married men, either in England or India "[97] This left no choice but to tackle the problem with a series of interesting, though less effective, remedies, one of these being the incorporation into the comprehensive Act XXII of 1864 in India of the provisions of Britain's Contagious Diseases Act of 1864 The latter required the registration and medical inspection of prostitutes in English ports and garrison towns, and these same rules were now applied to India's cantonments [98]

In Lucknow, as in cantonments elsewhere in India, both soldiers and prostitutes were treated and quarantined in special hospitals called Lock hospitals.[99] The problem of venereal disease in the Lucknow cantonment was acute in the early 1860s when one out of every four European sol-

[96] Prichard, *Administration*, 2·328.

[97] Ibid , p 329.

[98] Kenneth Ballhatchet, "Race, Sex and Class Under the Raj, 1887-1905" (paper read at the European Conference on Modern South Asian Studies, Leiden, 1976), p. 1

[99] The origin of the term "Lock" hospital is attributed by the Oxford English Dictionary to "Lock-lazar house in Southwark, which is mentioned as having received a bequest in 1452, was afterwards employed as a hospital for venereal diseases, and its name came to be used as a general designation for institutions of that kind. The origin of the name is uncertain, it has been conjectured that the 'Lock-lazar house' was so called as being specially isolated or quarantined "

diers contracted either gonorrhea, syphilis, or some "other" related infection, in addition to all the other infirmities that incapacitated them in India By 1869, when the Cantonment Act had been in force for nearly five years, the number of European patients declined from 25 percent to a little less than 18 percent of the approximately two thousand European soldiers in the station Although the improvement was considerable, this issue never ceased to be a disquieting one for military and civil officials alike.

There are only scraps of evidence to suggest how this issue was handled and none at all for the related question of homosexuality as an additional cause for venereal disease among the soldiers Social disease was dealt with chiefly as a medical problem and expressed only quantitatively or in the expanding medical jargon of the time to neutralize its emotional and social connotations At one level it prompted concern for the health of the sentinels of an empire, at another it was the proof of the shameful liaison between the men of the ruling race and the "fallen" women of the subject people The soldier's world, so exquisitely evoked in several Kipling stories,[100] cannot be fully explored here. Only its limited and furtive contact with the native world will be discussed.

The liaison between Indian prostitutes and Europeans was the illegitimate extension of the nonofficial interaction between the two races fostered by the colonial situation. The only direct personal contact the ruled had with the rulers was in the homes of the colonial elite where they functioned as household servants, and lived in the servants' quarters in the compounds of the colonial bungalows or in separate shacks near the European barracks The servant-master relationship was a paradox: it was both intimate and remote at the same time. The "bearer" (valet) helped to clothe, feed, and supply the personal needs of his master,

[100] Rudyard Kipling, *Soldiers Three* (New York Doubleday & McClure, 1899), is one of the best in this genre.

but there was very little communication between them beyond the giving and obeying of commands. The prostitutes supplied even more intimate needs, with an even sparser exchange of words, in contrast to their rather more elaborate function in local society

In order to understand how the courtesans of Lucknow were affected by the imposition of new rules to check the spread of venereal disease it is necessary first to understand the profession as it was practiced in the nawabi capital and how it was gradually debased into common prostitution. The world of the courtesans of Lucknow was as complex and hierarchical as the society of which it was part [101] Under the generous patronage of the nawabs of Oudh and the town notables during the eighty-odd years that Lucknow served as the nawabi capital, the apartments in the Chowk bazaar, where these women lived and entertained in decadent opulence, were centers for musical and cultural soirees.

A courtesan was usually part of a household establishment under the chief courtesan or *chaudhrayan*. The latter owned and maintained extra apartments, having acquired wealth and fame through her beauty and musical and dancing abilities Typically a wealthy patron, often the king himself, would set her up in agreeable quarters and support her household in the style in which he wished to be entertained, and she would attract and recruit budding young

[101] This description of the traditional nawabi courtesan's establishment is drawn chiefly from several unstructured interviews with eighteen retired courtesans held between 9 September and 20 November 1976 in Lucknow. The wish of the informants to keep their identities and addresses secret is scrupulously respected. An interview with Mirza Jafar Husain of Golagunj, a locally recognized authority, conducted on 12 September 1976 helped round out the picture Corroborative evidence from other sources will be footnoted Though the tradition has all but died out, there are still a few women left in the city who nostalgically recalled their heyday.

singers, dancers, and musicians to compete with other reputable establishments Ameer Jan (later Ameer Mahal), a dancing girl, made her debut in Wajid Ali Shah's *parikhana* (literally "fairy house," established by the king as a school of music and dance). She was later married to the king and received a monthly allowance of two thousand rupees. Comfortably ensconced in a palatial house, Ameer Jan resumed her career as a courtesan after the king divorced her and five other such women on 16 March 1856 [102]

Every reputable house maintained a team of skilled male musicians who were often connected to famous lineages or *gharanas* of musicians thereby enhancing the prestige of the establishment. Doormen, touts, and other male auxiliaries, often sons or nephews of the chief courtesan, screened clients at the door and acted as sentries of the house. The other members of the house were females, often related to or close associates (daughters, nieces, cousins) of the *choudharyan* who formed a core group of *tawa'ifs* (courtesans). They were intensively trained from an early age (seven or eight years old) to dance, sing, converse, amuse, and excel in the exaggerated politenesses for which Lucknow had acquired a special reputation during the nawabi. The more distinctive the dress, jewels, manners, and food served in the house the greater its respectability among the local patrons. Abdul Halim Sharar, a journalist and novelist who tried to recapture the mythopoetic self-perceptions of the nobility during the nawabi, writes that

> in Lucknow, association with courtesans started during the reign of Shuja ud Daula. It became fashionable for the noblemen to associate with some bazaar beauty, either for pleasure or for social distinction. A cultivated man like Hakim Mahdi, who later became Vazir [prime minister], owed his initial success to a courtesan named Piyaro, who advanced her own money to enable him to

[102] Sheikh Tassaduq Husain, *Begamat-i Avadh* (Lucknow Kitab Ghar, n.d.), p 24

> make an offering to the ruler on his first appointment as Governor of a Province of Avadh These absurdities went so far that it is said that until a person had association with courtesans he was not a polished man . . At the present time [ca. 1913] there are still some courtesans with whom it is not considered reprehensible to associate, and whose houses one can enter openly and unabashed. Although these practices may have a deteriorating effect on the morals, at the same time manners and social finesse improved.[103]

To acquire this social fastidiousness (the memory of which haunts present-day Lakhnavis to a disturbing extent) the young sons of the gentry were sent to the salons of the best known *tawa'ifs* for lessons in etiquette and the proper appreciation of Urdu poetry.

Lower than the *tawa'ifs* in rank and accomplishment, but often part of the same establishment, were two other categories of women known as *thakahi* and *randi*. They lived in the same bazaar area and were regular prostitutes as the term was best understood by the officials, catering to "the labouring classes" and the "common citizens " They provided, in Jafar Husain's words, "only the pleasures of the flesh being incapable of cultural interludes "[104] Finally there were *khangis*, women who observed strict purdah and were married but who for financial or other reasons were forced into clandestine relations with men equally desirous of dis-

[103] Abdul Halim Sharar, *Lucknow: The Last Phase of an Oriental Culture*, trans and ed. E S Harcourt and Fakhir Hussain (London Paul Elek, 1975), p. 192. For a detailed account of the life of a Lucknow *tawa'if* see Muhammad Hadi Ruswa, *Umrao Jan Ada; the Courtesan of Lucknow*, trans Khushwant Singh and M. A. Husaini (Calcutta. Orient Longmans, 1961), and *The Beauties of Lucknow: Twenty-Four Portraits of the Most Celebrated and Popular Living Historic Singers, Dancers and Actresses of the Oudh Court and of Lucknow* (Calcutta. Central Press Company, 1874)

[104] Interview with Jafar Husain, November 1976, Lucknow.

cretion and secrecy Jafar Husain maintains that the cultural significance of the *tawa'ifs* declined when wealthy patrons were hard to come by after the annexation and the few establishments that survived into the next century could not maintain the old standards of hospitality and entertainment, the final blow to the profession came from the present government, which abolished *zamindari* rights in 1957 and declared existing salons illegal To this must be added the change in taste wrought by the British· a garden party, a cricket match, a play, or the races now competed with the *mujara* or "nautch" to amuse those with means.

If the nawabi had perceived these women as a cultural asset, the British Raj saw them as a necessary evil, if not a threat, and sought to make of them an inexpensive answer to the sexual needs of single European soldiers by insisting on clinical standards of personal hygiene. The government taxed their income (see Chapter Five) and regulated their contact with Europeans, which had interesting effects on patrons and clients alike. With Wajid Ali Shah in exile after 1856, the profession lost its chief patron and several lesser ones but gained numerous practitioners from among the abandoned wives of the ex-king and the nobles who went into exile. These women resumed their careers (for several of the royal harem had been singing and dancing women) to support themselves. The profession became more competitive even as times were harder.

Their new patrons were creatures of the new rulers, whether they were *taluqdars* on ever-more frequent trips to the capital or European soldiers roving in the city after dark. The soldiers understood little or none of the urbane Urdu speech used in the salons.[105] They had neither taste,

[105] This point was made very strongly by the oldest (and now retired) courtesan I interviewed. She (whom I shall call Gulbadan) claimed that she was seventy-five years of age in 1976 "The soldiers," she said, "had no *tamiz* [manners] or *tahzib* [culture] We could not speak their language nor they ours For them we were no different to *randis* and they seldom wanted to stay for the

time, nor money to partake of the pleasures of the "nautch" and made, as we can deduce from the venereal disease statistics and Gulbadan's testimony, short businesslike trips to the *chaklakhana* (brothel). In time prostitutes displaced the old-world courtesan to meet the demands of the new ruling elite

The local government sought to control the profession long before the matter received more general attention in the Cantonment Act of 1864. In a letter to the editor of the *Oudh Akhbar* a reader who styled himself as "Rana" (and wrote frequently to the newspaper on important local issues) summarized the early steps the administration took against prostitution. "The *daroga* of a *nishatkhana* [literally, night house/night club]" wrote Rana,

> had to deposit a cash security and a written bond to ensure the proper running and cleanliness of the place. It was also ordered that minors attached to the *nishatkhana* would be permitted to marry when they came of age. It is regrettable that these rules are honoured only in the breach because the government did not have adequate means to enforce them.[106]

Another reader who called himself "Berisa" ("without guile") claimed that only the Punjab had sound laws against prostitution He felt that the Lucknow system was so deeply entrenched that it could not be "smashed," only regulated A *randi*, he wrote, charged a nightly rate of five rupees and often more, *tawa'ifs* insisted on a hundred rupees a night and also received lavish gifts of jewelery and property (A male laborer was paid only two to four annas [one rupee = 16 annas] for a day's toil and a female laborer only half that) He went on to say.

nautch They were quickly satisfied by those women who had taken up residence in the cantonment, or would come secretly to the *Chowk* for sexual gratification Only very few showed any inclination to stay for the nautch."

[106] *Oudh Akhbar*, 8 October 1862. My translation.

> That is why all prostitutes must be registered and classified according to the facilities they offer Each woman should be given a wooden "ticket" [word in the original] with her name, age, address, and fixed rate chiseled on it by the authorities, and this ticket should be affixed on her front door. . . each prostitute should carry a certificate in Persian, Urdu, and English stating whether or not she is free from venereal disease . the certificate should be periodically attested by government seal after every medical inspection . . also the photographer, Mushkurud Dowlah, should take photographs to be attached to the certificates.[107]

The subject became a burning issue in the newspapers, and some of the letters printed had a very vindictive flavor, which almost comes as a surprise in a city where, it should be reiterated, courtesans had always exercised influence with the court and were a cultural status symbol for the elite Another letter suggested that

> prostitutes who refuse registration on the pretext that they intend to lead reformed lives only do so to evade the law by moving to another town Such women should be branded on the chin, cheek, or forehead of their beautiful faces . If this is considered excessive, then their wrists should be branded If a prostitute marries on a temporary basis [*mutah*] then the brand mark should be underlined [with a straight line] so that she may no longer be mistaken for a low [*neech*] woman. It is essential that the women are branded to save the respectability [*izzat*] of innocent men [108]

While the controversy was playing itself out in the forum provided by the *Oudh Akhbar*, the government resorted to bold legislation in dealing with the problem. The Indian Contagious Diseases Act of 1865 formalized the control the

[107] Ibid , 9 April 1862 My translation
[108] Ibid My translation.

government had hoped to exercise on this profession. The new law prescribed regular inspections of registered prostitutes by the medical men at Lock Hospital, but it was difficult to enforce The chief commissioner wrote to the commissioner of Lucknow to sound native opinion in the municipal committee on the expediency of enforcing the act in "Native towns "[109] The Indian members, while they approved the act, disagreed on whether all classes of prostitutes, including *tawa'ifs*, should be subjected to the clinical examination at the Lock Hospital Eventually, Yusuf Mirza, a Shiite committee member, prevailed on the official members to exempt from inspection "dancing girls of the higher class, a list of whom not exceeding fifty in number" would be furnished by him The native members also succeeded in persuading the committee that Indian *hakeems* (doctors) of the Yunani Hospital, rather than European doctors at the Lock Hospital in the cantonment, should conduct these examinations.[110]

The Cantonment Act of 1864 had already provided for the relocation of some prostitutes in the regimental bazaars Of the 956 registered prostitutes of all categories in the city, one hundred women were selected and established in the cantonment The ratio of European soldiers to native prostitutes was approximately twenty to one [111] All the prostitutes were also examined twice a week by native midwives (*da'is*) and "as many as live in certain localities, or are suspected of consorting with Europeans are, besides this, compelled to attend twice a month at the City Lock Hospital for further examination by the Civil Surgeon and his subordinates " This practice evidently continued until the end of the empire in 1947; Gulbadan and the other retired *tawa'ifs* whose heyday was in 1920 to 1940 described to me

[109] PMC, resolution no 79, 16 July 1868, MCRR, Lucknow

[110] Ibid

[111] *Report on the Administration of Oudh, 1868-69*, p 135 The following excerpt is from the same source.

the humiliating routine of inspection of their rooms and bodies

Policemen and government "spies" (*jasus*) would secrete themselves during an evening's entertainment to report on the attendance of British soldiers or the sanitary condition of the house. The *tawa'ifs* I interviewed told of incidents or the sanitary condition of the house The *tawa'ifs* I interviewed told of incidents where women were abused, insulted, and beaten "by these coarse, low-caste policemen who took their revenge on the women they coveted and lusted after but had neither the money nor the courage to visit " Gulbadan also maintained that there was a dramatic increase in the incidence of venereal disease among women in the profession *after* (her emphasis) the European soldiers began visiting them "It was seldom heard of in the time of my *phupi* [paternal aunt] and *nani* [maternal grandmother] " She went on to say that "all these rules and regulations offended our dignity and sense of pride We had to cater more and more to *taluqdars* from the *dehat* [village] and *goras* [white men] I began to accept invitations outside the city I was invited by the Nizam of Hyderabad with the famous Akhtari Bai and was also the chief entertainer at the parties in the palace of the nawab of Rampur Our reputation and prestige as Lucknow women stood us in good stead wherever we went "[112]

Most of Gulbadan's testimony is corroborated by other earlier sources. The *Oudh Akhbar* noted that "under British rule the traffic [prostitution] is somewhat lessened; but the plan adopted by bawds now is to go into Independent states, where they can act as they please, and young girls who are starving become their easy prey "[113] The courtesan in Ruswa's novel claims that

> [m]any made their living on the name of Lucknow as I did when I was in Kanpur. I know of imposters,

[112] Gulbadan interview

[113] *Oudh Akhbar*, 9 February 1869, VNR.

> seventy generations of whose forefathers had been brought up in rude rusticity, describe themselves as "Lucknawi" on the strength of having spent a few days studying in Lucknow or having been here on some business I do not understand the particular pride in belonging to Lucknow; still less the point of lying about it [114]

For those who still cared Lucknow seems to have retained its aura of romance· its courtesans found work elsewhere because of their celebrated cultural style and background

The authorities recognized the futility of their attempts to eradicate the problem If inspections and forced quarantine in the Lock Hospital showed a decline in the number of men infected by disease one year, the number would surge in the next Thus government rule making in this area was modest In the eighties a series of explicit circulars and memos on the subject instructed the commanding officers of the various cantonments to ensure an adequate supply "of sufficiently attractive women," decently housed in the regimental bazaars, with the proper means of ablution readily available. The native nurses who inspected these women were also to make sure that they consorted only with Europeans. The same circulars advised that soldiers should be told to restrict their visits to the selected women in the cantonments and to take to heart the tips given to them on personal hygiene and disease prevention.[115] Official "patronage" now supported prostitutes on a mass scale

While the battle against disease was fought on every front, there was a profound difference in the way the problems of ill health were handled in the metropolitan and colonial cities, even though the remedies applied appear similar on the surface In Britain pauperism and squalor were seen as the root cause of disease The drive to make the physical environment more salubrious was supplemented by pro-

[114] Ruswa, *The Courtesan of Lucknow*, p 147.
[115] Ballhatchet, "Race, Sex, and Class," p 4

gressive legislation that eventually saw the emergence of the welfare state. Concern for the quality of life of the people was preponderant, and the state spent an ever-increasing proportion of its revenue on systematic relief to the needy. In Lucknow, where employment opportunities were fewer under the British than in the time of the nawabs, no commitment was made to plow back the vast revenues of Oudh (see Chapter 5) to make up for the dislocations in employment or alleviate the widespread poverty

In Britain Chadwick was also deeply aware of the fact that sanitary jurisdictions had to be larger than municipal ones for ecological reasons,[116] but imitators like Bonavia and Planck in colonial cities failed to grasp the significance of this. Money and direct effort were mainly expended on the civil lines, leaving the old city in the hands of private contractors, while areas beyond city limits remained totally untouched by the "sanitary idea" Dr. Bonavia's untiring work in the old city therefore did not prove nearly as effective as it might have if the problem of poverty had been treated with the same concern it received in the metropolitan society. The municipal committee remained afflicted with a curious myopia that prevented it from devising a comprehensive long-range plan to drain and cleanse the city, it was driven instead by the urge to get limited results cheaply and quickly The results were often neither far-reaching nor long-lived

Such were the means and modes devised by the medical, civil, and military branches of the bureaucracy to cope with the health hazards in the city While they achieved only limited success, they also transformed the cultural ecology of the city and extended the control of the government into many private areas of the average citizen's life. To make the city conducive to colonial occupation, the authorities, through the formation of municipal institutions,

[116] S E Finer, *The Life and Times of Sir Edwin Chadwick* (London: Methuen and Company, Ltd , 1952), p 503

exercised a great measure of social control Even the citizens' customary ways of defecating, associating with courtesans, drinking, burying their dead, or building houses were not left untouched. A profound social revolution had begun to sweep the cities of India—a revolution manufactured in the town halls and disseminated through the innocuous medium of municipal bylaws in those very decades when the British had foresworn all social legislation and social reform in the bitter aftermath of the mutiny

CHAPTER FIVE

The City Must Pay

> A cloud of misfortune hangs over the fate of Lucknow . . The scarcity of grain [and] the receipt of the news concerning the establishment of a municipal tax . has sent the hearts of the residents up into their mouths. While the Chief of Jeypore has been so honored for his generosity in pardoning the tax on grain, for which he was considered worthy of increased rank and dignity, and the Viceroy of Hind and the Secretary of State wrote letters in his praise, and gave him two additional guns to his salute, the Government of India, notwithstanding all their wisdom and experience, have kept up the *choongee* tax, and moreover propose to institute a municipal tax
>
> —*Karnamah*, 14 June 1869[1]

Shortly after the siege was won and the whiff of grapeshot still in the air, there was a frantic bid to generate local funds to implement the "improvements" the city needed to make it possible for less than five thousand European soldiers and civilians to live without constant danger to their lives. Since the government in Calcutta was clearly not going to use the ample land revenue of Oudh for civic improvements the townspeople would have to get accustomed to paying a variety of taxes to finance the benefits planned for it

The citizens of Lucknow had had no experience of direct taxation under the nawabs On the contrary, the city had been supported by funds from the state coffers, which in turn had been replenished annually by the revenue from

[1] *Karnamah* (Lucknow), 14 June 1869, VNR

the countryside Oudh was a sprawling network of more than thirty-five thousand villages (grouped into twelve districts for administrative purposes) with a total revenue demand of 104 lakhs of rupees The state of agriculture in the province continued to prosper under the British and showed a 25 percent increase in the area under cultivation, although there was a marginal decrease of land under food grains and a doubling of the area under cash crops between the years 1869 and 1903 [2] Lucknow was the largest entrepôt for the trade in grain and other commodities in Oudh It had a flourishing economy because the nawabs had spent the bulk of their vast surpluses (after paying off the annual subsidy to the East India Company) on the city They had supported extensive and numerous households and spawned and patronized the scores of luxury industries that sustained the ostentatious cultural style peculiar to Lucknow. They had also contributed generously to the building and upkeep of religious and palatial domains, funded the public observance of religious ceremonies, endowed charities, and invested erratically in works of public utility.[3]

Indefensible as this nawabi penchant for extravagance may seem, it kept the money circulating in the city and in the province, even more so after Ghaziuddin Hyder broke

[2] See R G. Varady,"Rail and Road Transport in Nineteenth Century Awadh Competition in a North Indian Province" (Ph D diss., The University of Arizona, 1981), p 205, for a summary table of the impact of colonialism on the agriculture of the province.

[3] For an elaboration of this see Abdul·Halim Sharar, *Lucknow. The Last Phase of an Oriental Culture*, trans. and E S Harcourt and Fakhir Hussain (London· Paul Elek, 1975), Michael H Fisher, "The Imperial Court and the Province· A Social and Administrative History of Pre-British Awadh (1775-1856)" (Ph D. diss , The University of Chicago, 1978), G D. Bhatnagar, *Awadh Under Wajid Ali Shah* (Varanasi Bharatiya Vidya Prakashan, 1968); and William Henry Sleeman, *A Journey Through the Kingdom of Oude in 1849-1850*, 2 vols. (London. Richard Bentley, 1858)

his tributary relationship with the Mughal Empire in 1819 Only very rarely had the nawabs voluntarily spent money outside of Oudh The funding of the Asafi canal in Karbala in Iraq (in 1816) and the periodic disbursement of charity were the only major instances of the export of local capital, apart from the appropriations by the East India Company The annexation brought "hardship and impoverishment" to the city of Lucknow since the surplus was drained away· "After paying all its expenses the province of Oudh puts into the Imperial Treasury no less a sum than one million sterling per annum though it receives no profit on the opium it produces, nor for the duty on the salt it consumes."[4] The million pounds "which now reaches the treasury of the Government of India was then [prior to 1856] spent in the city " Numerous "hangers-on" of the court, who had lived in ease if not luxury, "now find it hard to get bread to eat." Even worse,

> [w]hole trades, no doubt ministers of luxury and extravagance, but none the less industries by which people lived, have disappeared, and the city, with a few rich men left in it, is a gigantic nest of paupers and is totally incapable of bearing any further taxation

These facts had been "more than once acknowledged" by the government of India, which had "at the time acknowledged its inability to apply an adequate remedy." The thrifty British government unwittingly perpetuated a high level of skilled unemployment in the city.

After annexation Oudh was automatically subsumed under the larger trade and taxation structures of imperial India It is not within the ambit of this study to discuss these structures or even their adaptation at the provincial

[4] Letter no. 3476, from (I. F MacAndrew) Secretary to the Chief Commissioner to Secretary to GOI, Home Department, 11 August 1869, unnumbered basta, MCRR, Lucknow. The letter is the source of the other quotations in the paragraph.

level except to supply the necessary backdrop for the main subject.[5] This chapter will focus on local taxation, or taxes that the municipal committee was empowered to levy to finance urban projects and meet its expenses. (See Table 5 for a list of these taxes.) The day-to-day economic and political repercussions of the procedures adopted to assess and collect taxes in the city will be examined to explain the mechanics of local government and the popular reaction to it

At the second summary land settlement, the land revenue for Oudh was fixed at a "little over a crore [10.4 million rupees]," but the new government was not satisfied with this and "grasped all other possible means of income "[6] These included: levies on salt (after its manufacture was banned in Oudh), a tax on opium (its widespread cultivation as a cash crop in the province was encouraged by offering material inducements),[7] a stamp duty ("that is, taxation on dealing justice to the people"), the tax on private incomes, and the tax on trades and professions [8] With these new receipts the yield from taxation amounted to well over 1.75 crores of rupees (1.75 million pounds sterling), "so that at one bound three-fourths of a crore was added to what the native Government levied "[9] The imperial government also ordered the municipal committee to assess and collect the trades and professions tax and the

[5] For a general review of imperial taxation in Oudh, see Tej Pratap Chand, *The Administration of Avadh (1858-1877)* (Varanasi Vishvavidyalya Prakashan, 1971), pp 113-184.

[6] P. C. Mukerjee, *The Pictorial Lucknow* (unpublished galley proofs dated 1883), p 66, Uttar Pradesh Sanghralaya, Lucknow.

[7] For a discussion on opium as the second most important source of revenue after land, see Varady, "Rail and Road Transport," pp. 217-219.

[8] Mukerjee, *Pictorial Lucknow*, p. 66. The imperial income tax should not be confused with the municipal income tax that was imposed on city residents in 1869

[9] Ibid.

TABLE 5
TAXES COLLECTED BY THE LUCKNOW MUNICIPAL COMMITTEE

Type of Tax	*Date initiated*	*Beneficiary*
1 Octroi	1856	city
2. Penal Tax or war tax	1858	city[a]
3. Trades and professions tax (sometimes called the licensing tax)	1860	imperial government
4. Imperial income tax	1861	imperial government
5. House tax (rates)	1869	city
6 Municipal income tax	1869	city
7. Conveyance tax	1869	city

REMARKS
1 One and one-half percent ad valorem on goods entering the city, farmed out to *chungi daroga* until November 1868, then brought under the direct management of the municipal committee
2 A fine levied on the "disloyal" elite of Lucknow Penalty paid in cash and/or property
3 Three percent of profit or income
4 Five percent of income.
5 Five percent ad valorem on property in city, 5 percent on rental in civil lines, 4 percent on rental in cantonment
6. Five percent of income.
7. According to size of vehicle and animal, cantonment and civil lines exempt

SOURCE. Compiled from file no. 1919, BROG, UPSA, Lucknow
[a] Some of the proceeds were impounded by the imperial government

imperial income tax, a very difficult proposition as we shall see, without offering the committee the use of any of the money it collected.

Inevitably such a steep rise in provincial taxes manifested itself in rising prices and exacerbated economic distress,

already acute in the city.[10] The new government's policy of exporting grain from Oudh to other parts of British India had the effect of keeping the prices artificially high. Even in years of plenty the Oudhi lived on the edge of starvation. During the last fifteen years of the nawabi, a rupee would buy 36 seers of barley or 24 seers of wheat [11] In the fifteen years following annexation (1856-1870), a rupee would buy only an average of 29 seers of barley or 19 seers of wheat, a 20 percent increase in grain prices Pre-annexation prices had been kept in check because hardly any grain left the province in ordinary times and exportation of grain was legally prohibited whenever the price of wheat rose to 20 seers per rupee.[12] The actual rise in foodgrain prices after the British takeover was much higer than the figures indicate because several factors kept the prices from soaring:

[10] This statement emerges with great force from a variety of sources. Chief among these are· 1) the private papers of Begum Malika Gaiti (widow of King Amjad Ali Shah [1842-1847], owned by Prince Sartaj Mirza, Nakhas Bazaar, Lucknow. These include several copies of the family's petitions to the chief commissioner for an increase in *wasiqa* payments because of rising prices, three volumes of household account books kept by Malika Gaiti until her death in 1866, and the correspondence of her son, Dara Sitwat, with a sucession of Oudh chief commissioners. All of the information in these papers is directly or indirectly related to the straitened circumstances of the family and the surge of inflation in Lucknow 2) *Gazetteer of the Province of Oudh*, comp. W. C. Benett, 3 vols. (Allahabad. North-West Provinces and Oudh Government Press, 1877), 2·301-396 3) The annual *Report on the Administration of Oudh* (Lucknow: Government Printing Press, 1860-1876). 4) *Selections from Vernacular Newspapers Published in the Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and Central Provinces, 1864-1877* There are numerous news items pertaining to heavy taxation and the plight of the citizens of Lucknow.

[11] *Gazetteer of the Province of Oudh*, 2 327 (one seer = 0.83 kg).

[12] H. C Irwin, *The Garden of India; or Chapters on Oudh History and Affairs*, 2 vols. (1880, reprint ed., Lucknow: Pustak Kendra, 1973), 1.107

the reduction in cost of grain transportation (since 30 percent of grain tonnage to the city was now by rail, which was cheaper), the decrease in the population of the city and a consequent drop in demand, and the overall scarcity of money that should normally have cheapened food. In other words, grain was getting dearer in spite of the forces of the market-place working in favor of lower prices within Oudh. Urban wages, on the other hand, instead of rising to neutralize the effect of inflation showed an equally unnatural decrease. This was attributed to "the departure of the Oudh Court and to the diminished wealth and population in the city "[13] Oudh was now directly linked to the British Empire but the fact that grain produced on its soil was more urgently needed to relieve the famine in Orissa or other remote areas did not make the consequent hardship on the Lakhnawis any less real In their view the British needed Oudh, not Oudh the British. Within this context the specifics of civic taxation and the popular response to it are easier to understand

THE PENAL TAX

In 1858, when the administration was in throes of reconstituting itself, it was deemed necessary to exact, over and above all the new and regular imposts, a one-time tax on "disloyal" noblemen and prominent citizens that would, apart from its punitive value, pay for the cost of repairing the devastated city [14] This led to a summary investigation for purposes of assessment of the ex-king's courtiers, his begums, heirs, and assigns, and prominent tradesmen and bankers in the city. The penalties imposed varied with the

[13] *Gazetteer of the Province of Oudh*, 2 330

[14] Letter no 66, from George Campbell, Judicial Commissioner, to T. D Forsyth, Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, 27 July 1858, file no. 2241, BRLD, UPSA, Lucknow

gravity of the offense and resulted in a very substantial confiscation of cash, jewels, and property

Overzealous local officials found this an irresistible opportunity to augment municipal funds and often exceeded the limits of their authority in expropriating property and putting it up for public auction when a fined party was unable to produce cash or other valuables.[15] When the government of India learned of these profitable auctions, it arbitrarily stepped in and appropriated nearly seventy-four thousand rupees of the money collected to express its disapproval of local officials who had acted "without sufficient authority."[16] This admonition, however, did not make any material difference to those whose property had been sold. The men affected by these auctions were not the wealthy men of the city. Forty-two of the fifty houses auctioned on 6 January 1865, for example, were valued at less than one hundred rupees, and their owners were mostly the domestic servants, cooks, carriage drivers, and guards of the ex-king [17]

Some of the "disloyal" were not only charged a large fine but also found their monthly *wasiqas* (pensions) permanently reduced Several families who had to surrender their homes were forced to move to smaller townwhips, such as Kakori and Malihabad in Lucknow district, where they owned

[15] First sale of confiscated houses, Foreign/Revenue A Proceedings, August 1864, nos 31-33, Results of second sale of confiscated houses at Public Auction, Foreign/Revenue A Proceedings, November 1864, nos 15-16; Houses sold on 6 January 1865, Foreign/Revenue A Proceeding, February 1865, nos. 58-60 (NAI, New Delhi) These three auctions alone netted nearly fifty thousand rupees

[16] Letter no. 96, from (I. F MacAndrew) Secretary to the Chief Commissioner to Secretary to GOI, Home Department, 11 August 1869, unnumbered basta, MCRR, Lucknow.

[17] Foreign/Revenue A Proceedings, February 1865, nos 58-60, NAI, New Delhi

orchards or agricultural land.[18] By December 1861 the collection from this tax was more than 6 5 lakhs and the amount expended on repairs and reconstruction in the same period was 5 4 lakhs.[19] The political and social impact of the tax will be discussed in Chapter Six

OCTROI

All local committees in towns and cities in British India depended for the bulk of their income on octroi, a duty levied on goods entering the city. In Lucknow there were eight categories of goods (broken down into ninety items) that were subject to octroi: foodstuffs, animals for slaughter, fuel, building materials, drugs and spices, tobacco, cloth, and metals.[20] Octroi remained the principal source of income for the Lucknow municipality until 1868 when the schedules were revised and the income from octroi had to be supplemented by property taxes and a municipal income tax.

In Lucknow the octroi operations were fraught with several problems. The octroi had existed in a native version, called *chungi* (literally, handful of grain), the only urban levy to which the people residing in the towns of Oudh

[18] Interview with the family of Mail Malihabadi, 29 July 1976, Malihabad.

[19] Memorandum, "Provisions of the Lucknow Penal Tax and Maintenance of the City Police from Municipal Funds," Foreign/Revenue A Proceedings, December 1861, nos 25-26, NAI, New Delhi The breakdown of the expenses was as follows·

Repairs to houses (occupied by government)	Rs 173,225
Repairs of roads and bridges	150,000
General improvements (details unspecified)	213,815
Total (as of December 1861)	Rs 537,040

[20] Statement of duty levied on articles brought into the city of Lucknow from 1 April 1868 to March 1869, "Municipal" basta, no 69, MCRR, Lucknow.

were accustomed [21] The two taxes differed significantly in principle and structure, even though the old term *chungi* was used interchangeably with the exotic octroi Both taxes were designed to be collected in walled cities at the city gates. Lucknow was unwalled, and this complicated matters. The nawabi had solved the problem by appointing a *chungi daroga*, or superintendent, who was responsible for collecting the duties at the various *gunjes* in the city.[22] This method of collection was permitted to continue for a dozen years after the annexation. In 1868 the entire system was overhauled Octroi collection was brought under the direct management of the municipal committee, and eighteen posts or collection points were designated and manned to form a loose ring around the city [23] These rearrangements made the system onerous and quite irrational. Everywhere in India "the system pressed hard on the poorer classes," was arbitrary in operation, expensive to collect, and provided its collectors with ample opportunity for corruption, yet the officials believed that "this system was preferred, at least by the middle classes, as being familiar through ancient usage."[24] They did not acknowledge that the *chungi* had been radically changed in its new incarnation as octroi.

It is interesting to compare the effects of the nawabi *chungi* and the British octroi on the trade of the city. This

[21] Memo no. 4296, 23 September 1872, file no. 1919, pt 4, BROG, UPSA, Lucknow. See also G. H Bhatnagar, *Awadh Under Wajid Ali Shah* (Varanasi Bharatiya Vidya Prakashan, 1968), pp. 200-203, for a discussion on *chungi*

[22] Abstract of the proceedings of the Chief Commissioner of Oudh in the Judicial Department, items 2-11, December 1956, UPSA, Lucknow.

[23] Letter no. 3476, from (I F. MacAndrew) Secretary to the Chief Commissioner to Secretary to GOI, Home Department, 11 August 1869, unnumbered basta, MCRR, Lucknow

[24] Hugh Tinker, *Foundations of Local Self-Government in India, Pakistan and Burma* (Bombay. Lalvani Publishing House, 1967), p 75.

was lucidly explained in a petition by some disgruntled shopkeepers in Lucknow who traded exclusively in European goods.[25] The *chungi*, their petition contended, had been a tax upon actual sales and was viewed as a fair charge for the protection and conservancy arrangements made by the *daroga* in the city *gunjes*. It was remitted at a time when a trader had realized the whole or a portion of his outlay and it was, therefore, "no addition to the money risked in view to probable returns." Unsold goods that had to be sent out of the city were not taxed. In contrast, the octroi was a toll on goods entering the city rather than on actual goods sold and tantamount to an exaction "in advance for promised benefits which may partially or never be realized." In the case of fragile goods the toll was paid on the invoice "without thought to ullages, breakages, and many other accidents incidental to our present Indian roads." The loss sustained on perishable goods that remained unsold was even greater. Furthermore, if goods once brought within municipal limits were sent on to another town they were liable to duty all over again The octroi degenerated, in effect, into a transit duty that affected trade adversely by reducing the volume of trade and keeping prices high. The *chungi* had had none of these disadvantages and British traders urged a return to the more intelligent nawabi concept.

There was some soul-searching among the officials about the wisdom of levying a tax that was "denounced almost melodramatically as a wicked and oppressive measure" by

[25] "Petition of Lucknow Shopkeepers trading exclusively in European Goods Upon which Sea Customs Duty Has Been Paid," addressed to Charles Wingfield, Chief Commissioner of Oudh, 13 June 1864, Foreign/Revenue A Proceedings, July 1864, no. 42, NAI, New Delhi The petition is signed by the representatives of Murray & Co., Brewer & Co., J Sonderman and Co , Johannes and Co , Chotey Lall Shaw and Co , and P. T. Company, which were the major retail stores located in the fashionable Hazratgunj.

native and European traders alike [26] It was also a nightmare to manage Not only was it difficult and expensive to collect octroi in a city without walls but it was administered by a large and corrupt establishment of *mohurrirs* (record keepers) [27] In addition, cost of collection exceeded 13 percent of the total octroi receipts, and it was estimated that a far greater sum was lost to bribery and corruption The official attitude in this case was one of resigned acceptance since "no better scheme has been suggested and there is one difficulty that lies at the root of all, viz the largeness of the sum it is necessary to raise" to keep the city well conserved and policed. Lucknow, it was conceded, had "suffered perhaps more than any other city in India . . [and has been] impoverished by the succession of annexation, Mutiny, and demolition." Consequently "the enhancement of the price of the most necessary articles of life caused by the existing choongie system, falls with extreme severity" upon its citizens. William Hoey, who served as a license tax officer in Lucknow in 1879 and 1880, surveyed and remarked on the tabescent condition of the various trades in the city and came to the conclusion that its commercial health would be "vastly improved" by the outright "abolition of octroi " But he hastened to add that since it was "a necessity for the maintenance of conservancy and police" it was "a delicate point" that he preferred to pass "without further comment."[28] The pall of octroi hung heavily over the stricken city and despite the periodic reviews that confirmed the harm it was doing to the local economy there was neither a reversion to the traditional *chungi* system nor was any other alternative found [29]

[26] *Pioneer* (Allahabad), 27 December 1865

[27] PMC, Preamble to proceedings, 12 June 1861, MCRR, Lucknow. The remainder of the citations in the paragraph are excerpted from here unless noted otherwise

[28] William Hoey, *A Monograph on Trade and Manufactures in Northern India* (Lucknow: American Methodist Mission Press, 1880), pp. 30-31

[29] An official inquiry into the "evils of Octroi," whose results

The strongest criticism of the tax came from Europeans, traders and consumers alike, who resented paying a second round of taxes in Lucknow on imported goods that had already been charged customs duty in Calcutta In an editorial the *Pioneer* boldly printed colorful invective against octroi, which it pronounced "without fear of refutation . . the most inquisitorial, the most oppressive, . the most illegal and dishonest impost levied under any civilized government in the world."[30] The octròi also earned several other epithets such as "all-sweeping, all-seeking, all-defrauding," not to mention "accursed" and "iniquitous "[31] The irate owner of a piece of saddlery on which he had paid duty in Calcutta and octroi in Lucknow, Faizabad, and Sitapur (since he was riding in and out of town on his horse!) finally gave vent to his feelings on the "wholesale system of fiscal oppression".

> Talk of Imperial despotisms indeed! Match me this atrocious tax in Russia or France, and failing to do so, sicken me with your perpetual self-laudation about British wisdom and justice and knowledge of the art of governing and legislating, and doing everything better than every country in the world [32]

The uproar was not in vain. It prompted serious reconsideration on the matter of levying tax on European goods, and from November 1868 "the iniquitous octroi virtually disappeared for European merchants and other Europeans" when it was decided that any goods on which custom

were embodied in a *Report of the Municipal Taxation Committee, United Provinces, 1908-1909* (Allahabad: Government Printing Press, 1909), reaffirmed the damage that octroi was doing to urban trade. It was not until 1928 that it was superceded by the terminal tax. See *Report of the Lucknow Municipal Board Enquiry Committee* (Allahabad: Superintendent, Printing and Stationery, United Provinces, India, 1942), p. 30.

[30] *Pioneer*, 12 June 1868

[31] Ibid , 3 July 1868.

[32] Ibid , 27 April 1868

duty had been paid would be exempt from local octroi[33] The exemption was also extended to goods that were subject to a special excise duty, such as salt and indigenous liquor and opium and to such goods that were brought within municipal limits for exclusive and direct use of the government[34] The rate of octroi, although limited to 1 5 percent ad valorem, was retained on all basic articles of consumption, such as grain, fresh produce, animals for slaughter, construction materials, Indian textiles, and metal goods. It was, in fact, urged by the municipal committee that the existing rate on these articles be raised to make good the shortfall in receipts.[35] In other words, life became easier for consumers of European goods and trade more profitable for the handful of merchants dealing in them at the cost of some eighty-five thousand rupees to the municipality. The local population not only found no relief from octroi but were expected to accept cheerfully the burden of new local taxes—such as the house and conveyance taxes—to wipe out the deficit

The octroi was also a source of conflict between the civil and military authorities The chief commissioner and the cantonment authorities had agreed, in theory, that it was essential to levy octroi in the Lucknow cantonment because "if the duty was levied in the city and the Cantonment was free, the Sadar Bazar in the Cantonments would swell into a city and ruin the town octroi."[36] Although the cantonment

[33] Ibid., 5 February 1869

[34] *Report on the Administration of Oudh, 1870-71*, p. 123.

[35] Proceedings of a Special General Meeting of the Lucknow Municipal Committee held at Chattar Manzil, 5 December 1868, MCRR, Lucknow.

[36] This agreement was confirmed in a letter written by an anonymous major-general in 1859 and summarized in letter no 3476, from (I. F MacAndrew) Secretary to the Chief Commissioner to Secretary to GOI, Home Department, 11 August 1869, unnumbered basta, MCRR, Lucknow The following information on the civilian-military tangle is also excerpted from this letter.

was excluded from municipal limits by Act XVIII of 1864 (the Lucknow Municipal Act), the same argument persuaded the authorities to continue to levy octroi there This arrangement posed "little problem" as long as the octroi was farmed out to a native contractor who "did not insist that Europeans pay tax."

The trouble began when in 1868 the committee brought octroi collection under direct management; some military officers refused to pay octroi to municipal employees, and when the demand was made in writing they promptly sued the committee and won their case because of a "technical ommission" in the new regulations. MacAndrew had rather bluntly informed the Home Department that he considered it unfair "to tax the people of the city to water cantonment roads or to provide ornamental pleasure grounds for the use of officers who will not contribute a farthing." He viewed the military officers' conduct as defiance of civil authority that placed the "Commissioner and Deputy Commissioner of Lucknow in the most invidious position" and threatened to declare the municipal connection of the city and cantonment at an end and "to cease on the one hand to levy any taxes in the Cantonments, and on the other to make any contribution to the cantonment fund "

The military officers blatantly disregarded these objections and continued to evade octroi to the tune of nearly 8,000 rupees a year [37] They even requested a larger share of the municipal funds The civilians contended that the 8,000 rupees should be added to the monthly cash subsidy of 600 rupees from municipal funds received by the cantonment and to the 15,000 rupees spent annually on the running of the Lock Hospital, which existed "solely for the

[37] Memo on the Fair Share of the Cantonment in the Octroi Collection, by Raj Kumar, Sarbadhikari (a municipal official), 13 October 1875, basta no. 69, MCRR, Lucknow. The following account is taken from this memorandum

benefit of the Cantonment."[38] These amounts added up to nearly 30,000 rupees a year, which was more than double the cantonment's proportionate share of the total octroi collection if calculated on a per capita basis.[39] It was for this reason that the civilians voted down the military request for an increased monthly subsidy from the municipal funds.

This financial tug-of-war between civil and military authorities reflected the growing contradiction between the notion of an unquestioned, monolithic colonial authority on the one hand and an evolving civic institution where local voices and local dissent were beginning to temper decisions on budgetary matters on the other. The fact that military officials failed to prevail on their civilian colleagues to transfer extra funds to the cantonment and that MacAndrew actually complained to the authorities in Calcutta of the arrogant behavior of army officers at octroi posts suggests that the committee was learning to be jealous of its power and did not hesitate to exercise it against its military component An embryonic sense of local autonomy began to emerge as an outcome of these small, early tests of strength that the committee endured.

Tax Assessment and Collection

The committee also served as the agent of the imperial government to collect the trades and professions tax as well as the income tax. The task was challenging, and the experience of assessing and collecting direct taxes in Lucknow in those early years demonstrates the nature of the interaction between the mutually suspicious citizenry and government and the increased encroachment of the latter upon

[38] Recall that the Lock Hospital was maintained to treat venereal disease (see p 132).

[39] The cantonment had 7.5 percent of the total population of the city; thus, the "fair share" of the cantonment would have been 13,678 rupees of the total of 174,195 rupees collected as octroi.

the lives of the former. Land and its produce were already taxed to the hilt, surplus money could only be raised by taxing trade or urban incomes derived from service or industry in the city. The government of India devised the strategy of exploiting this untapped source and trusted local talent to implement it

Wary of the inflammable mood of the citizenry, the central government issued a circular in which it cautioned the chief commissioner of Oudh to take special measures to prevent any overt opposition to the proposal to license trades and professions.[40] The police and the army were alerted to meet any contingency and it was to be made "intelligible to the people that the vast expenditure imposed upon the state in the past two years [had been] for the purpose of preserving the whole country from anarchy and ruin." It was expected that "Her Majesty's . . faithful people in India, European and Asiatic alike," would contribute towards the "large Military organizations which have been rendered necessary"; the taxes would be fair and "intended to reach all . . classes of Her Majesty's subjects." The circular also ordered that the best civil and executive officers be posted at all points where trouble was expected in giving "practical effect to the provisions of a new and unpalatable law." Officers whose "ability and discretion" did not inspire confidence were not to be retained in any position that demanded the "exercise of such qualities in a high degree."

Carnegie, the deputy commissioner, who was closer to the pulse of the people, responded sanguinely to the misgivings of the twice-shy higher-ups "I don't think there is the slightest reason to apprehend any attempt at open or violent disturbance," he wrote, because

> the Province of Oude and the City of Lucknow have had such a lesson read them during the last two years, as to

[40] Circular no. 5727, from Secretary to GOI, Foreign Department (Secret), to Chief Commissioner of Oudh, 19 September 1859, file no. 700, BROG, UPSA, Lucknow

convince the people thoroughly, how hopeless and foolish is any attempt at armed opposition. There will be nothing of the kind but there will be a long passive resistance.[41]

The first practical hurdle was the business of tax assessment. This posed an enormous problem in a city teeming with multifarious trades and professions and with no readily available records or information on trade or profits to serve as a starting point The formula adopted to compile the first tax registers in the city was a painstaking one requiring a systematic and thorough economic census of the entire city. Carnegie, with "feelings somewhat approaching dismay at the Herculean task of giving effect to the Bill," devised a workable if arbitrary scheme He classified the entire working population of the city under the following four heads. traders and professionals, private servants, government servants, and exempt persons, so that every income-generating or receiving adult found his name in the appropriate register after the survey was completed. The trades and professions category was exceptionally bewildering since the initial inquiry revealed that three hundred trades were being carried on in the city, and the list was by no means complete [42] These were studiously boiled down to approximately one hundred and sixty trades and professions and these were again sorted and grouped under twenty-six major categories Thus the major head "Provisioners" included six trades, namely, butchers, bakers, pig dealers, *ghoosees* (poulterers), and *ahirs* (cowherds).[43] This was but the first small step in the process.

[41] Letter no 1339, from P. Carnegie, Deputy Commissioner, Lucknow, to Colonel S. A. Abbott, Commissioner and Superintendent, Lucknow Division, 21 October 1859, file no. 1919, pt. 1 , BROG, UPSA, Lucknow

[42] Ibid

[43] "Detailed Statement Showing the Distribution of the Trades Tax in the City of Lucknow" (ca. 1873), file no. 1919, pt 7, BROG, UPSA, Lucknow.

The next stage was to determine the incomes of individual practitioners of every trade with a reasonable degree of accuracy In a society unaccustomed to interference in its economic affairs the "truth" could only be approximated with the cooperation of some members of that society Without active volunteers from among the prominent townspeople who would agree to divulge information on the economic affairs of their friends and neighbors the task would be a hopeless one in a city with more than 162 *mohallas* and 65,288 distinct compounds or enclosures [44]

Carnegie solved this thorny problem by the winning tactic of appointing a selected senior tradesman as *choudhary* (headman) of every trade "who will be required to examine and attest the lists and be held heavily responsible for their perfect correctness "[45] These selected headmen were induced by "fixed remuneration and rights" to cooperate in supplying income-related information and reporting changes promptly. Other "informers," as they were called, were also put on the payroll to help collect relevant data, and fines collected for tax evasion were earmarked for disbursement as rewards to those who volunteered information to the tax collectors. It was also made known to the potential taxpayers that there were severe penalties for evasion provided by the law, "including flogging for perjury, [which] must be held in terrorism [*sic*] over them and rigorously enforced." The *mohalla panchayats*, or traditional neighborhood committees of five elders, were to assist the trade headmen in determining individual incomes to be taxed. The local network of tax assessors was buttressed by gov-

[44] H. H Butts, *Report on the Settlement of Land Revenue in Lucknow District* (Lucknow Oudh Government Press, 1873), Appendix I, p. i.

[45] Letter no 1339, from P. Carnegie, Deputy Commissioner, Lucknow, to Colonel S. A Abbott, Commissioner and Superintendent, Lucknow Division, 21 October 1859, file no. 1919, pt 1, BROG, UPSA, Lucknow

ernment assessors and inspectors for each municipal ward who investigated incomes independently and spot-checked *panchayat* decisions.

The tax was to be calculated at a flat rate of 3 percent of the annual average profit over the previous five years If there was a substantial discrepancy between the taxpayer's word and the educated guesses of the *panchayat*, sundry "informers," and the official assessor, the matter was to be settled by appeal and arbitration [46] Theoretically incomes below sixty-six rupees per annum were exempted from the trades and professions tax, but this limit was not honored as is evident from the returns available in the revenue records.[47] The smallest amount of tax paid in any trade or profession was one rupee, which, when calculated as 3 percent of the income, made any person who earned more than thirty-four rupees a year liable to pay tax.

After the *mohalla panchayats* rejected more than 15,000 names on the official list as "poor and unable to pay," the final count of taxpayers in Lucknow was 60,510 persons. Among them was distributed the burden of remitting 270,000 rupees annually in trade tax alone [48] The tax reached down to the poorest artisans and laborers since an income of more than 2.8 rupees a month was taxed. The long arm of the trade tax can be fully appreciated if we consider that from a population of 280,000[49] approximately half were male,

[46] Ibid

[47] "Detailed Statement Showing the Distribution of the Trades Tax in the City of Lucknow" (ca 1873), file no. 1919, pt. 7, BROG, UPSA, Lucknow.

[48] Memo no. 352, ms of Supplementary Memo to City Trade Tax, signed "Comm and Supdt, Lucknow" (S A Abbott), 16 February 1861, file no. 1919, pt. 2, BROG, UPSA, Lucknow

[49] The *Gazetteer of the Province of Oudh*, 2:377, records the population figures for the city are as follows Native population, 273,126; Europeans, 4,222, Eurasians, 760, Pensioners and employees, 3,648; In jail, 3,023; for a total of 284,779 I have discounted the last category from the total and rounded off the figure

of which rather less than half, or 70,000, may be presumed to be adults, and of these 60,510 were taxed. The chief commissioner acknowledged that the trades tax collected in 1861 was "much too high,"

> certainly not less than 5 per cent on income, and often and specially in Lucknow, very much more, and that it descended far too low even to the extent of assessing individuals in fractions of a rupee . . . [when] the highest rate of taxation cannot by law exceed 4 per cent.[50]

The once free nawabi capital became one of the most highly taxed cities in the British Empire

The only women on the tax register in their own right were prostitutes, classified as "dancing girls," even though there were women and children who were economically active in supplementing family incomes by engaging in small, low-paid piecework in the traditional embroidery industry Prostitution, it appears, was the only profession for women profitable enough to be included within the pale of taxation. Carnegie reasoned that

> prostitution is not a "*lawful* trade," but in Oude we are not bound by Regulations, while by custom and by oriental consent this trade is held in estimation, not only as not unlawful, but as a highly respectable one, and why therefore should this, the most profitable of all trades in Lucknow, not be taxed, when others which we hold in much higher esteem are.[51]

Once the trade tax registers had been prepared, the government had in its hands the most systematic and detailed

[50] Letter no. 517, from Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Oudh to Secretary to GOI, Financial Department, 17 February 1862, file no 1919, pt 3, BROG, UPSA, Lucknow.

[51] Letter no. 1339, from P Carnegie, Deputy Commissioner, Lucknow, to Colonel S A Abbott, Commissioner and Superintendent, Lucknow Division, 21 October 1859, file no 1919, pt 1, BROG, UPSA, Lucknow Emphasis in the original

economic information on virtually every single working citizen. These registers also became a reference source for further taxation in the city When the imperial income tax was introduced in Oudh the following year, the trades tax registers were used as a source of names for the compilation of fresh registers. As an extra precaution it was decided that the duty of selecting names ought not to be entrusted "to any but an European assistant" In fact, the commissioner was advised that respectable people of European extraction should be "*preferentially* selected for the duty."[52] The procedure adopted to compile the first tax registers in the city became the standard formula used for adding names of new individuals to the tax rolls The registers were periodically updated and served as the basis for reevaluating the economic life of the city for official purposes. Jury lists, for example, were drawn from the list of the biggest taxpayers in the city.[53]

Thorough and conscientious as the process of assessment of the trade tax may have been, there was, as Carnegie had correctly anticipated, widespread passive resistance to the idea of paying direct taxes The subtler and more common form of resisting the new imposts was the concealment of actual incomes or profits by falsifying records and softening the decisions of the *mohalla panchayats* with bribes or favors. These means of tax evasion were inevitable and "a fact accepted by Government as well as by the unanimous opinion of the country" It was also admitted that "calling for returns of income from natives does much harm, and obtaining them does no good," so that the government had to resort to "arbitrary taxation."[54]

[52] Circular no. 9-2028, Income Tax Circular To All Commissioners· Act XXXIII of 1860, 18 June 1861, file no 361, BROG, UPSA, Lucknow Emphasis in the original.

[53] *Report on the Administration of Oudh, 1859-60*, Appendix B, p. 14

[54] Letter no. 517, from Secretary to the Chief Commissioner to Secretary GOI, 17 February 1862, file no. 1919, pt. 3, BROG, UPSA, Lucknow.

A system that relied on the *mohalla panchayats* to play the leading role in assessing the tax owed by their own *mohalladars* or neighbors was compromised at the outset. Private deals were bound to be made. After the system had operated for a while, Abbott, the commissioner and superintendent, confided to the officiating chief of police that *panchayats* "appointed by the different Mohallas who have no interest but to make it [the tax] as light as possible to themselves and their friends and throw the burden on others" were necessarily "inferior" for purposes of assessing the tax.[55]

The process of assessment was not without its repercussions on the social and business practices of the day. In the first place, eliminating certain trades altogether and grouping the rest for the convenience of compiling trade registers tended to redefine or alter the specialized nature of many crafts and to arbitrarily cluster them with others with which they were seen to be akin. Nearly 50 percent of the small, specialized handicrafts nurtured by the fastidious consumption of the Oudh court received no official recognition. It was only considered

> worthy of remark that many branches of industry are carried on in the City, and are peculiar to it, [and] which are unknown in the Districts. Among these may be enumerated makers and sellers of brocade, gold and silver tissue, of braidings of tinsel garlands, pickles, soap, carpets, tallow chandlers, stone cutters and seal engravers, makers of mirrors, spectacles and hookas, and these have been brought under one or the other of the 26 headings to which it is considered their trade has the most affinity.[56]

[55] Manuscript letter (personal note written by hand), from S. A. Abbott (Commissioner and Superintendent) to Colonel Barrow (officiating Chief of Police, Oudh), 23 July 1860, file no. 1919, pt. 1, BROG, UPSA, Lucknow.

[56] Letter no. 1014 (no author, probably written by the Deputy

These "affinities" tended to reinforce the differentiation of occupations along caste lines and to obliterate the nuances in the self-perception of the workers as specialists or craftsmen Book binders and shoemakers, for instance, were lumped together[57] and this was probably due to the fact that both worked in leather and belonged, in the Hindu scheme of things, to the *chamar* caste that subsumes all leather workers Their own emphasis and pride in their special skills and training was ignored.[58]

A second result, and far more significant than the first, was the defense mechanism developed by tradesmen to deal with the scrutiny of their account books by the various tax assessors They rebuffed this unprecedented invasion of their financial privacy by establishing a second set of books that were splendid pieces of numerical fiction maintained for the eyes of the tax authorities alone In investigating the appeal against the 1,005 rupees income tax of one Shumboonath, a treasurer in the chief commissioner's office alleged to be a moneylender on the side, the *panchayat* refused to examine the books that the plaintiff "was very anxious to show" because they claimed that no other banker had been taxed on the basis of his books.[59] Carnegie com-

Commissioner of Lucknow), to Secretary to GOI, Foreign Department, 22 March 1861, file no 1919, pt. 1, BROG, UPSA, Lucknow.

[57] "Detailed Statement Showing the Distribution of the Trades Tax in the City of Lucknow" (ca. 1873), file no. 1919, pt 7, BROG, UPSA, Lucknow.

[58] Sharar's *Lucknow* is informed with a special appreciation for the peculiarities and crafts that had made Lucknow famous For example, the noted pigeon-fancier, Mir Aman Ali, specialized in transplanting colored feathers onto the wings of pigeons, which held as firmly as the original plumage He sold each of these birds for fifteen to twenty rupees and did a thriving business during the later years of the nawabi (p. 128) It is probable that a unique craftsman such as he would have been blandly classified as a poulterer in the tax registers.

[59] Letter no 382, from P Carnegie, Deputy Commissioner,

prehended the futility of inspecting account books after he was "credibly informed that nearly every Banker in the Country has established a new set of books, with a special view to the Income Tax "[60]

The most daring response to taxation in Lucknow came from the bankers and traders of Asharfabad *mohalla* in the heart of the old city They refused to honor the demand for the income tax they owed and created a minor revolt that came to be known as the "Asharfabad Affair," the most notable among the few overt acts of protest against direct taxation that occurred in the city Reconstructing this "riot" (as it was also sometimes called) from a variety of sources will demonstrate the colonial civic machine in action and evaluate its effectiveness in a situation it was expressly created to combat

Asharfabad (from the Arabic *sarraf* or banker money-changer) *mohalla* had as its dominant group of residents the Hindu commercial caste of *rastogis*.[61] These were the traditional moneylenders of the city, and their clients ranged from the spendthrift nobles of the court to the impoverished cotton weavers, who remained permanently indebted because of prohibitive rates of interest Functioning within the traditional banking network, the *rastogis* had also accumulated vast amounts of capital discounting the coin of other states when Oudh was an independent state with its own mint at Lucknow With British rule came the closure of the mint, the introduction of currency notes and money orders, and the consequent transformation of the native banker into a pawnbroker and moneylender.[62] The *rastogis* became an increasingly necessary evil in the impoverished city. Their special victims, according to the *Oudh Akhbar*,

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Lucknow, to Charles Currie, Officiating Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, 28 May 1860, file no 1919, pt 1, BROG, UPSA, Lucknow

[60] Ibid

[61] *Oudh Akhbar* (Lucknow) 20 June 1860

[62] Hoey, *Monograph*, p 26

were the poorest sections of the society like "the *julaha* [weavers], *kasai* [butchers], and *dhuniya* [cotton carders]."[63] Like usurers in any society the *rastogis* were not popular. Their frugality was as conspicuous as the consumption in the homes of their noble debtors. It was hard to assess the taxes they owed because their account books were fraudulent and their style of living so austere as to render their wealth invisible:

> They wear only a vest and dirty *dhoti* [loin cloth] and carry a spare *dhoti* over their shoulders. They eat parched gram and drink *sattu* [a flour and water mixture]. They try to eat their meals only in the homes of their debtors. . . . They readily accept rich food and sweetmeats when they come to collect their exorbitant interest . . . Most of them have hoarded wealth and collected enough pieces of jewelry [from pawnbroking] to have become jewelers as well.[64]

Such were the protagonists of the "Asharfabad Affair."

The official representative was Ram Dayal, a *kayasth* of proven loyalty during the mutiny, who had been duly rewarded with the position of extra-assistant commissioner in the tax establishment. Since he was responsible for the meeting of the *mohalla panchayat*, he had been assured the fullest cooperation from the police and was assisted by several trusted subordinates.[65] On 10 June 1860 Ram Dayal and his deputy Gajraj Singh arrived in the *mohalla* to collect the pre-assessed tax. The assessees appear to have greeted the team by withdrawing behind locked doors.[66] It is dif-

[63] *Oudh Akhbar*, 20 June 1860.

[64] Ibid. My translation.

[65] Ibid., 18 June 1860.

[66] Enclosures to letter no. 93 of 1860, from Lieutenant Colonel L. Barrow, Officiating Chief of Police, to Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, n.d., file no. 1919, pt. 1, BROG, UPSA, Lucknow. The enclosures are the original statements made by the several defaulters who were later imprisoned. They are written on small slips of paper and describe the events of 10 June 1860.

ficult to determine exactly what collective planning occurred at the *mohalla* level but a meeting of the taxpayers to defy the authorities can be presumed. After demanding that the doors be opened and even "pleading" with the men behind locked doors, Ram Dayal allegedly ordered the *mohalla* to be surrounded by two hundred armed policemen and used a mixture of intimidation, insults, and violence to collect the tax

The recalcitrants were dealt with in the following fashion A policeman went up to a locked entrance of a house and demanded it be opened If the resident failed to obey the order the door was forced open, and one or more policemen would enter the house and apprehend the tax evader If the latter agreed to pay the tax it was collected and the man set free after gratuitous insults and threats If however the man still refused to pay the tax, he was arrested and taken into custody, and his property, possessions, and even the female members of the household were left to the mercy of the police The police would enter the *zanana* accompanied by *dhobins* (low-caste washerwomen), whose presence was considered defiling to an upper-caste household. The *dhobins* would verbally abuse the women and snatch their jewelery.[67] A typical statement of the treatment of the *rastogi* women reads thus:

> Testimony of Brij Bhoshandass. Two dhobies were sent for and the Moharir [clerk] said he was orderd to take my women . . to the Chutter Manzil [British Officers' Club]. He said to me, send for your women and put them in [the conveyance that would take them to the club]. People [neighbors] asked me to pay to save further disgrace.[68]

[67] Ibid This general pattern emerges from the written testimony of the moneylenders against the conduct of Ram Dayal.

[68] Ibid. The testimony of Herpershad Rastogi and others held for nonpayment of tax is similar.

Similar testimony from a courtesan defined the degree to which intimidation and force were used in the process of tax collection Mirza Khanum, a well-to-do *tawa'if*, stated that she was beaten by a *chaprasi* [peon] and that Ram Dayal "spoke obscenely" to her and ordered her to be confined "in the privy with four others [courtesans]." Those confined underwent further indignities in custody. Some were made to "sit on filth" (another defiling act), given minute portions of parched coarse grain to eat for which they had to pay, and deprived of drinking water. The courtesans were not given food or water

The roles of the various actors involved in this affair are as interesting as they are varied Let us consider the officials first Carnegie, the deputy commissioner (the executive officer answerable for any untoward event in the city), was confident that the citizens would not resort to large-scale armed resistance (since they were disarmed, this was hardly surprising), and the police and municipal authorities were prepared for any other eventuality. The tax officials did not "provide any strict *procedure* of enquiry as to income and its sources," nor did they provide any forms to elicit information or "consult the convenience of the tax payer . . to avoid harrassment "[69] Carnegie's system, therefore, was open to abuse and was resented by the local trademen. For example, in an excess of loyalty Ram Dayal, the native assistant, misused his coercive powers to an unconscionable extent: he ordered his subordinates to use violence, he stirred up caste prejudice, and he made sure that the women of the defaulters' households were gratuitously insulted and even robbed. Although these tactics were not expressly approved by the municipal committee, their perpetrator was not reproved even after an official inquiry confirmed

[69] Circular no 1911, from GOI, Financial Department, to Chief Commissioner of Oudh, 31 March 1869, file no 1919, pt 4, BROG, UPSA, Lucknow. Emphasis in the original.

the allegations [70] The senior local officials sought to minimize if not completely suppress the facts in order to prevent them from reaching the authorities in Calcutta. Charles Currie, the officiating secretary to the chief commissioner, actually tampered with the report that Barrow, the police chief, prepared on the subject; he confessed to having "omitted what you [Barrow] say about 'so much discontent which has been expressed' as it might excite the attention of the G. G. [Governor General] and an explanation be called for."[71]

For the most part, the press was silent on the issue. Only one local paper, the *Oudh Gazette*, wrote frankly about the affair. But not with impunity Its correspondent had investigated the matter in the *mohalla* itself and interviewed eyewitnesses This provoked the authorities, and the police issued warrants for the arrest of the owners of the paper.[72] The paper was also forced to publish the official rebuttal and a formal denial of its earlier coverage of the affair. Joining in the counterattack against the *Gazette*, the *Oudh Akhbar* published an Urdu translation of the deputy commissioner's letter to the *Oudh Gazette*.[73] It was an unequivocal apologia for Ram Dayal, claiming that he had not violated the law. It stated that an inquiry conducted by the Criminal Investigation Department revealed that "no man entered the zanana, no one was insulted and no one was beaten. Statements to the contrary published in the *Oudh Gazette* are clearly fabricated and it is clear that it is an

[70] Letter no. 1014 (no author given; probably written by the Deputy Commissioner, Lucknow) to Secretary to GOI, Foreign Department, 22 March 1861, file no 1919, pt 2, BROG, UPSA, Lucknow.

[71] Handwritten note by (Charles) Currie to (Colonel L) Barrow, 19 June 1860, file no. 1919, pt. 1, BROG, UPSA, Lucknow.

[72] *Oudh Akhbar*, 20 June 1860

[73] Because I could not locate a copy of the *Oudh Gazette* in question nor a copy of the letter written by the deputy commissioner, I have translated the Urdu back into English

enemy of the government "[74] Barrow's inquiry, as we have seen, contained enough evidence given by witnesses and by the imprisoned themselves to classify the last assertion as a categorical lie, even though it was consistent with the official stand on the matter.

While the controversy raged in the pages of the *Oudh Gazette*, the *Oudh Akhbar*, while carefully retaining its pro-government tone, decided to speak out against the "corrupt and unscrupulous" Ram Dayal. It did not put the blame on the government for condoning his actions but instead blamed the extra-assistant commissioner for his misdirected sense of loyalty. It also warned the public that if they tried to organize any support for the *Oudh Gazette* they would surely "serve their term in jail" and hinted that a wiser course of action for those who had witnessed the event would be to cooperate with the government by testifying against the *Gazette* in court [75]

The final act in this drama was the legal vindication of Ram Dayal. He sued the management of the *Oudh Gazette* for libel, produced several witnesses who testified in his favor, won his case, and collected his costs and three thousand rupees in damages from the paper The *Oudh Gazette* spent ten thousand rupees on the case and went out of business [76] Ram Dayal had already proved his determination to the residents of Asharfabad, he probably did not scruple to use it again to persuade witnesses to testify on his behalf.

The Asharfabad riot confirmed that the chances of citizens organizing a successful and widespread economic or political protest were severely limited. The bureaucracy, the police, and the native officials were well orchestrated to overcome any opposition. The resistance of the Ashar-

[74] *Oudh Akhbar*, 27 June 1860.

[75] Ibid , 15 August 1860

[76] Ibid It did manage later to resurrect itself as the *Lucknow Times* but with a rather more docile editorial policy.

fabad *banias* was unsuccessful in part because the protagonists were the local usurers (notorious for the exploitation of their debtors) who would not have been able to mobilize grass-roots support. It is in fact difficult to ascertain to what extent their protest was organized, although it apears not to have spread to neighboring *mohallas* despite the fact that there were *rastogi* moneylenders in every bazaar of the city.[77] In this instance open defiance of the tax collector had failed Careful planning and a more systematic use of the caste network might have generated a more effective and pervasive resistance

The timely arrival of the armed constabulary among the unarmed moneylenders probably dissipated the crowd very quickly Only sixty-two individuals defied orders long enough to be arrested; fifty-seven of these buckled after one trying night in jail, and only five endured nine days in confinement before giving in The vast majority of those dissatisfied with the assessment had taken the legal way out They filed complaints with the deputy commissioner, and of the 323 cases he received he made remissions in the demand in more than half.[78] The threat of attachment of property was by far the most effective deterrent, and this lesson was not lost on the authorities.

The very fact that fresh taxes were imposed soon after the affair subsided and apparently raised no fresh storm underscored the triumph of the civic machine. The following year the central government secretly urged the chief commissioner to enhance the salt tax by half a rupee per maund (one maund equals approximately 80 pounds) and to "devise as many local [urban] taxes as possible" that would

[77] Hoey, *Monograph*, p 26

[78] Manuscript copy of the "Return Showing the Coercive Measures resorted to in the City of Lucknow for the Collection of Trade Tax to end of January 1861," file no. 1361 of 1861, BROG, UPSA, Lucknow.

not "be high enough to oppress and therefore unite the people in opposition."[79]

The real crunch for new sources of income came with the abolition of octroi duty on foreign goods in 1868. The committee cast around for new levies and came up with a tax on houses and private conveyances and a municipal income tax. The 5 percent tax on all houses above the value of two thousand rupees was especially coolly received by the Indian members of the committee. Daroga Mir Wajid Ali submitted a memorandum expressing their collective displeasure, but when the subject was brought to a vote the official line was upheld by a majority of three.[80] Although the tax included houses in the cantonment and the civil lines, very few Europeans were affected because the officials did not own the houses privately but were given free lodgings as part of their remuneration; only the nonofficial European community was affected (but they were excused from paying the conveyance tax). The Europeans would pay 5 percent "on rental" in the civil lines and 4 percent in the cantonment.

It was calculated that the house tax would yield approximately 68,000 rupees. This, it turned out, was based on property values that had been determined "in a very arbitrary manner," often without reference to "the nature or condition of the tenement," and "a large portion was assessed on houses which have since fallen into ruins or been destroyed."[81] Yet the reaction of property owners was muted and played itself out in a deluge of appeals and petitions to the appropriate authorities. Membership on the com-

[79] Letter no. 3135 (confidential), from Secretary to Government, Financial Department, to Chief Commissioner, 16 March 1861, file no. 1919, pt. 2, BROG, UPSA, Lucknow.

[80] Proceedings of the Special General Meeting of the Municipal Committee, 12 January 1869, MCRR, Lucknow.

[81] PMC, memorandum entitled "Following Demands Unrealizable," 15 February 1869, MCRR, Lucknow.

mittee, as has been shown earlier, had given the constituents status and some patronage but no real political or decision-making power. The newspapers too commented, more in dismay than in anger, on the new wave of economic distress that engulfed the pauperized people of the city.[82]

The native members swallowed their defeat on the issue of the house tax and concentrated their energies in passing on the real burden of municipal income tax to the lower income groups in the city. They divided all individuals with incomes above one hundred rupees a year into seven categories Those with incomes of twenty thousand "and above" would pay the maximum tax of twenty-five rupees per year This would have been a comfortable arrangement for the richest members of the society except that the total collection at this rate would have amounted to a negligible 5,600 rupees[83] The subcommittee on municipal taxes reconvened on the same day and revised this schedule drastically, producing a scale that created twenty income brackets and raised the ceiling to incomes of a lakh and above and the maximum tax to five hundred rupees.

The administrative set-up for assessing the tax divided each of the city's six municipal wards into four circles in each of which the residents elected four *panchayats* (that is, twenty people in each circle who acted in groups of five). The *panchayats*, assisted by the committee member for the ward and a *tehsildar* (revenue officer), determined the bracket into which each householder's income fell. So by virtue of becoming an informal wing of the municipal government these 480 *panchayat* members exercised some influence over all income-producing residents of the city. But this power, granted to the indigenous elite to enlist their cooperation, was circumscribed: British officials on the committee were in complete executive control not only as the majority in

[82] *Nayir-i Akbar* (Bijnour), 23 June 1870, VNR.

[83] PMC, Proceedings of the Subcommittee appointed by the Special Committee, 5 February 1869, MCRR, Lucknow

every subcommittee but also with their exclusive power of veto

The newspapers continued to criticize pusillanimous native members who were more interested in occupying "chairs in the Municipal Committee room" and enhancing their prestige than in improving the plight of their overtaxed fellow citizens.[84] A sizable crowd gathered to denounce the city income tax on 11 June 1870 Leading men of the city made speeches in which the tax "was strongly censured and its evils described in vivid colours."[85] It was also reported that the house and municipal taxes were being collected "with great severity and the least delay is visited by a penalty " Protests proved ineffectual and taxes were grumblingly accepted as a fact of life

What emerges, then, is a paradigm for taxation in cities where the colonial presence was expanded. Lucknow was taxed because keeping it clean and safe consumed vast quantities of money. The taxes were heavy and the citizens were angered both at the necessity of paying them and at the methods of assessment and collection. The newspapers articulated this anger for the sullen majority who had no choice but to pay and wrote about the few who protested but suffered because of their temerity

The process of estimating and collecting taxes demonstrated how two other areas of everyday life were drawn into the net of official control what a man earned and what he owned had not been the king's business *Mohalla panchayats,* which had traditionally adjudicated personal and marital disputes among the *mohalladars* and were responsible for social harmony, were now put in the awkard and unnatural role of "informing" the authorities about the true income and assets of neighbors, friends, and relatives. The tax registers and the *mohalla*-by-*mohalla* property and pop-

[84] *Oudh Akhbar,* 9 February 1869, VNR
[85] *Nayir-i Akbar,* 23 June 1870, VNR.

ulation census were official documents that put every tradesman, worker, and house owner on record The kind of information they embodied had already been used for political purposes by the government, once, in recent memory, for the penal tax. It could well be used again for punitive purposes, a man's property could be confiscated, his income taxed (or he could be punished for tax evasion), or his pension reduced if his conduct, particularly his political conduct, displeased the authorities. The very foundations of the social organization of the *mohalla*, which was the mainstay of the social life for the average citizen, seemed to be tampered with by this simple device of asking the *panchayats* to serve as tax assessors. The principle of taxing the wealthy inhabitants of the city to pay for civic amenities was sound, but in practice (as we have seen in Chapter 4) it worked otherwise. the inhabitants of the old city paid the bulk of the taxes, but the British inhabitants of the civil lines reaped the bulk of the benefits

The other area was the control of the local press, an institution still in its infancy. None of the papers except the *Oudh Gazette*, for instance, actually reported the "Asharfabad Affair," and that single organ was silenced when it was forced to close down after its heavy losses in the trumped-up libel charges instituted by a tax official.

New taxes were constantly being added to take care of the expanding municipal costs of health and sanitation Although the officials were generally committed to higher taxes, they were also occasionally sympathetic, but the imperial system had no room for genuine compassion Even a British officer could clearly see the oppressiveness of the system:

> Much is said about the people of India being taxed so lightly in comparison with the people of England. For my part I think that something may be said against that position. The native is lighter taxed only because his wants are fewer and there is less about him to tax. When the

new imposts become law the ordinary native will pay on everything he consumes except the air he breathes The grain he eats is taxed, for the land that produces it is taxed. The clothes he wears are taxed, for the weaver who spun the cloth and the tailor who made them pay for their licenses His salt is taxed, and very highly, so is his opium, if he can afford to eat any, and lastly his tobacco is taxed. He has not yet to pay a tax on the birth of his children, that is all that can be said.

But admitting that he is lightly taxed in comparison I would answer, so he should be. There is a wide difference between the two populations The taxes of the people of England are self-imposed, those of the people of Hindoostan are imposed by their conquerors [86]

Such voices spoke out only occasionally and always in vain.

[86] Memorandum on Tobacco Tax, undated MS, signed "Mr. W " (ca 1860), file no. 1919, pt 1, BROG, UPSA, Lucknow.

CHAPTER SIX

The City Must Be Loyal

> And it is in Lucknow, the beautiful and evergreen city, the most European of Indian cities and yet the most Indian, the home and temple of the aristocratic policy . that the grand work of integration seems destined to begin. In the shadow of the shot-ridden but proud and unconquerable old Residency, where English and loyal Indian [fought] side by side . . . the seeds of coalition will find congenial soil. The visitor to the Residency, who muses on the past and the future, may note that upon the spot where the enemies' assault was hottest twin hospitals for Europeans and Indians have been erected by Oudh's premier Talukdar, the Maharaja of Balrampur; and as the sun sets over the great city, lingering awhile over the trim walls and battered walls, which link the present with the past, a strong hope may come to him, like a distant call to prayer, that old wounds may soon be healed, and old causes of disunion may disappear, and the Englishmen and Indians, knit together with loyalty to their beloved Sovereign may be as brothers before the altar of Empire
>
> —Sir S Harcourt Butler[1]

In looking at the process of change in an indigenous city being transformed to serve more congenially the needs of the colonial rulers, I examined in previous chapters the spatial and morphological change prompted by strategic

[1] S Harcourt Butler, *Oudh Policy, the Policy of Sympathy* (Allahabad. Pioneer Press, 1906), p 50 Even half a century later Butler was still wishing away the terrible after effects of the mutiny on race relations

and defense requirements, and the growth of municipal institutions that controlled and regulated matters of health and sanitation and the collection of taxes By these means and in time the city would become, in the estimation of its new policy makers, safer, cleaner, and more habitable.

Yet this was not enough to ensure stability The very nature of colonial rule was precarious, only a handful of British civilians replaced the Oudh court in a hostile city where a great rebellion had only recently been suppressed This made their search for local allies and collaborators imperative Not ony had a political vacuum at the top to be filled but the new power structure required a solid buttress of local men whose loyalty to the Raj would be above question. The nature and composition of the buttress and the social engineering required to make it durable challenged the ingenuity of the new government. It was necessary to recruit stalwarts who would constitute a group of new "courtiers" to cooperate in making the Raj viable and to weed out the old malcontents on the basis of their alleged conduct during the rebellion. In the process a new civic elite emerged to emulate and compete with the remnants of the old.

These two decades also saw the transformation of the *taluqdars*, the larger landowners in Oudh, into an urban elite group. Their infiltration into the civic arena was sponsored by the British, and they increasingly became absentee landlords with their political and social interests centered in the capital. Loyalty was the test that distinguished the good from the bad, the Ariels from the Calibans. The rebellion had begun the profound alterations in the status of families; fortunes were lost and won in the terrible and destructive war The British skillfully tried to refurbish the dwindling elite ranks with men who had a permanent stake in the stability of their Raj in Oudh. The trauma of 1857 compelled the ruling and local elite groups to work out a formula for survival in the new era. The resultant horse-trading that marked this period not only achieved a sym-

biosis between the two groups but accelerated the pace of social change in the city.

In the unsettled aftermath of revolt the British found that they were torn between conflicting emotions: as victors after a hard-won siege they were in a bitter, black, and vengeful mood, as a tiny band of white rulers in a dreadful city they needed to be conciliatory and win adherents to their cause. The class that could afford to pay the penalty for rebellion, namely the "Nobility and wealthy Merchants" who owned "Palaces, Superior buildings . . [the] better class of dwellings, shops and upper storied houses,"[2] was the very one whose support the British wished to enlist The monied and propertied class had provided material support to the rebels and had the wherewithal to finance another rebellion, it was critical to punish and woo them at the same time.

The unique, one-time penal tax, as it turned out, worked brilliantly in this paradoxical situation. Chief Commissioner Montgomery had conceived it in a spirit of "fixing a permanent punishment" on the rebellious citizens of Lucknow, and since "the power of the Asiatic for good or evil depended on his wealth," it was wealth that would best indemnify the loss of "European blood murderously shed " In practical effect this tax penalized the citizens and left no doubt in their minds that since the British were securely reinstated a quick acceptance of the political reality would work in their favor.

There was another inherent advantage in the decision to levy a penal tax Lucknow could then be held as "a prize

[2] Manuscript of letter no 2395, from Charles Currie, Secretary to Civic Commissioner, to Secretary to GOI, Foreign Department, 9 October 1861, entitled "Provisions of the Lucknow Penal Tax and Maintenance of the City Police from Municipal Funds," Revenue A Proceedings, December 1861, nos. 25-26, p. 2, NAI, New Delhi. The account that follows is excerpted from this letter The financial aspects of this tax are discussed in chapter 5.

of war, the entire property therein becoming vested in the captors who were at liberty to dispose of it at their pleasure ". The city was first emptied of its inhabitants,[3] who were then told to return to it within ten days of the ultimatum embodied in Viceroy Canning's infamous proclamation of 25 March 1858; those who failed to heed the order would do so "on pain of forfeiting their [property] rights." The burden of proof of loyalty in order to reclaim their homes fell upon the citizens when they gradually trickled back to the city. Had the city not been cleared of its inhabitants, the captors would have had the tiresome, if not impossible, task of evicting occupants and confiscating homes. Instead, those who returned—and indeed there were a great many who did not—were simply "held to have reoccupied their tenements on sufferance only and were considered liable to any terms the Government chose to impose." The judicial commissioner was requested to submit exhaustive lists of all persons of "rank and influence" who returned to the city who deserved either a reward for having "rendered aid to any European or Christian" or punishment as unrepentant rebels. The latter were divided into two classes: Class A, or those who had "decidedly sided with the rebels," participated in the rebel *darbar*, or court assembly, or had been "notably active" against the British; and Class B, or those who had remained inconspicuous in the rebellion "but had in no way sided with the British." In addition to the fine they would be forced to pay in cash or in kind, the rebels would require special surveillance by the intelligence department.

A deluge of claims and counterclaims and depositions of true and false testimony soon inundated the deputy commissioner's office, which dealt with returning citizens For

[3] Delhi suffered a similar fate. Its inhabitants were driven out, while homes were plundered by prize agents For a graphic account of this see Percival Spear, *Twilight of the Mughuls* (Cambridge Cambridge University Press, 1951), pp. 218-221

the lack of an alternative, the deputy commissioner decided to conduct the investigations "in a very easy way" by relying upon the evidence that was "produced by the exculpated themselves" regarding their role in the rebellion.[4] This proved an effective ploy in converting rebels to instant loyalists

Several propertied *begums*, the ex-king's wives, and other female relatives were, however, treated as Class A rebels and were heavily fined even though they were patently noncombatants. Their claims were rejected on the grounds that "these Begums have endless brothers and nephews and male followers of every kind and were very powerful in Lucknow" and could easily have sheltered Christian refugees and given other material aid to the British cause [5]

The British fully exploited their unconditional right to dispose of rebel property. The strongest and largest palaces, buildings, and *nuzul* holdings were retained as office space, and the extra buildings were rented out by the government to private individuals Some houses were confiscated from "rebels" and bestowed upon "loyal" citizens as reward. In some cases confiscated property was "restored" and "amnesty" granted in exchange for abject submission and an assurance of fidelity.[6] The houses that were neither claimed nor could be profitably rented were sold in auctions.

The tax also gave the officers an inordinate amount of

[4] Letter no 66 of 1858, from George Campbell, Judicial Commissioner, to T. D. Forsyth, Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, 27 July 1858, file no. 2241 (Mohammad Taki Khan Wishing to be Allowed to Collect War Tax), BRLD, UPSA, Lucknow.

[5] Ibid.

[6] There are more than three hundred files in the Board of Revenue records of Lucknow District of individual claims resulting from the penal tax that have survived the customary periodic weeding of files on settled cases. These conclusions are based on the general overview of these files, the more notable cases will be discussed in the course of this chapter.

legal leverage, and often British "justice" was perverted by the influence of the extralegal variable of "loyalty," which made the merits of the case inconsequential For example, Saligram, a jeweler and moneylender who claimed that a dozen of his houses had been damaged, demolished, or confiscated, submitted an appeal for a lakh of rupees as compensation. The details of his claim were duly verified and the compensation demanded was considered "reasonable." Yet when his role in the rebellion was investigated, other jewelers testified that Saligram had been an accomplice of Yusuf Khan, a prominent rebel, and "was most active in pointing out the different wealthy Mahajuns [moneylenders] and settl[ing] the amount of contributions they were expected to pay the rebels" in exchange for a waiver for himself [7] This disqualified his claim, and Saligram moved his business to Kanpur from where he continued, without luck, to petition the British government in Calcutta [8]

Technically, Saligram was the only moneylender who had not contributed money to the cause and claimed that he had disclosed the names of other *mahajans* under duress (which sounds plausible). It appears, however, that the British were now forced to discount his pleas in order to secure the allegiance of the several jewelers who had testified against him Even the city magistrate admitted that the truth about the actual role of a particular individual in the rebellion was difficult to determine

> The greatest rebel, known to have been inimical to our Government can bring forward no end of witnesses to prove that he was praying for our return and that he remained all the time in his house, gave no assistance to

[7] Letter no 248, from A G. Wood, City Magistrate, Lucknow, to Colonel S A Abbott, Commissioner and Superintendent, 12 May 1859, file no. 76, BRLD, UPSA, Lucknow.

[8] The Humble Petition of Saligram, formerly of the City of Lucknow, but at present at Cawnpore, Jeweller and Shroff to the Right Hon'ble Charles John Viscount Canning, Governor General of India, file no 76, BRLD, UPSA, Lucknow.

> the rebels, and never joined them in anything Such testimony in my opinion is worthless.[9]

The search for loyalists was a frantic one and must have miscarried "justice" in innumerable cases since it was always easy for local influentials to arrange for false witnesses and gain rewards and favors or recover their property

Coercion, threats, and other inducements were freely used as extra muscle for the newly implanted judicial procedure in the courts of Lucknow, and it becomes difficult to reconcile these methods with the well-advertised notion that British justice treated all men as equals This is especially true when we look at the typical post-mutiny cases. Take, for example, Bunde Ali Khan, a resident of the city and a landowner in Lucknow district, in whose case intimidation was used quite blatantly. His petition to recover his seized lands was answered thus:

> You have not yet shown any good service to Govt. . . You are hereby ordered quickly to separate your men from the rebels and pay Govt. revenue to show your allegiance to Govt. and then you will be entitled to settlement of your Estate otherwise your Estate will be settled with others. Though Govt. has pardoned the offences yet many Rajahs like Rajah Goor Bux Singh, Rajah Hudut Singh, and Debee Bux do not present themselves to the British Govt. Explain to them that if they appear before the Govt force goes in their Estate they will be entitled to every favour of Govt. and after that they will be uprooted and ruined.[10]

Yet, in another case, where Begum Mumtaz Mahal, the widow of King Nasiruddin Hyder (1827-1837), petitioned for compensation for the destruction of Sheesh Mahal

[9] Letter no 248, from A. G. Wood, City Magistrate, Lucknow, to Colonel S. A. Abbott, Commissioner and Superintendent, 12 May 1859, file no. 76, BRLD, UPSA, Lucknow

[10] Official translation of Major Barrow's Perwanah of 2 June 1858, file no. 1340, BRLD, UPSA, Lucknow

("Looking Glass Palace") during the fighting in Lucknow, the money was sanctioned without demur, even though her connection with the ex-royal family, and therefore with the rebels, was never in doubt This may have been because of the intervention of the arch loyalist, Daroga Wajid Ali, who presented her case, smoothed out the wrinkles, and obtained for her the sum of fifty thousand rupees as compensation [11]

This judicial capriciousness continued well into the next decade, as is clear from the case of Mohammad Tahir, an innkeeper in the city. He was in the process of adding an extension to his inn when his license was suspended for alleged "improper use" of the inn, and he was forced to stop construction. The impropriety most probably had something to do with serving liquor to European soldiers. When Tahir petitioned for the restoration of his license, he cleverly strengthened his case by "proving" that "he did some Service certainly in Rebellion [*sic*]," and this won him back his innkeeping privilege.[12]

The files are a bewildering jungle, but after wading through upwards of three hundred cases, my own impression is that those of the accused who spent the time and money to "prove" their past "loyalty" demonstrated their "good faith," were counted among the potentially loyal, and were therefore exculpated Loyalty was the magic word, it tipped the scales of justice for those who understood this well and were clever enough to use it, and a great number of the verdicts handed down at this time begin to make sense only when viewed in this light.

The total proceeds from the penal tax was close to seven

[11] Letter from Commissioner and Superintendent, Lucknow, to Judicial Commissioner, Oudh, 30 August 1858, file no. 2290, BRLD, UPSA, Lucknow.

[12] Commissioner's memo on report no. 32 from City Magistrate in the case of Agha Mohomed Tahir, 12 March 1864, file no. 10, pt. 4, BROG, UPSA, Lucknow

hundred thousand rupees Yet the greatest gain, perhaps, from the administration of the tax was an intangible one All persons of means, whether propertied or pensioned, who now lived in the city were on the deputy commissioner's list with his or her putative role in the rebellion clearly defined and their property and sources of income detailed This systematically eliminated political confusion along with any lingering hope or belief in the cause of the exiled ex-king, his power was indubitably extinct. All favours, jobs, patronage, clemency, and rewards now emanated from only one source, the British Raj in Oudh, and this simple reality, however unpalatable, had to be digested. Loyalty, which was more often than not an expression of enlightened self-interest mixed with hyprocrisy on both sides, was manifestly the cement that held the new order together.

The collecting and tabulating of information on individuals—both a condition and consequence of the level of political control the situation demanded—signalled the beginning of numerous registers and records that were compiled on the citizens of Lucknow. The trade and income tax registers, *thana* diaries, and other sources of information were assiduously maintained for the purpose of efficient administration and control of the citizenry.

The greatest undertaking of this nature was the survey of the city of Lucknow ordered by the chief commissioner in 1867 and entrusted to the very capable Indian extra-assistant commissioner, Dhokal Parshad. The result was embodied in 162 volumes, one for every *mohalla*, constituting the most rigorous and intensive account of civil land and property ever conducted in Oudh. Only 154 volumes of this record are extant; to this day these are updated and used as the final authority on property owership to settle disputes in the civil courts [13] Each volume consists of a map of the *mohalla*, with all the streets, buildings, and plots de-

[13] These manuscript volumes are kept in the Lucknow Collectorate record room

marcated and with numbers that referred to a corresponding description in the *khasra*, or text of the volume. The *khasra* records the type of property (house, mosque, shop, vacant plot, etc.), the name of the owner, the name of the occupant, the caste[14] and occupation of the chief occupant, the composition of household by number, age and sex, the rent or tax paid on the property, and the exact dimensions and quality (mud, brick, etc) of the built-up area The total area of Lucknow was 7,850 acres with 65,288 compounds, enclosures, and separate measured plots, and every square inch of urban property was accounted for [15] This remarkable record represented the finality of the city *bandobast* (settlement) after the protracted confusion and flux in property titles occasioned by the penal tax The record was not open to appeal, but if any person felt aggrieved the remedy lay in courts of law The spur to litigation built into the system generated revenue in stamp paper and bribes for the officials at various levels who handled the files. The municipality adjudicated the claims that arose from this settlement and was granted the authority to waive legitimate ownership rights if the house or vacant lot in question was required by the government either for building roads or drains.[16]

The teeming multitudes that inhabited the city and had made it a frightening place during the days of the siege were now reduced to a comprehensible set of data that could be consulted, used, changed, and updated as time

[14] It is interesting to note that "religion" was not seen as a category by Dhokal Parshad He records the "caste" of Hindus and Muslims, the latter appearing as "shaikh-sunni," "syyad-shia," etc., and the terms "Hindu" and "Muslim" are absent in the entire 162-volume record. This strengthens the argument I make in Chapter 3.

[15] H. H. Butts, *Report on the Settlement of Land Revenue in Lucknow District* (Lucknow· Oudh Government Press, 1873), Appendix I, p. 1

[16] Ibid.

went on. Such undertakings aroused fear and distrust among the inhabitants because the purpose of such a thorough probe could not be supposed to be entirely that of administrative efficiency. In 1869 when the data for the census of 1869 was being gathered by the city police, wild rumors arose. It was believed, among other things, that the police were making a count of virgin girls in each household who would later be abducted for the pleasure of European bureaucrats and soldiers.[17]

The Hooseinabad Trust Case

While the uncertain destinies of scores of individuals and their families were being made and unmade in the commissioner's court, there were other important interests in town that were still outside the control of the new regime. There were, for example, very vast fortunes locked into various religious trusts or *waqfs* (correct plural form is *auqaf*) endowed by the kings of Oudh and left in the hands of hereditary trustees. These men could only be replaced on grounds of a serious breach of the trust reposed in them. The British, it appears, were vitally interested in gaining even an indirect control of the substantial annual incomes and dividends of the nawabi endowments, such as the Hooseinabad Endowment Fund, probably because they feared the money might be diverted, if an opportunity presented itself, to finance subversive activity. Since the Muslims were especially mistrusted, and *waqfs* were exclusively Muslim endowments, the charities themselves were viewed with suspicion, and it was logical to want to replace the nawabi appointees with men who might prove more amenable to British rule. The opportunity to do this was seized with alacrity in the course of the Hooseinabad Trust Case, a complicated and controversial struggle for control

[17] *Report on the Census of Oudh, 1872* (Lucknow. Oudh Government Press, 1872), 1:2.

over the monies of the trust between the old trustees and the British Government It began shortly after the rebellion subsided when the British were consolidating their political power in the city and extending their control into the social sphere of city life

Briefly, the Hooseinabad Endowment Fund was created by Muhammad Ali Shah, King of Oudh (ruled· 1837-1842) to support the Hooseinabad Imambara that he had built in 1838. Initially the king invested twelve lakhs of rupees in a single British government promissory note at 4 percent interest and executed a deed which pledged that the capital would always remain invested in government paper.[18] The interest drawn every year was to be disbursed on repairs and maintenance of the *imambara*, the upkeep of the road between it and the British Residency, the celebration of Mohurram, and the payment of salaries and stipends The invisible hand of the resident guided all substantial fiscal commitments of the king, as is evident from the terms of the deed. Three hereditary positions were created to manage the trust, and to these posts the king had appointed his trusted courtiers and eminent Shiites, Rafeek ud Dowlah, Azeem ullah Khan, and Shurf ud Dowlah In the absence of direct heirs successors were to be elected from among the twenty stipendiaries by a three-fourths majority vote.

The original endowment swelled to a tidy 38.5 lakhs by a further donation of twenty-four lakhs by Mohammad Ali Shah in government paper and 2.5 lakhs by the trustees invested in four personally owned transferable notes. What made these subsequent infusions of capital into the trust more significant was the fact that the income from them

[18] The summary of the case presented here is based on the voluminous documentation found in Despatch no. 1, 637, *Hooseinabad Endowment Fund*, from Officiating Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Oudh, 8 August 1859, Foreign/Part A, September 1861, nos. 300-316, NAI, New Delhi.

was not regulated by deed and they were at the unconditional disposal of the trustees, together with the substantial monthly income from the commercial property attached to the *imambara* and the daily gifts and offerings of devotees and visitors Thus the position of trustee not only commanded enormous respect and conferred status on its holder but also gave him the unfettered control of a large annual budget and patronage in the city. The total annual income of the trust was more than 2 lakhs of rupees,[19] which was a sum larger than two-thirds of the average annual municipal budget for Lucknow in the 1860s and 1870s

During the rebellion, the nine nontransferable government notes wound up in a highly speculative market and were sold far below their face value. Benarsi Das, the banker who was later appointed to the municipal body along with Mohsun ud Dowlah and Mumtaz ud Dowlah, bought one of these notes for a pittance After the chaos subsided, the government indicted the trustees for a breach of trust for the alleged sale of notes. The key government witnesses were Benarsi Das, the banker, and Sukhmatullah Khan, alias Munno Khan (the purchasers of the notes in question), who deposed that they had been personally approached by the trustees to buy the notes.

Their testimony was refuted by that of seventeen out of the twenty stipendiaries of the trust. In separate written statements made in July 1858 to Colonel Abbott these seventeen stipendiaries reaffirmed their faith in the integrity of Rafeek ud Dowlah and Ali Baksh Khan (who had succeeded his father, Azeem ud Dowlah, as trustee). They maintained that the trust was looted by the rebels, who then tried to hawk the notes in the open market, and Benarsi Das and Munno Khan must have purchased them di-

[19] Letter no. 1637, from Captain Andrews, Officiating Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, to Secretary to GOI, Foreign Department, 8 August 1859, Foreign/Financial A, December 1862, nos. 3-10, NAI, New Delhi

rectly from the rebels It was in the interst of the trustees to remain loyal to the British cause since the bulk of the funds was invested in British government paper and would become worthless if the British lost the war. For example, Nawab Manowar ud Dowlah, a stipendiary and witness for the defense, stated that there was "no doubt whatever that the rebels oppressed and coerced the Trustees . as they were considered to be very loyal to the British Government . . I have repeatedly heard of the fact that rebels plundered the endowment."[20] His testimony is very important because he was one of those few selected nawabs with whom the British officers were on close social terms. Dr. Frayer, who went with him on several hunting expeditions, found him to be "the most perfect old gentleman, a keen sportsman, and great friend of the English. . . . [I] always met him with pleasure."[21]

The two notable exceptions who testified against the trustees were the two nawabs, Mohsun ud Dowlah, grandson of Ghaziuddin Hyder (King of Oudh, 1814-1827), and Mumtaz ud Dowlah, grandson of Muhammad Ali Shah (King of Oudh, 1837-1842), who, as we have seen, were appointed by the commissioner to the municipal agency in 1862. They were stipendiaries of the trust and private pensioners of Muhammad Ali Shah by a provision in his will and received annuities of two hundred and six hundred rupees respectively. The former, a cousin of the ex-king, was an independently wealthy man who also hunted with British officers before the rebellion. His menagerie of ferocious beasts was widely admired. Nawab Mumtaz ud Dowlah was also a *mulaqati* (friend), "but had not the same frank manly nature as the others "[22] After the rebellion

[20] The original statements (with official translations) of the stipendiaries who testified are attached to Foreign/Part A, September 1861, nos. 300-361, NAI, New Delhi.

[21] Sir Joseph Frayer, *Recollections of My Life* (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons, 1900), p. 88

[22] Ibid., p 89

Mohsun ud Dowlah was received, as one of three principal members of the ex-royal family, in a private audience by the viceroy during the *darbar* held on 24 October 1858 in Lucknow. After listening to flowery protestations of loyalty from these noblemen, the viceroy promised them his "protection and consideration" and "in return for that protection I look to their setting before the people of the City of Lucknow an example of order, loyalty and obedience in all things to the authority of the Queen."[23] The opportunity to set the expected example presented itself in the Hooseinabad Trust Case

After a prolonged legal wrangle that drew into its vortex several eminent Shiite families in Lucknow, Colonel Abbott, the commissioner of the city, pronounced his verdict.[24] He opined that the trustees had forfeited their own right to remain in office and the right of their heirs to succeed to their position by flouting the very deed that had conferred upon them their rights He stated that the trustees had reacted in panic, mistakenly assumed that the British government was at an end, and made a bid to salvage whatever little capital they could by the illegal sale Rafeek ud Dowlah and Ali Buksh appealed against this judgment to the viceroy. The frail and blind Rafeek ud Dowlah submitted, in defense of his integrity, the several lakhs worth of his personally owned, transferable government notes that he had made no effort to redeem by sale. The two petitioners pleaded that Abbott's judgment, which had expelled them from their posts and denied their heirs their potential rights as future trustees, was unjust.

Nothing came of their bid to save their hereditary po-

[23] Foreign/Political no. 154, Darbar of 24 October 1859, NAI, New Delhi.

[24] The judgment is summed up in the Memorial of Nawab Rafeek ud Dowlah and Nawab Ali Buksh to H E, Right Honorable Earl Canning, Viceroy of India, 18 August 1860, Foreign/Part A, September 1861, nos. 300-361, NAI, New Delhi.

sitions, and the chief commissioner laid the matter to rest by appointing nawabs Mohsun ud Dowlah and Mumtaz ud Dowlah as the two new trustees The position of the third trustee was abolished, and in its place a post of agent to mind future investments was created; Munno Khan (the witness for the prosecution) became the first agent of the trust.[25]

There the matter rested uneasily. The control of the most influential religious trust in the province, with substantial capital and a large running income, passed indirectly into the hands of the British via their faithful appointees. The two nawabs, who only received modest pensions from the fund, now controlled its income and patronage. Earlier in the year they had been co-opted by the British as the two Muslim members of the municipal body, and Benarsi Das, banker, as a Hindu member. It would be naive not to see the connection between cooperating with the British and receiving seats in the municipal agency. Shah Benarsi Das not only got out of the embarrassment and loss of having bought nonredeemable, nonconvertible notes but actually turned his folly to advantage by giving evidence to bolster the charges against the old managers of the trust

The case would have faded into oblivion and the truth of the matter would have lain suppressed in the files of the ex parte inquiry hastily conducted by Abbott had the old trustees not pressed the viceroy for a fresh investigation of the case in a regular court of law. The latter ordered the chief commissioner to ascertain whether the reopening of this matter could be justified. This led to the chief commissioner's office reviewing the files generated by Colonel Abbott on the subject (which unfortunately are not extant today), and the officiating incumbent in that office wrote a startling, confidential memo to the viceroy After plodding "most carefully through the files of the case," Yule

[25] Foreign/Financial A, December 1862, nos. 3-10, NAI, New Delhi

came to the conclusion that the inquiry conducted by Abbott was, to say the least, "informal and incomplete in the most material points, affecting not only its legality, but the confidence to be placed in its results."[26] Yule discovered that witnesses had not been examined under oath, that although the accused had been put on the defense stand their lawyer had not been permitted to cross-examine the prosecution witnesses or produce defense witnesses. The testimony of those that testified in favor of the accused was disregarded and the testimony recorded against them Yule found to be "weak and contradictory and . . not to be relied upon even as it stands, while on trial [in a court of law] it would be contradicted by an immense amount of evidence to the forced consent of the Trustees . . . to the sale of paper . . [and] we must, it seems to me, lose our case."

The memo undoubtedly produced more than a little embarrassment in higher government circles in Calcutta, and the advocate general, who had earlier recommended a retrial to bring this lingering matter to a tidy end, found himself eating his previous circumlocutions. "The advice of the case now taken by Mr. Yule differs widely from that which the Oudh Authorities had previously taken," he wrote, "and upon which my advice was founded, and in deference to Mr. Yule, I have carefully reconsidered my advice."[27] More simply stated, he now considered it fatal to British interests to trot out the Abbott files in a court of British law The plea of the deposed trustees was turned down and the whole business lapsed into a legal limbo until in

[26] Memo (confidential) on the Hooseinabad Trust Case, from G. U Yule, Officiating Chief Commissioner, to Colonel H. M. Durand, Officiating Secretary to GOI, Foreign Department, 3 September 1861, Foreign Department/A Proceedings, December 1861, nos 120-126, NAI, New Delhi The quotations in the following account are taken from the same memo.

[27] "Opinioin by the Advocate General," ibid., no 126

1868—a memorable year for administrative reorganization, which saw the visit of the sanitary commission, the direct management of octroi, and the "latrine revolution,"—it resurfaced with the official scrutiny of other religious trusts and charities that existed in the city

The question of *waqfs* in Lucknow would constitute a separate subject for scholarly research since their magnitude and influence was considerable, so suffice it to say that the British were anxious to centralize and control the managements of all the large endowments in the city The Hooseinabad Trust had already been placed in loyal hands.[28] After another magisterial inquiry in 1868 its new trustees were found wanting in managerial ability and it was recommended that the trust be put under the purview of "a very strong committee" that would oversee their activities.[29] Six other trusts, including the Shah Najaf and the Rud-oo-Musalim (Manowar ud Dowlah's charity fund) were also placed under the direction of a committee, which comprised the commissioner and deputy commissioner as controlling heads and two nominees of the trustees of each endowment The justification for this undisguised erosion of the autonomy of these sacred trusts was that "all public bequests of this nature are judicially entitled to protection" from possible misappropriation or mismanagement by the trustees themselves—which they knew to be "the case at

[28] Abbott's judgment was never publicly disowned by the British. In an interview in February 1976 one of the present trustees of the Hooseinabad Endowment Fund, who assured me of his "accurate historical knowledge" of the fund, told me how the British government "rescued" this fund from the hands of its corrupt trustees after the "Great Rebellion " So the above account explodes, at least, one cherished myth

[29] Letter, "Administration of Certain Endowed Charities in Lucknow," from Colonel Barrow, Financial Commissioner, Oudh, to Major J F. MacAndrew, Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, 11 April 1868, Foreign/General A Proceedings, September 1868, no. 33, NAI, New Delhi.

times"—and to ensure that the sums earmarked for distribution among the destitute in the city were in fact used for the purpose.[30] A "General Committee of Management for the Special Pension and Charity Fund of Lucknow" was duly constituted to manage all seven charities under the collective rubric[31] Another small social revolution was bloodlessly accomplished and the once independent religious endowments were unceremoniously tucked under the "protective" wing of the government. One more pillar of nawabi society was quietly dismantled.

The Making of a Loyal Elite

The Hooseinabad Trust had been an autonomous preserve of the Shiite elite of the capital; it soon passed under the direct control of the British, with its hereditary trustees supplanted by other stipendiaries who were more cooperative and cordial. The *waqf* deed was amended and the legitimacy of the new arrangements was never questioned. On the surface the status and influence inherent in the position of trustee or even stipendiary remained the same, to belong to that tiny coterie of pensioners was, by definition, to be part of the twenty most prominent and esteemed Shiite families in the city. Yet there was a qualitative change in their real position· their connections were to a dynasty that no longer existed, and their political efficacy became largely illusory. They had been chosen by the king to receive the stipends more as a mark of their place in the scheme of things than as a livelihood; now it was the pension that was crucial as a livelihood and as a psychological crutch since the very source of their status as the elite had

[30] Resolution no. 1485, by GOI, 5 September 1868, Foreign Department/General A Proceedings, no. 34, NAI, New Delhi The reference is obviously to the old trustees of the Hooseinabad Trust.

[31] Ibid.

vanished. Other traditional elite groups whose ties to the center of power were abruptly severed were faced with a similarly long and difficult period of adjustment. Who survived this change? Who were the new groups that appeared on the urban scene? The answers to these central questions will emerge in the course of examining the new combinations and alliances forged as a result of the formal transfer of power to the British.

Pensioners and Wasiqadars

The traditional urban elite in nawabi Lucknow was made up of the royal Shiite and Hindu commercial and scribal groups in a prosperous and populous capital [32] In Lucknow the royal group could be further differentiated into members of the royal household of the reigning nawab and the older nobility that constituted a group of permanent, hereditary, and "guaranteed" pensioners called *wasiqadars*. The latter were "guaranteed" because they were recipients of stipends, granted in perpetuity, derived from the interest on the loans given in perpetuity to the East India Company by the kings of Oudh.[33] These loans added up to some 520 lakhs of rupees (5 2 million pounds sterling). In the last decade of the Oudh dynasty this distinction between the royal family and the *wasiqadars* became particularly significant because the first group was indiscriminately expanded by the romantic predilections of Wajid Ali Shah (ruled: 1847-1856) who "fell in love" with "female palan-

[32] The dichotomy is typical for urban elites in regional capitals such as Lucknow, Murshidabad, and Mysore during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. For a general discussion of traditional and new elites see Bernard S. Cohn, "Recruitment of Elites in India Under British Rule," in *Essays in Comparative Social Stratification*, ed Leonard Plotinov and Arthur Tuden (Pittsburgh· University of Pittsburgh Press, 1970), pp 121-147.

[33] For details of these loans see *Union Political Pensions in Uttar Pradesh Being a Historical Account with a Statement of the Present Position of Each Grant* (Allahabad Superintendent of Printing and Stationery, 1960), pp 1-10.

quin bearers, courtesans, domestic servants, and women who came in and out of the palace, in short with hundreds of . . beautiful and dissolute women and soon dancers and singers became the pillars of state and favourites of the realm."[34] They enjoyed the confidence of the king and the lavish style of royal consorts. They received not only priceless gifts of jewelery and the expensive accoutrements that went with the nawabi style of life but also came to control a substantial section of the city's prime real estate and rent-free *jaghirs* (estates) in the district that qualified them to constitute an unusual female elite with separate households, retainers, and dependents in the fashion of male notables.

It was this group of influential and wealthy women who lost their guarantor in the person of the king and were most vulnerable to the stratagems employed by the British to resume their estates:

> Adverting to the permission given to dispose maafee [rent-free holdings] cases up to fifty acres by the rules laid down, I have the honour to solicit the Chief Commissioner's opinion as to the necessity of recognizing grants in perpetuity given by the ex-King—many of these grants are given to singers and dancers, musicians and boon companions, invariably in perpetuity By the first clause of the rules we are bound to respect the sunnud of the King, *but really it appears too absurd to perpetuate these grants and sufficient to recognize them for the life of the incumbent* [35]

[34] Abdul Halim Sharar, *Lucknow The Last Phase of an Oriental Culture*, trans. and ed E S. Harcourt and Fakhir Hussain (London Paul Elek, 1975), p. 63. The Shiite practice of fixed term alliances between man and wife was called *mutah* Regular marriage was *nikah* and could only be dissolved after a divorce or *talaq*. Wajid Ali Shah had hundreds of *mutahi* wives, some for only a few hours.

[35] Letter no. 479, from Commissioner and Superintendent, Lucknow Division, to Secretary of the Chief Commissioner, 9 March 1880, file no 15, BRLD, UPSA, Lucknow My emphasis

The chief commissioner heartily endorsed the commissioner's view as to the "absurdity" of such tenures but preferred to reserve the right to "resume or release life tenures" of fifty acres or more in his own office These women, it appears, were never taken seriously as an important group because they were "singers and dancers" and therefore, in most cases, from the lower stratum of society that lacked "aristocratic" birth and breeding. More than that, perhaps, was the notion prevalent in the indigenous and metropolitan societies that women were not capable of managing lands and property and should, therefore, be relieved of the unpleasant responsibility of ownership. Their right to property was probably prejudiced further by the fact that they were in purdah and their access to the outside world was through their male dependents.

The new government set about the hopeless task of converting this "curious" female elite into a loyal and conservative force that would support the very Raj that had exiled their husband. By the end of 1858 a "thorough" examination of all the *maafee* holdings was completed and a list prepared of all the estates that would be resumed or confiscated; needless to say, the majority of the victims on this list were the ex-king's wives and favorites.[36] These women who had been elevated to the social summit of the court were returned, by British action, to lives of common penury.

The *wasiqadars*, on the other hand, were an established royal elite of nearly one thousand families sharing a combined and guaranteed income of a million and a half rupees annually.[37] The transition for them was smoother because

[36] Letter, from Secretary to the Chief Commissioner to the Commissioner, Lucknow Division, 28 April 1863, file no. 41, p. 488, BRLD, UPSA, Lucknow.

[37] This was the 4 percent interest on the massive loans given in perpetuity by the nawabs of Oudh to the East India Company. See note 33

their rights were vested, by treaty, in the East India Company. The company had gradually carved a competing political and legal jurisdiction in the capital, and the *wasiqadars* came under this protective umbrella as its exclusive legal charge and were insulated from the authority of the king In fact they were notorious for "constantly arraying themselves against the King's authority under cover of that of the Resident," while the latter exploited the support and allegiance of this influential group.[38]

The grave economic dislocation experienced first with the annexation of the province in 1856 and then with the rebellion that followed affected the two groups within the royal elite rather differently. The first group, constituting the family and employees of the king, found themselves in severely straitened circumstances. The source for the direct support for some seven thousand families of judicial, military, and household servants that the king had maintained at a basic annual cost of some 87 lakhs of rupees in salaries alone dried up entirely.[39]

The king took a sizable number of the royal elite, drawn primarily from the first group, with him into exile to a suburb of Calcutta, Matiya Burj, and supported them from his monthly "pension" of a lakh of rupees His immediate entourage was made up of a thousand people, including thirty-seven wives and several scores of his favorite courtiers.[40] Abdul Halim Sharar, whose family joined the court

[38] H C Irwin, *The Garden of India; or, Chapters on Oudh History and Affairs*, 2 vols. (1880; reprint ed Lucknow Pustak Kendra, 1973), 1.102

[39] "Memorial of Sir Maharajah Maun Singh and Eleven Other Inhabitants of Oudh to Hon'ble John Strachey, Chief Commissioner of Oudh," 24 August 1868, General A Proceedings, Foreign Department, September 1868, no. 33, NAI, New Delhi

[40] Letter no. 148, from Military Secretary to the Chief Commissioner to Secretary to GOI, Foreign Department, 1 September 1859, Foreign/Political, 9 September 1859, nos. 275-277, NAI, New Delhi.

of the ex-king in 1862 and who lived there himself for ten years from 1869 to 1879, claims that Matiya Burj grew into a flourishing township, complete with fine palaces, a menagerie, bazaars, *imambaras*, and mosques, indeed, "a second Lucknow" was refabricated from bits and pieces of the old. "Even the shopkeepers and moneylenders in Matiya Burj," remarked Sharar, "were from Lucknow and there was not a single product of Lucknow which was not there in its very best form."[41] The exodus from Lucknow to Matiya Burj amounted to "more than forty thousand souls," and an ephemeral nawabi civic microcosm was spawned.[42]

Those who remained in Lucknow, particularly the *begums*, courtiers, and officials, were the supposed responsibility of the new government and the victims of a slow but steady erosion of their status and finances. For fifteen months after annexation not one family of these pensioners of the government received a single paisa. The India Office in London was puzzled and annoyed at the protracted delay that was "as conspicuous for its impolity, as for its injustice" and did much to "embitter the feelings of the upper classes" against a government "so neglectful of the welfare and respectability of those whom circumstances had placed under the immediate protection of the State."[43] Although the blanket imperial policy after the rebellion was to cultivate the conservative and monied groups as loyal allies and collaborators of the new regime, the workings of government at the local level were far more harsh with the civic elite; their loyalty was secured more from threats and withholding of pensions than from the application of the "policy of sympathy" Even after the sharp nudge from the secretary

[41] Sharar, *Lucknow*, p 75

[42] Ibid , p 74. For a fascinating description of the Lucknow court in exile see ibid., pp 65-75. The news stories from Matiya Burj reported in the *Oudh Akhbar* (Lucknow), 1860-1875, passim, also tell a vivid story.

[43] Extract from a Despatch from His Majesty's Secretary of State for India in the Political Department, no 4, 13 October 1858, file no. 41, p. 6, BRLD, UPSA, Lucknow.

of state to expedite payments to the royal pensioners the Oudh officials were determined to settle matters only after their own suspicions about individual political conduct and moral character had been allayed. Not infrequently orders and policies that filtered down from Calcutta was quietly altered to meet the exigencies of the local situation

The intrusion of the criterion of "moral character" had interesting repercussions on the wives and other female relatives of the ex-king Those "females of the family" who were "well-known" to be "unchaste," "addicted to vicious pursuits," or "notorious characters" were dropped from the original list of pensioners.[44] By 1860 the several thousands who would have in the normal course of things been entitled to a pension for being bona fide dependents of the ex-king were trimmed down to a compact nine hundred individuals whose names were listed in the district commissioner's office [45] The total sum paid to this group was sixty-seven thousand rupees per month, derived from the imperial treasury, and the average pension amounted to seventy-four rupees per month The ex-king managed to remit almost 40 percent of his pension every month "for distribution to different women" in Lucknow, this fact attracted the chief commissioner's attention, and he came to the unwarranted conclusion that the ex-king "has the means to support them all."[46] The local officials showed little sympathy and resisted helping the pauperized *begums*. Even in cases where pensions were paid, they were inadequate and certainly not calculated to maintain the pensioners in the

[44] Letter no 157, from Deputy Commissioner, Lucknow, to Commissioner and Superintendent, Lucknow Division, 18 February 1859, file no. 41, p. 2, BRLD, UPSA, Lucknow.

[45] "Lists of Pensions Granted to Members and Dependents &c of the Oudh Royal Family Since the Reoccupation of Oudh," 10 February 1860, Foreign Consultation Proceedings, Foreign Department, nos 59-62, NAI, New Delhi

[46] Letter no. 125, from Secretary to the Chief Commissioner to Secretary to Governor General in the Foreign Department, 14 March 1859, file no. 41, BRLD, UPSA, Lucknow.

style that had distinguished them as an elite group Rather, the British saw the ex-king's dependents as a parasitic group "to whom a small subsistence allowance may justly be conceded "[47] With neither their former political power nor the means to live in nawabi fashion this group clung desperately to their old self-perceptions, courtly manners, and nostalgic memories of the nawabi to sustain themselves psychologically through the humiliation of their changed position.

The *wasiqadars*, on the other hand, emerged comparatively unscathed from the political chaos since it was their guarantor, the East India Company, that had managed to oust its competitor for civic patronage and win for itself a complete monopoly. This is not to say that the "guaranteed pensioners" escaped a scrutiny of their political conduct or that the British ignored the opportunity to reduce the liability from an honest debt *Wasiqadars* were probably quite genuinely more loyal to the British cause since their livelihood depended on the interest paid on the loans to the company, yet there were more than a score of cases where *wasiqas* were cancelled because the recipients failed to report back to the city within Outram's ten-day ultimatum to the residents of Lucknow.[48] Rafeek ud Dowlah, the old trustee of the Hooseinabad Trust, whose conduct was found (erroneously) to be "anything but loyal," lost not only his position as trustee but his *wasiqa* as well and had to pay a four thousand-rupee fine before he could draw on the interest on his government promissory notes.[49]

[47] Letter no 157, from Deputy Commissioner, Lucknow, to Commissioner and Superintendent, Lucknow Division, 18 February 1859, file no 41, p 2, BRLD, UPSA, Lucknow.

[48] See "Pensions of certain Wuseekaedars," 22 October 1858, Foreign/Political, nos. 205-206, NAI, New Delhi, for a list of twenty persons who lost their rights to their *wasiqas*.

[49] Letter no 351, from Secretary to the Chief Commissioner to Judicial Commissioner, 22 July 1858, file no 2732 (Wuseekadars) BRLD, UPSA, Lucknow.

Yet, there were the majority who retained their *wasiqas* and therefore their feudal style of living. An average day in the life of the young *wasiqadar*, Mehdi Ali Khan (d 1890), author and poet, who enjoyed a guaranteed pension of 1,800 rupees per month and an additional 3,000 rupees in rents from a *jagir* in Lucknow district and property in the city, typifies the ideal, if not the real, way in which the nawabi elite spent their time and money in Lucknow after 1856. His biographer and librarian, Mir Ali Husain, records that Mehdi Ali usually began his day at 4 A.M.[50] After ablutions Mehdi Ali said his morning *namaz*, one of the five daily prayers required by Islam, and followed this by a western-style breakfast of cereal, milk, and fresh fruit At seven-thirty he went horseback riding with two servants in attendance, also mounted He would either ride to his country estate or call on government officials to pay his respects. At nine he returned home and attended to his domestic affairs.

At ten he ate the first big meal of the day. The table was always laden with delicacies, although Mehdi Ali ate little; he was renowned as a gourmet, and a large number of skilled personnel, including cooks, pantrymen, and assistant specialists of various talents manned the kitchen. At eleven he held a *darbar* attended by the chief literary men in town. The gathering was, according to Mir Ali Husain, a very distinguished one, the latest poetic compositions would be read and critically appraised, and discussions on Persian and Urdu literature would ensue over refreshments and the hookah. The *darbar* adjourned at 12·30 P.M., and Mehdi Ali spent the next few hours in prayer At four in the afternoon he rested for half an hour before he washed and changed and had a small snack of dried fruits and nuts—choice imports from Kabul, Isfahan, and Kashmir—and readied himself for the later hours

[50] Mir Ali Husain, *Ravayat-i-Burgania* (Lucknow. Tahir Press, 1934). The account that follows is drawn from this work, pp. 1-30. I have translated it in the flowery style of the original Urdu

The evening brought the same assortment of pleasures First a leisurely ride in a horse-drawn carriage on the new broad streets, the esplanade around the ruins of Machhi Bhawan and down the Strand, a new road that ran along the river connecting the old city with the new Then at 6 P.M he arrived at home and prayed (The biographer makes a great point of how this one day was divided strictly by the hours of the clock.) After this there was another assembly of friends and *mohalla-walas* (neighbors), where literary, social, and religious matters were discussed. At eight o'clock dinner was served, and many of his companions stayed on for the meal The repast itself was another round of Lucknow's famous *haute cuisine* approved by the fastidious nawabi palates that partook of it. Then followed a post-prandial entertainment, often musical in nature, less high-brow, with the conversation enlivened by wit and banter among his select group of friends The day ended with the final prayers and rest until the next day dawned This schedule, the biographer insists, was strictly observed during most of Mehdi Ali's life, even though it does not account for the time he must have taken to write or be with his family

The lives the *wasiqadars* and other royal notables lived in their less splendid palaces must have once been microcosmic replicas of the Oudh court itself. These guaranteed incomes relieved the recipients, at least in the first two or even three generations, from the onus of seeking a livelihood and paying for goods and services required for a nawabi-style existence of which Mehdi Ali's household was an austere version The evidence from Sharshar's four-volume classic novel *Fasane Azad* suggests that there might have been less piety and more gambling, pigeon-fancying, opium and narcotic eating, and lively entertainments by professional courtesans and their troupes in other households of comparable incomes. Fidelity to the new regime "guaranteed" this life, and it surely must have been a small price to pay in a city that had been so suddenly impoverished.

What eventually eroded this comfortable world of the *wasiqadars* was time itself Expensive litigation among the heirs of *wasiqadars* was the single biggest cause of the ruin of most families within a few generations. "It is a matter of great regret," the judicial commissioner reported, "that family dissensions and disunion is found to prevail to a very great extent among the chief families of the Lucknow nobility "[51] Of the nearly four thousand civil suits in the province filed over the year, half of the suits and 98 percent of the value of the property in litigation occurred in Lucknow [52] The *wasiqas* were diminished not only by their division among a large number of heirs but were frequently tied up in disputes that forced families into debt and the permanent clutches of the moneylenders. Inflation compounded their financial problems even further

In summing up the postrebellion fate of these two royal elite groups it is possible to suggest that the Muslim upper class, far more negatively affected than the Hindus by the departure of the Oudh court, began to perceive themselves first as a community and second, and more dangerously, as a threatened and vulnerable minority. When pensioners or their designated representatives and *wasiqadars* waited in line outside the treasury office to collect their monthly dues they must have sensed how their political power had been circumscribed; the more progressive and productive elements of the society even joked about their special relationship with the British as that of "kept" women [53] Per-

[51] *Report on the Administration of Oudh, 1859-60* (Lucknow: Government Printing Press, 1860), p 6

[52] Ibid.

[53] I gathered this impression from my frequent, informal visits to the homes of present-day *wasiqadars* and pensioners and to the Hooseinabad Trust where these monies are still distributed On the day of the payment the *wasiqadars* lined up in front of the office in the Hooseinabd Trust building. It was an important social event for this dispirited company even in 1976 The aged man in a crumpled *achkan* and tarnished silver shoes whom I accom-

haps these monthly reminders of the straits to which the nawabi scions had been reduced engendered a negative communal identity that fed the later sentiments of separatism among the Muslims It is likely that the Muslims of Oudh began to organize and agitate for separate political rights because of the "threat of becoming backward" in comparison to the Hindus "rather than backwardness itself."[54] In the score or so of years after the extinction of the Oudh dynasty political ambition among Muslims remained latent, they still hoped for redress through petitions and loyalty.

Yet circumstances involved the Muslims as a community in many lingering causes that reinforced the religious and communal nature of their problems under the British The conversion of the Friday mosque and the main *imambaras* of the city into barracks was one such "cause"; they petitioned for the restoration of the holy place in vain for twenty years. Similarly, the closure of the private burial grounds by Dr. Bonavia's edicts affected only the Muslims as a community. Their inability to release the fifty-two *mohalla* mosques from the various profane uses to which they had been put after the rebellion rankled rich and poor Muslims for two decades.[55] Moulvi Muzhur Ali's petition to the government reflects the cumulative rage and frustration of the Muslims. He alluded to Queen Victoria's Proclamation of 1858 that had guaranteed freedom to all creeds but pointed out that in Lucknow "some mosques are held by Hindoos and converted into tenements," some used as hospitals and others "converted into Havalats [prisons] for felons," and still others served as "stables or cattle

panied receives a wasiqa of three rupees; it cost him more to hire a rickshaw to come to Hooseinabad and return to his home three miles away He was proud of being a *wasiqadar* and was well-known in his neighborhood for this distinction

[54] Francis Robinson, *Separatism Among Indian Muslims* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973), p. 346.

[55] Foreign/General B Proceedings, April 1869, nos. 98-101, NAI, New Delhi.

pounds." In the immediate vicinity of another mosque "a slaughter house for pigs and for selling pork has been opened," the ultimate indignity to a Muslim house of prayer [56] A government inquiry was ordered and it predictably resulted in a list of the fifty-two mosques and the unorthodox uses to which they had been put. Action, as usual, was tardy, and another decade was to slip by before these grievances were taken seriously. All these events foretold the communal slant that the politics of the future would acquire.

The Commercial Elite

The commercial elite was composed of a mixture of Jain bankers and jewelers, Hindu *bania* groups such as *rastogis* and *mahajans* who were also engaged in moneylending and jewelry retailing, and Muslim Sunni and Hindu *khatri* businessmen who owned the manufacturing and retail establishments of the luxury industry in the capital. They were the productive sector of the city elite who catered to the needs of the royal consumers, the nawabi elite. Their own pattern of consumption was comparatively austere, and this visible lack of panache and generosity apparently put them in a class not quite at par with the nobility of the city. During the Asharfabad Affair, the press had published several unflattering accounts of the *bania* community, and the popular image of the banker and moneylender was one of a rapacious and miserly man who ruined rich and poor alike by charging exorbitant interest rates and demanding auctions of property for debts undischarged by the deadline. In Lucknow, at any rate, a prodigal nawab was loved and esteemed and the moneylender feared and disliked.

This bias, it appears, became stronger after the annexation since the nawabi elite were even more dependent on the local moneylenders because the king's largesse was no

[56] Official translation of the "petition of the Moulvi Muzhur Ali and others, both rich and poor Mussalmans of Lucknow" to the Governor General B, 1 April 1869, Foreign/General Proceedings, April 1869, nos 98-101, NAI, New Delhi.

longer available. The bankers too found that their profits from banking and exchanging money dwindled progressively after the introduction of British banks and the abolition of the Oudh mint, and they came to depend almost exclusively on the profits from moneylending and pawnbroking. Suroor, the once prosperous literateur attached to the Oudh court and now a pensioner on fifty rupees a month, wrote to his friend Syed Ali Hussain at the court of Alwar:

> My heart is weary of Lucknow; there is nothing new here now. I owe five hundred rupees to a Rastogi and everyday this burden increases. Please try and get me a position in the court of Maharajah Sheodin Singh so that I can save my honor [*izzat*]. . . Grain is very dear here . . the Maharajah of Patiala came to attend the funeral of Mirza Husain Beg [Suroor's patron and friend]—what a tragedy his death is to me—and gave me a pair of bracelets that I had to sell to discharge my debt. Now, once again, I am in debt [57]

There is a convincing amount of evidence to show that many of the notables of Lucknow liquidated their assets to maintain, as long as possible, their traditional style of living and that many of the ex-king's wives muddled through life pawning pieces of jewelry and selling their silver and even the furnishings of their once splendid homes, while the *mahajans* turned this disaster into an opportunity for obtaining vast hoards of wealth.[58] Since the coming of the

[57] Mir Ahmad Ali, ed., *Insha-yi Suroor*, 3d ed. (Lucknow: Newal Kishore Press, 1887), p. 17. This is a collection of Suroor's letters in Urdu, edited by his son. The translation is mine.

[58] Ibid., pp 30-34. Also see what remains of the intercepted correspondence between the ex-king and members of his family left in Lucknow, Foreign/Secret, 27 August 1858, no 230, NAI, New Delhi, and *Karnamah* (Lucknow), 13 October 1873 and 2 February 1874 In interviews in 1976 Karbalai Nawab of Chowk and his several male relatives blamed the *banias* more than the departure of the Oudh court for the ruin of the noble families

railway did not herald a trade boom for Lucknow as it did for Kanpur or Delhi, the trading community was further encouraged to prey on the languishing nobility by charging notoriously high rates of interest Although little fresh wealth was generated in the city, the old gradually changed hands, Shiite nobles found themselves permanently indebted to the usurers of the old city. Some Jain banking firms diversified into retailing the unredeemed jewels of the *begums*, and lesser pawnbrokers set themselves up as jewelers.[59] They now had recourse to British legal machinery that ensured the recovery of their loans or forced auctions of the debtors' assets The more prominent bankers in the city, like Benarsi Das, Makhan Lall, and Girdhari Lall, by dubious acts of "loyalty" (such as testifying against the old trustees in the Hooseinabad Trust Case) found themselves in chairs in the municipal committee and elsewhere serving as the Hindu "representatives" of the people of Lucknow.

Sunni Muslims were more numerous than the Shia in Lucknow, but the discrimination against them at the court had kept them out of politics and involved with commerce. The majority of the skilled craftsmen and artisans, in whose hands rested Lucknow's reputation as the most fabulous court city of the subcontinent, were Sunni Muslims There were several Sunni entrepreneurial families who owned the *karkhanas* or workshops where all necessities and luxuries of the great range of life-styles were produced. The most

[59] Even to this day it is possible to visit "antique shops" or jewelers' establishments in the Chowk bazaar and acquire genuine nawabi artifacts a silver hookah from Asaf-ud-Dowlah's household, monogrammed drinking cups, illuminated pages of the Quran, or even old finely embroiderd clothing can surface in these shops filled with dusty, often incomplete chandeliers, *khasdans* (betel leaf boxes), spittoons, and other relics of opulence This information is taken from several interviews with several members of a prominent Jain Oswal family of jewelers, bankers, and brokers settled in Churiwali Gali, Lucknow, for several generations Pratap Singh Nahar was my chief informant

notable among the Sunni entrepreneurs was the famous perfumerer and tobacconist Asghar Ali of Kanauj,[60] who was invited to the court by the king of Oudh to present a selection of fragrances created in his own laboratory in 1830 and was an instant success He immediately set up a small shop at Akbari gate and, encouraged by the sales, he later established a *karkhana* and built himself a splendid *haveli* in the heart of Lucknow's Chowk in 1839. This grew in time to be the most renowned perfumery in the subcontinent, with a repertoire of exquisite products It also cured and scented the finest quality chewing and *hukka* (pipe) tobacco, *qivan*, or tobacco pills covered with silver leaf, oils, floral essences for flavoring foods, *missi*, or tooth powder, and *surma*, a cosmetic preparation used by both sexes to highlight the eyes. The *'itr*, or highly concentrated oil-based perfume, with scores of different fragrances, retailed in tiny *kuppis* or leather containers with inscribed labels, found their way to every princely court in India and beyond.

When British goods outsold a variety of indigenous manufactures, Asghar Ali was not affected but found his business thriving because his clientele was chiefly Muslim and the proscribed alcohol-based perfumes of Europe or their milder tobaccos did not appeal to established tastes The departure of the Oudh court was a serious setback for the firm for a while, but losses were made up in the sales to *taluqdars*, the country gentry, and in increased exports. In 1885 his nephew joined the business and his name was added to the name of the firm to make it what it is called

[60] Most of the following account is based on an interview with Nazar Qasim Khan, an important scion of the illustrious family and a partner in the flourishing firm of Asghar Ali Mohammad Ali with its headquarters in Lucknow. The interview occurred over three days, November 2-4, 1976 I also examined various testimonials, export order documents, and accounts that fully supported his narrative.

to this day. Asghar Ali Mohammad Ali Asghar Ali was also a pious and charitable man and the Furkania *madrasa,* the traditional Muslim school he endowed and built opposite his home, still provides free instruction to several hundred Muslim boys in the city every year.

The well-known, internationally uniform dogmatic schism between Shia and Sunni Muslims had always found the political atmosphere conducive enough in Lucknow for periodic outburts The traditional antagonism was also exacerbated, perhaps, by the social and economic rivalries implicit in the ruler-ruled relationship of the two sects under the nawabs of Oudh. After the Shia court was exiled, Sunni Muslims sought employment under the new British rulers, bought property, and no longer feared discrimination This intensified their rivalry, and the colonial period saw some ugly and violent clashes between the two sects.[61]

The Taluqdars

Although the royal elite did not vanish with dramatic suddenness, they found themselves generally reduced in substance, status, and style; only the materially fittest survived as an "elite" at all Among the economic survivors were those who acknowledged the new political reality and sought to be reckoned among the local allies of the British. Their supremacy as an "aristocratic" group, moreover, was challenged by a new group that made its appearance on the urban scene only after 1858 and thereafter steadily took over as *the* stalwart *urban* elite group in British Lucknow. these were the *taluqdars* of Oudh. These rural rajas made

[61] I have not attempted a detailed analysis of the Shia-Sunni communal problem in Lucknow because the subject has received adequate scholarly attention. A fine discussion of it is to be found in Sandria B. Freitag, "Religious Rites and Riots. From Community Identity to Communalism in North India, 1870-1940" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1980), pp 226-253.

their peace with the British and over the next four decades established themselves as aggressively in the city as they had once done in the countryside Structural and functional changes within this group, as well as the changed attitude of the government of Lucknow, made this transformation possible. The *taluqdars* of Oudh have been written about at length as a rural elite and I will not dwell on the agrarian relations in Oudh.[62] I hope to reconstruct their impact on the city itself.

A reorganization of landholdings in Oudh was undertaken in 1858 to rectify the error made immediately after annexation when land and revenue was settled with the *ryots* (peasants) This reorganization reinstated the old rajas as landlords The result was the "taluqdari system,"[63] which was not unlike the Permanent Settlement in Bengal in 1793

[62] For a detailed discussion of the *taluqdars* of Oudh, see the following works. T. R. Metcalf, *The Aftermath of Revolt India 1857-1870* (Princeton, N.J.. Princeton University Press, 1964); Metcalf's two chapters, "From Raja to Landlord" and "Social Effects of British Land Policy in Oudh," in *Land Control and Social Structure in Indian History*, ed R E Frykenberg (Madison. University of Wisconsin Press, 1969), pp 123-141 and 142-161, Peter Musgrave, "Landlords and Lords of the Land Estate Management and Social Control in Uttar Pradesh 1860-1920," *Modern Asian Studies* 6, no. 3 (1972) 257-275, E. I Brodkin, "The Struggle for Succession. Rebels and Loyalists in the Indian Mutiny of 1857," *Modern Asian Studies* 6, no 3 (1972), 277-290, Eric Stokes, *The Peasant and the Raj Studies in Agrarian Society and Peasant Rebellion in Colonial India* (Cambridge· Cambridge University Press, 1978), Elizabeth Whitcombe, *Agrarian Conditions in Northern India*, vol 1, *The United Provinces Under British Rule 1860-1900* (Berkeley and Los Angeles. University of California Press, 1972); Michael H Fisher, "The Imperial Court and the Province A Social and Administrative History of Pre-British Awadh (1775-1856)" (Ph D diss., The University of Chicago, 1978)

[63] The explanation of this system is summarized from the works cited in the previous footnote, chiefly Metcalf's *Aftermath of Revolt*, pp 134-173.

After annexing the province in 1856, the immediate reaction of the British had been to punish the obstreperous *taluqdars* and to settle revenue payments directly with the *ryots*

The British were thus surprised in 1857 when the *ryots* inexplicably rallied against British forces under the banners of the *taluqdars*. The folly of pursuing a vengeful policy that would alienate these powerful rajas further and preserve them as enemies of the state was quickly sensed by General Outram (who had succeeded Montgomery as chief commissioner of Oudh), and he managed not only to mitigate the harsh confiscatory clauses of Canning's proclamation but to convert them in practice into a veritable Magna Carta that enshrined the rights of this class of landholders. He assured the *taluqdars* that the reward for submission and future loyalty would be very generous. far from confiscating their property, the British government would recognize them as proprietors of their estates, consider claims that they had brushed aside in 1856, give them legal and military protection against neighbors, and bestow upon the best among them the authority to act as deputy magistrates. They would then be able to adjudicate civil and criminal disputes among the populace on their own estates Although these concessions were criticized by contemporaries as conceding to these rajas the status of belligerents rather than rebels, they constituted a political masterstroke that ensured the loyalty of the *taluqdars* and gave them real cause to believe that their own rights and privileges were inseparable from the stability of the Raj. In time they were extended additional legal protection by the passing of the Oudh Estates Act of 1869, which made the law of primogeniture applicable to succession on *taluqdari* estates. This was intended to keep these estates from becoming fragmented over the years in much the same way as estates were preserved intact over generations in Britain.

The other danger to a *taluqdar*'s estate was his own profligacy and indebtedness, which often resulted in the sale

of the *taluqa* to pay off creditors The remedy was seen in the Encumbered Estates Act of 1870 by which any *taluqdar* could request government management of his debt-encumbered estate for up to twenty years The *taluqdar* would receive a fixed maintenance allowance, and the surplus over the government revenue demand would be used to service the debt Thus a landed, hereditary aristocracy was created "as a purely political measure" and subsequent legislation was designed to save from destruction "the great experiment being tried in Oudh, on which so much had been staked since the Mutiny "[64] The experiment had conspicuous success in Oudh, this unconditional warranty of the *taluqdars'* rights and powers by the British won for them an almost sycophantic loyalty and groveling affection from the *taluqdars* of Oudh Such was the formal quid pro quo.

The *taluqdari* system, although ostensibly a restoration of the aristocracy, amounted in substance to a revolution in the role and definition of a *taluqdar* as they had been understood in nawabi Oudh. The *taluqdar's* pre-annexation role, that of a "locality leader or petty raja, found its last effective expression in the joint enterprise of 1857,"[65] when he still had some semblance of *political* power. The rebellion transformed Oudh into a conquered territory, the *taluqdari* forts were systematically demolished, and the armed retainers attached to each raja were disbanded The British army, police, and law courts penetrated every district in the province, and the *taluqdars* found themselves abruptly relieved of their former quasi-political functions. They were now "landlords," and they devoted themselves to exploiting their underproprietors, forgoing the traditional "deference" of people on their estates for increased rentals [66] They bartered away their political rights for secure and enhanced incomes and made possible the century-long *Pax Britannica* in Oudh.

[64] Ibid , p 160.
[65] Metcalf, "From Raja to Landlord," p 138
[66] Ibid., p 127.

A similarly profound change informed the relationship of the *taluqdars* to the rulers in the capital city. Although the former may have occasionally approached the king for protection against his provincial administrators or for the reaffirmation of their rights and status, pre-annexation *taluqdars* were often antagonistic to the government.[67] Those who had recurring problems with the court because of revenue payments retained a *vakil* or agent to sort them out and to obviate both the inconvenient trips to the capital and acrimonious confrontations with the king's henchmen "Not a member of the landed aristocracy ventures into the capital of Lucknow, or could I believe be induced to venture into it without the pledges of some powerful member of his order for his personal security and safe conduct back to his estate."[68]

Taluqdars and *zamindars* were often prevented by threats and even physical molestation from obtaining an audience with the king, and the guards stationed around the city and the palace gates were instructed to obstruct "complainants from the country" from gaining entrance into the court.[69] Instead of being treated as the rural elite they were perceived as a villainous lot to be kept at bay There was, in fact, an

> entire absence of all sympathy, and . . . communication between the court and aristocracy of the capital, and the landed aristocracy of the provinces, or districts. . They [the aristocracy of the capital] would none of them be safe a single night beyond the capital or cantonments.

[67] Fisher, "The Imperial Court and the Province," p 204

[68] Resident to Secretary to GOI with the Governor General, 23 February 1849, Foreign/Political Consultations, 21 April 1849, no. 108. Cited in Fisher, "The Imperial Court and the Province," p 205

[69] Resident to Secretary to GOI in the Secret Department, 1 May 1833, Foreign/Secret Proceedings, 16 May 1833, no. 2 Cited in Fisher, "The Imperial Court and the Province," p 205

> They would be plundered and destroyed by the landholders[70]

In British Oudh, with the *taluqdari* system in effect, the *taluqdars* not only dared to venture to the capital with increasing frequency but were often invited as special guests of the new regime They became a familiar presence in the urban arena, and as the decades passed they were more and more an absentee landlord group, some of them returning to their estate only at harvest time to collect rents

> Socially they have been treated as honoured favourites of the Government, instead of its natural and, at best, its tolerated enemies. They enjoy a degree of personal liberty and consideration to which they were formally strangers. They can come and go whither they will, they may array themselves in silk, and drive their carriages in the streets of Lucknow, privileges which were never conceded to them by the Nawabs or the Kings of Oudh[71]

The creation of a British Indian Association in Lucknow in 1861, modeled on the Calcutta institution of the same name, gave this assortment of *rajput* and Muslim *taluqdars* and loyal parvenus an institutional base. Metcalf concludes that although this association had periods of great activity chiefly related to warding off threats to the rights of the *taluqdars* it was dependent on the initiative of its Bengali "babu" founder and secretary Dakhinaranjan Mukherjee and its vice-president Raja Man Singh of Ayodhya In addition, the association failed as an institutional expression of the shared ties and values of a genuine aristocracy[72]

[70] Resident to Secretary to GOI with the Governor General, 23 February 1849, Foreign/Political Consultations, 21 April 1849, no. 100. Cited in Fisher, "The Imperial Court and the Province," p. 207

[71] Irwin, *Garden of India*, 2:263.

[72] Metcalf, "Social Effects of British Land Policy in Oudh," pp. 143-160, passim.

Metcalf's conclusion is sound, but it underestimates the practical and ceremonial role of the British Indian Association, which brought together a hitherto recalcitrant group and reinforced the loyalty that bound them to the British Raj. The association had insinuated them into Lucknow society as an elite, with far easier access to the British than their nawabi counterparts. It was also a modern organization in which the members could let the impersonal voice of the institution express their grievances. It gave the British the reciprocal advantage of keeping track of the *taluqdars'* collective opinion, which was channeled through this urban organization and expressed in or translated into English With the *taluqdars* on their side it is possible to understand the less generous treatment the British meted out to the nawabi elite. The political equation had been reversed instead of depending, as the king had done, on the civic gentry for loyal allegiance, the British depended more heavily on the rural gentry for support, converting them into urbanites in the process.

The evidence of their enlarged responsibilities in the city and their urban presence has not been rigorously examined or interpreted. The *taluqdars* were ensconced in one of the more splendid palace complexes in Lucknow, the Kaiserbagh, in November 1861 shortly after the association was formed. One of the royal suites served as the association office, and the remainder of the sprawling buildings were carved into several apartments where the *taluqdars* could reside on their expected trips into the city.[73] These apartments soon became the town houses of the country "gentlemen." The Kaiserbagh had been built by the last King of Oudh, Wajid Ali Shah, to house his ever-growing harem, and it is ironic that the British, who set about so conscientiously to "woo" the *taluqdars*, should offer them these *zanana* suites as their first physical urban base.

[73] File no. 1, p. 2, British Indian Association (BIA) Jawaharlal Nehru Museum and Library (JNML), New Delhi.

The *taluqdars* lost no time in making judicious purchases of real estate, particularly of the large *nuzul* palaces that the government could spare, to substantiate their image as "aristocrats." The palace complex of Padshah Bagh was bought by the Maharaja of Kapurthala and that of the Moti Mahal by the Maharaja of Balrampore.[74] The *taluqdars* also collectively petitioned and procured thirty acres of land just east of Hazratgunj to construct "a large, handsome building" to be called "Wingfield Manzil." This was the symbol of their gratitude to Charles Wingfield, the chief commissioner of Oudh (1859-1866), who had warmly aided them in the early phase of their transition from being an ill-respected and unwelcome group to a palace-dwelling elite in the city.[75] This building was endowed as a *dharmshala*, a combination rest house for travelers and home for the needy The plans included the building of a large *gunj* along the Ghaziuddin Hyder Canal, near the *manzil*, for "public benefit." This was achieved by the eviction of the cultivators on this land by the municipal committee with a promise of compensation that the *taluqdars* failed to keep.[76] When the Maharaja of Balrampore also applied for a licence to build a *gunj* along the main road leading from the Machhi Bhawan fort to the railway station, the deputy commissioner demurred in sanctioning a project that would require the uprooting "of upwards of a hundred proprietors."[77] Acting in what appears to be direct opposition to the deputy commissioner's wishes, the Maharaja arrived at a private settlement with the men whom his project displaced The next we hear from the deputy commissioner

[74] *Karnamah*, 26 May 1873, VNR.

[75] Memo no. 491 of 13 April 1864, basta no 69, "Municipal," MCRR, Lucknow

[76] Ibid

[77] Letter from Deputy Commissioner to Commissioner, Lucknow Division, 30 March 1861, file no. 446, BRLD, UPSA, Lucknow

is a brief acknowledgment simply that. "the gunje is being proceeded with."[78] The *taluqdars*, particularly the principal ones, were not averse to overriding the orders of the lesser bureaucrats since the most senior provincial official, the chief commissioner, was their patron and protector

The *taluqdars'* appetite for property in the capital increased with the passing decades. Not only was city real estate a good investment but the attractions of city life and its superior cultural, medical, and educational facilities made these acquisitions as necessary as they were wise By the 1920s a large area in the civil lines along straight broad roads had developed into a new complex with scores of palaces and gardens built by the *taluqdars*.[79] The Raja of Jehangirabad extended the two ends of Hazratgunj market by adding two imposing double-storied, arcaded blocks of shops and flats and let them out to European merchants for high rents Jehangirabad became the single largest private owner of civic property in the civil lines, and these investments made him a far more prestigious *taluqdar* than the size of his estate would have warranted [80]

The *taluqdars* frequently gathered and milled in Lucknow for extended periods of time They began simultaneously to acquire a taste for the luxury goods of local manufacture used by the nawabi elite, such as fine embroidered clothing, shoes, caps, and perfume, as well as for the artifacts and household furnishings of the ruling elite, such as clocks, teacups, and grand pianos imported from Europe.

[78] Letter from Deputy Commissioner to Commissioner, Lucknow Division, 26 June 1861, file no 446, BRLD, UPSA, Lucknow.

[79] After a survey of this area in 1976 I discovered that the *taluqdars* of Balrampore, Bhinga, Biswa, Jehangirabad, Katesar, Kasmanda, Nanpara, Tikari, Tiloi, and Tirwa, to name only the prominent ones, maintain, to this day, these immense, turn-of-the-century architecturally curious "palaces."

[80] This information is based on an interview with a senior clerk of the Board of Revenue (who wished to remain anonymous) on 28 January 1976.

Another civic institution they patronized was the courtesan In an interview in September 1976, Gulbadan, a retired courtesan in her middle seventies, discussed the impact of the rural gentry on her profession In the perception of the average courtesan, who had enjoyed the patronage of the nawabi elite, however, the *taluqdars* and *zamindars* were only "second best." "The problem was not money, for the *taluqdars* had plenty of that," she explained,

> it was that they were *dehati* [villagers] who lacked refinement in speech and manners. We [the courtesans] had been used to men with delicacy and good taste. These "rustics" could not appreciate an evening of music or dance as the town notables could. But they were the men with money, so even we were forced to make compromises. . Our houses would have become deserted ruins if it wasn't for the *jagirdars* and *taluqdars* ... We were invited to perform at the Baradari by the managers of the Anjuman [British Indian Association] to entertain the British officers who were their guests at several *davaten* [feasts] and *jalsae* [functions], but we were not appreciated .. We did our best, but there was nothing to compare with a small private audience of cultured and appreciative people from nawabi *khandan* [family, lineage].[81]

The courtesans were frequently invited out to the country estates as well, where they received extravagant gifts, but their hearts were in the musical soirees in the Chowk of the old city Along with poets, musicians, and men of

[81] Interview with Gulbadan, September 1976, Lucknow. She was one of Lucknow's leading courtesans from 1915. Her knowledge of the 1870s in Lucknow was garnered from her grandmother and several aunts who all belonged to a reputable line of courtesans. It is still true that many *taluqdars* are more comfortable in the Oudhi dialect than in chaste Urdu, so her secondhand account of the first generation of *taluqdars* to live in Lucknow is very plausible.

letters, these women were the socially accepted guardians of nawabi cultural and aesthetic standards, they were therefore reliable judges of the prestige and the degree of acceptance accorded to the rural elite by the natives of the capital. Gulbadan's analysis is a very sophisticated one, according with Sjoberg's claim that the urban character of the elite goes unrecognized by most social scientists:

> They impute to the peasantry in traditional China, India, and other societies a way of life that is realized fully only among the upper class, city dwellers par excellence. . . We reiterate that throughout the preindustrialized civilized world the upper class, and above all the society's ruling stratum, is urban in nature.[82]

Sjoberg goes on to say that strong emphasis is given to manners, dress, and speech, which indicated status in the feudal order.[83] This is particularly true of Lucknow, where the elite spoke a Persianized Urdu and the people in the *dehat* (countryside) spoke a dialect of Hindi called Oudhi.

The *taluqdars* and their British Indian Association sponsored other noteworthy institutions in the city such as the Canning College (which later became the University of Lucknow), Colvin Taluqdars' College, and several charitable hospitals and trusts. With the passion of the newly converted for status and its symbols they plunged into many civic-minded acts, which not only pleased the British since they signified loyalty (and hospitals made the city healthier) but were reported in the local newspapers and created a favorable, or at least less negative, image of them in the minds of the populace.

The Maharaja of Balrampore, for instance, went to Calcutta and, observing the zeal with which the *zamindars* of Bengal acquitted themselves in public service, declared upon

[82] Gideon Sjoberg, *The Preindustrial City, Past and Present* (New York: The Free Press, 1965), pp 110-113.

[83] Ibid , p. 128.

his return to Lucknow that he had finally "emerged from dark despotism "[84] Infected with the Calcutta spirit he consulted with the commander-in-chief of the Indian Army and reached the conclusion that Lucknow's most pressing need was a hospital built on a European model The raja was pleased to finance it. He gave two lakhs of rupees, one for the building and equipment and the other to be used as the endowment for operating expenses It was to be a most modern and efficient hospital of sixty-two beds for both European and Indian patients. In May 1869 Chief Commissioner Davies laid the foundation stone of the Balrampore Hospital, which would be a proud "ornament of the city "[85] This was the climax of a decade of enthusiastic involvement by the *taluqdars* in bringing the European medical revolution to the city, to other provincial towns, and to their estates Donations for dispensaries and for the salaries of civil surgeons were generous enough to save the government its own rather modest contribution of five hundred rupees for provincial medical facilities.[86]

The invisible but firm hand of the government directed the *taluqdars* into spending money on public services. At the same time it chastized them for their "ruinous prodigality" in celebrating marriages and giving dowries because of its fear that this "would plunge every great family in Oudh into pecuniary embarrassment, and a needy landed aristocracy cannot discharge the duties of the position Government expected its members to occupy when it conferred on them their estates in perpetuity "[87]

[84] *Pioneer* (Allahabad), 31 May 1869.

[85] Ibid

[86] *Report on the Administration of Oudh, 1859-60*, p 45

[87] Letter no 638 of 1863, from Secretary to the Chief Commissioner to the Honorary Secretary, 25 March 1863, BIA (Oudh), Lucknow Cited in the *Report on the Administration of Oudh, 1862-63*, p. 37 The reference was to the wedding of Raja Rustumshah of Dera's niece where thirty-five thousand people were royally feasted for six days. The chief commissioner in a letter to all

The *taluqdars* responded generously to all government directives to give aid to ameliorate distress in the city or even abroad. During the American Civil War, for example, the mills in Lancashire lay idle and fourteen thousand workers became unemployed. The *taluqdars* promptly acted on an official signal and set up a Colonel Abbott's Fund (Abbott being the commissioner) to which they gave five thousand rupees each, a sum equal to the annual revenue payments of the smallest *taluqdars*. They also persuaded the nawabi gentry to contribute liberally. Several lakhs of rupees were dispatched for the relief of the cotton mill workers in Lancashire, even though many in Lucknow could have used this aid far more urgently.[88] This philanthropy, it appears, was seen both as an opportunity to reaffirm the rapprochement between the British and the men of rank and influence of Oudh and an impressive display of the loyalty the *taluqdars* ungrudgingly gave to the British until the Raj collapsed in 1947. This loyalty was even further demonstrated when the Prince of Wales became ill in 1871 and the "people of India were exhorted to bestow propitiary offerings for his recovery", the notables of Lucknow and the "chiefs and princes, with one mind, engaged themselves in prayer and devotion . . . [which behavior] is a convincing proof of their loyalty and devotion to the Sovereign."[89]

With such a complete command over the men of wealth in the society, the colonial government never encouraged or even hinted at the possibility of diverting the energies and capital of these men into productive investments in the city. The arrival of the full colonial establishment had se-

taluqdars strongly urged that the BIA should seriously consider measures that would limit wedding expenses that left the *taluqdari* estates crippled with debt

[88] *Oudh Akhbar* (Lucknow), issues of 24 September and 10 and 17 October 1862

[89] Ibid., 19 January 1872, VNR

verely damaged the business of native luxury industry; yet there was ample labor, capital, and raw materials that could have been channeled into goods-producing ventures to generate employment and reupholster the sagging economy The British did not hesitate, however, to dictate the expansion of poppy cultivation on the *taluqdari* and *zamindari* estates to increase the production of opium for their China market.[90] The production of opium grew eight-fold by 1903.[91]

The charities that existed in the city (see Table 9) were capable of providing temporary relief to some of the impoverished sections of the population but did not provide any long-term solutions for people who had lost their jobs. The Urdu paper of the BIA was aware of widespread indigence in Lucknow and expressed the opinion that income from endowments, including the large religious endowments, "instead of being spent in the distribution of alms, might with advantage be laid out in establishing workhouses and industrial arts schools, which will confer a permanent and lasting good upon the poor "[92] Such seeds however were not encouraged to germinate because mill-made piece goods from Britain were a convenient substitute for falling local production. The feudal ideals reinforced by the British probably exacerbated the lack of entrepreneurial activity among the *taluqdars* It was also in the *taluqdars'* interest to concentrate on being loyal and charitable and to notice "with pleasure" such events as "the establishment, under the auspices of Sir George Couper, of a new almshouse in connection with the Hoosemabad in Luck-

[90] Translation of a Letter addressed to the Talookdars of Oudh, Government resolution no. 2090, 25 March 1870, file no. 1979, pt. 4, p. 917, BROG, UPSA, Lucknow

[91] R G Varady, "Rail and Road Transport in Nineteenth Century Awadh: Competition in a North Indian Province" (Ph.D. diss., The University of Arizona, 1981), p. 206.

[92] *Akhbar-i-Anjuman-i-Hind* (Lucknow), 3 October 1874, VNR.

TABLE 6

PRIVATELY ENDOWED CHARITIES RUN BY THE DEPUTY COMMISSIONER'S OFFICE IN LUCKNOW, 1876

Charity	*Number aided annually*	*Purpose*
New Charity Fund (endowed by Muslims)	13,973	Relief to the old and infirm of ex-King's family and other respectable families, not for the poor
King's Charity Fund (Christian)	56,210	Monthly stipends are given to 162 pensioners and dole of grain to the poor
Relief to European vagrants and poor	—	Pecuniary assistance to distressed Europeans and "East Indians."
Baillie Fund	400	Monthly pensions to destitute widows of loyal sepoys

SOURCE. *Report on the Administration of Oudh, 1875-76,* Appendix III, p ccxxv.

NOTE. There was, in addition, Ghaziuddin Hyder's Poor House.

now, besides the Government almshouse introduced by Colonel L. Barrow."[93]

Members of the wealthy classes afflicted with the loyalty syndrome made massive investments in government paper, which they viewed with trust and which indeed had become the only outlet for their "productive" investments. Almost all *wasiqadars* had some money locked into promissory notes, as did the large royal endowments such as the Hooseinabad Trust. Over and above the monies of endowments invested in government paper (see Table 7) and all notes of deposit held by the banks, the *rais* of Lucknow also managed to

[93] Ibid., 24 October 1874, VNR

TABLE 7
SAVINGS OF PRIVATE INDIVIDUALS INVESTED IN GOVERNMENT PAPER

Year	*Rupees*	*Year*	*Rupees*
1832–1833	137,000	1865	1,182,900
1833–1834	456,400	1870	74,500
1842–1843	3,359,400	1872	326,000
1854–1855	4,880,700	1879	116,600
TOTAL	8,833,500	TOTAL	1,700,000

SOURCE. William Hoey, *A Monograph on Trade and Manufactures in Northern India* (Lucknow American Methodist Mission Press, 1880), pp. 43-44.

invest heavily in government securities After his penetrating survey of the condition of trade and industry in post-nawabi Lucknow, Hoey, the excise commissioner of the province, came to the conclusion that "there is more a want of field for the employment of capital in productive industry in Lucknow than a want of capital."[94] This was in spite of the dramatic drop in postmutiny investment figures that was symptomatic of the economic depression in the city.

Urban Notables as Taluqdars

The argument so far has been that under the patronage of the British, the *taluqdars* slowly legitimized their status as an elite group by acts of philanthropy, acquisition of property, and efforts at cultural assimilation in a city where their presence was once anathema. On the other hand, not infrequently urban notables aspired to become *taluqdars* and quested after *taluqas*—now that land was a safe in-

[94] William Hoey, *A Monograph on Trade and Manufactures in Northern India* (Lucknow: American Methodist Mission Press, 1880), p. 44.

vestment protected by the British. The prominent members of the commercial elite of the city, like the bankers Benarsi Das and Makhan Lall, who accumulated lands by foreclosing the titles of lesser debtor *zamindars* with an annual *jama* (revenue) of five thousand rupees were admitted to the ranks of the *taluqdars*.[95] These two gentlemen appear to have been the de facto treasurers of the BIA, since the chief treasurer, the Maharaja of Kapurthala, lived on his estate in the Punjab. The maharaja probably was appointed to that office because he was one of the "big three" in Oudh, rather than for his ability in accounting.[96] The secretary of the association was a Bengali, Dukhinaranjan Mukherjee, who had come with the British baggage as they moved into Oudh in 1856 and was given part of the confiscated *taluqa* of Shankerpur in Rae Bareli district. He had been forced to leave Calcutta after he married the widow of the Maharaja of Burdwan. He had also been a wild radical follower of Derozio and had denounced the British judicial and revenue systems, but he now chose an eminently respectable path of being a leading light and the conscientious English-educated officer of one of the most conservative institutions of the time [97]

The esteem in which the "native aristocracy" or the "Barons of Oudh" were held by the British seems to have made the acquisition of a *taluqa* the capstone of a successful commercial career in the city. Estate management was increasingly passing into the hands of managers, or "lords of the land," from the "landlords" themselves. Since estates were

[95] The minimum revenue demand on land had to be five thousand rupees or more for a landowner to qualify as a *taluqdar* under the British

[96] The other two of the "big three" were Maharaja Digvijay Singh of Balrampore, who was president of the Association, and Maharaja Man Singh of Ayodhya, vice-president. See file no. 1 (in Urdu), BIA papers, JNML, New Delhi.

[97] Blair Kling supplied the personal details about Mukherjee, for which I am grateful.

often scattered in several districts this was almost a necessity. The business of collecting rents was troublesome and expensive, so it was farmed out to *thekadars*, or rent farmers, who often were urban moneylenders and grain traders They, "in return for paying the correct amount of rent in cash in advance, were allowed a free hand in the management of estates."[98] Other *taluqdars* engaged bureaucratic managers to husband their estates. This practice made it possible for the *taluqdars* to spend prolonged spells in the city, politicking with or entertaining the British and living lives of genteel leisure in a far more interesting environment than the *mufussil*, where their presence was no longer necessary to protect their rights. These were now formally, legally, and permanently embodied in their title deeds. It also became possible for city bankers to invest in a *taluqdari* estate on the side.

The most interesting example of a man who combined *taluqdari* status with extraordinary commercial and public activity in the city was Daroga Wajid Ali. The story of the *daroga* stands out as the most spectacular success story of this troubled period when nawabi servants were under suspicion and their financial condition was becoming progressively more dire. It also clearly illustrates the dynamics of "loyalty" as a force that changed the destinies of men. The *daroga* was one of the few men in the recaptured city who possessed indubitable proof of his loyalty: he had saved the lives of the wife and daughter of the brave Captain Orr and of a Miss Jackson by a daring stratagem vividly recaptured in several histories of the mutiny.[99] "For his service in protecting certain ladies and offering them kindness at

[98] Musgrave, "Landlords and Lords of the Land," pp. 266-267.

[99] For the Daroga Wajid Ali episode see: G. Hutchinson, *Narrative of the Mutinies in Oudh Compiled from Authentic Records* (London. Smith Elder and Company, 1859), pp. 223-236, and J W. Kaye, *A History of the Sepoy War in India, 1857-58*, 3 vols., 3d ed. (London: W H Allen & Company, 1865), 3.290-292

the time of their captivity and for shewing better feeling generally towards Europeans at a period of anarchy"[100] he received a cash reward of a lakh of rupees. This launched him on a career of accumulating property and building *gunjes* while still practicing his nawabi profession of a *mahal daroga* by helping distraught *begums* in their legal tangles with the new regime.

Daroga Wajid Ali mastered the art of what must be called "attrition by petition" (see also Chapter Three). In one of his innumerable petitions to successive chief commissioners of Oudh he requested "consideration" for his signal act of loyalty and claimed that he had "purchased" an estate that, "by the kindness of your predecessors," had been entered into the *taluqdars'* list.[101] This "purchase" was a curious one and deserves to be looked at more closely since it is an example, par excellence, of the private bargains made between bureaucrats and their local favorites.

When the revenue settlement commenced anew after the revolt had subsided, Daroga Wajid Ali promptly took possession of certain villages near Lucknow These were villages where the real *zamindars* were absent, having either joined the rebels or fled for their lives from advancing British troops. The wily *daroga*, who had never so much as set foot in these villages, acted swiftly and paid up the arrears of rent and obtained rights over them as *mustajir* (lessee).[102] Having accomplished the first step of his imposture, he set about confirming himself as the true proprietor. He drew up a list of seventeen villages with a total annual revenue of nearly ten thousand rupees and on that

[100] Mir Wajid Ali's case, file no. 864, p 126, 1 December 1865, BRLD, UPSA, Lucknow. My description of this case has been constructed from the information in this two-hundred-page file

[101] Petition of Daroga Mir Wajid Ali to Sir George Cowper, Bart., Chief Commissioner of Oudh, undated (probably July 1874), file no 1931, BRLD, UPSA, Lucknow

[102] Mir Wajid Ali's case, file no 864, p. 126

basis requested a *taluqdari sannad,* which would not only give him instant "aristocratic" rank but also confirm him as proprietor instead of a lessee. This petition was stoutly opposed by Abbott, the commissioner, who had the claim investigated and discovered that for six of the seventeen villages he had only the rights of a *thekadar* or lessee; three others were mortgaged to him by a *zamindar* "by private bargain, which is likely any day to terminate, [and] cannot of course be included in the sunnud"; two had been erroneously represented by a district officer "who did not report that they were merely held in farm and not in proprietary right";[103] one had been claimed as compensation for a village that did not belong to him (but was leased by him) in the first place, but the deputy commissioner was reluctant to cancel that order and two others in which the chief commissioner had decided against the *daroga* This left only four villages to which he had any legitimate claim at all, and Abbott saw "no occasion on such holdings to constitute him a talookdar."[104]

Undeterred, the *daroga* appealed to the chief commissioner and claimed that his rights in several of these villages were being wrongly construed as "mostajeeree" because they were rights given for loyal services and such rights "could not be resumed."[105] He argued that he was basing his case not "on Outram's proclamation, which applied only to the city of Lucknow, but on the Governor General's proclamation of 10th March 1858 confiscating almost all lands in Oudh," and therefore "under existing circumstances I cannot but be entitled to the sunnud of Talookdaree which I beg you will be pleased to grant" On 13

[103] Ibid., p. 22. S A. Abbott (Commissioner) to Charles Wingfield (Chief Commissioner), 18 July 1861.

[104] Mir Wajid Ali's case, file no 864, p 98 Translation of Urdu petition to Chief Commissioner, Oudh, 11 April 1862

[105] Mir Wajid Ali's case, file no. 864, p. 106. Revenue Department memo no. 700, 13 March 1863.

March 1863 the "Daroga Sahib" was informed that the chief commissioner could not reverse the orders of his predecessor, so a *sannad* could not be granted to him.[106]

As might be expected, Wajid Ali again went into appeal. In 1865 the commissioner, who prepared a memorandum on this complex case, tended to lean on the side of the *daroga* He believed Wajid Ali's assertion that he had "attached no importance to this expression [mostajeeree]," and "if he had been aware of the farming clause he might have had the villages confirmed to him " He had also allegedly "spent a good deal of his Lac of Rupees reward on his lands, he has proved a good landlord, given up his idle court habits and taken to farming, he was one of the very few Court people who did any real service to the British Government."[107] The case dragged on, and even though the "discreditable rapacity on the part of the daroga to claim further compensation for lands" was noticed,[108] he was finally awarded the *sannad* on the basis of the commissioner submitting "in his No 1522 dated 25th July/66 an entirely different view of this claim to the Financial Commr in which that officer concurred "[109] (This "entirely different view" is not on file) It seems that in the end it was a consideration of "his good services" and his untiring effort that won out and all the objections based on the legal and real distinctions between rights of lessees and proprietors that were raised only delayed, but did not stop, the *daroga* from getting onto the list of *taluqdars*.

Even a complete outsider, the bright and enterprising publisher Munshi Newal Kishore, who left his job at the

[106] Memorandum on Mir Wajid Ali's case, file no 864, p. 128.
[107] Ibid.

[108] Mir Wajid Ali's case, file no. 864, p 177 Capper to Barrow, Financial Commissioner, 29 December 1866

[109] Mir Wajid Ali's case, file no. 864, p. 181. No. 111 of 1867, from Officiating Financial Commissioner to the Commissioner, Lucknow Division, 17 January 1867

famous Kohinoor Press in Lahore to set up an independent printing press in Lucknow, found himself angling for British titles and recognition to furbish his social standing Munshi Newal Kishore, who might properly be regarded as the premier entrepreneur of Oudh, not only made of his small printing shop the first and most prolific press of its time in all Asia, with branches in Kanpur and Lahore, but also launched and edited the famous *Oudh Akhbar* and established the Upper India Paper Mill and the Lucknow Iron Works. The family's interests were expanded by the addition of two modern banks, the Newal Kishore Ice Factory, and the acquisition of prime real estate in the city Yet his son referred to himself as a landed proprietor with a *zamindari* in Aligarh district and sought marriage alliances for his children among other *taluqdari* families rather than business families.[110]

Such cases explain not only the changing attitudes of the formerly contemptuous Lakhnawi elite toward the "rustic" gentry but also the growth of a new, active hybrid elite composed of individuals of both royal and *taluqdari* groups that came to represent their combined interests The cultural barriers were being whittled away. It was a handful of men who took the lead in the municipal committee, the British Indian Association, the Canning College, and other collaborative ventures between the rulers and the ruled in Lucknow. The existence of this class was underscored when the question of constituting special and general committees for the control of endowed charities in Lucknow arose in 1868. Colonel Barrow, now the financial commissioner of Oudh, recommended the names from among the "principal Natives of Lucknow, [who were] convinced of the benefits of . . this charity [The Poor Fund], have been administering it well and [when] put on their honour to

[110] Prag Narain Bhargava, ed , *Who's Who in India, Containing Lives and Portraits of Ruling Chiefs, Nobles, Titled Personages and Other Eminent Indians*, 2 vols. (Lucknow. Newal Kishore Press, 1911), 2. 169.

determine who the recipients would be, . work admirably."[111] The men named were members of the municipal committee like Daroga Wajid Ali, Mirza Abbas Beg, and Agha Ali Khan, and the three principal *taluqdars*, "all liberal subscribers" to charitable causes, and were trustworthy enough by English standards to oversee the management of these bodies.[112] The *taluqdars* were now reckoned as a city elite, at par with other city notables, and seized every opportunity to expand their role and visibility in civic affairs.

The Poor Fund had been inaugurated to combat the distress caused in Lucknow by the famine in Orissa (1868), "when the demand for grain" and its export "enormously increased the prices in Lucknow" and brought even the well-to-do sections of the population "to nearly a state of starvation."[113] Barrow was astonished by the *taluqdars'* response to this crisis:

> The landed interest came forward with so large a permanent subscription to support the families of the fallen nobles of an extinct dynasty, for there has really never been anything in common between the nobles and the talookdars. In recognition of the benefits they [the latter] have received from our Government, they have liberally contributed towards the maintenance of those who have suffered by it.[114]

The generosity of the landed gentry to a class that had been arrogant and antagonistic toward it in the past may perhaps also be attributed to the change in their perceptions and values; they had learned to appreciate the "aris-

[111] Report, from Colonel L. Barrow, Financial Commissioner, to Major J. F. MacAndrew, Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, "Administration of Certain Endowed Charities in Lucknow," 11 April 1868, Foreign Department General A Proceedings, nos. 33-36, NAI, New Delhi.

[112] Ibid.

[113] Ibid., p. 4.

[114] Ibid., p. 5.

tocratic" values and tastes that they were eager to acquire in order to substantiate the British image of them as the "Barons of Oudh."

EDUCATION

The partnership between the British and their local allies was further cemented by the creation of Canning College. This institution, which introduced Western liberal education for Indians, was endowed by the *taluqdars*, managed by solicitous bureaucrats, and staffed by European teachers. The government-endowed Wards' Institution was an educational experiment in the same spirit. These institutions were part of an accelerated impetus for the dissemination of Western education among the upper crust of native society since the mutiny had proved that educated Indians were loyal subjects.[115]

Canning College was conceived by the *taluqdars* as a memorial to the late Earl Canning and was to be supported by a perpetual endowment

> from the profits of our Talooquas, a sum equal to One per Cent. upon the respective Sudder Jummas [government revenue demand] of our Talooquas, particularized as follows, . . That is to say, eight annas [0.5 percent] for the expenses of the "CANNING COLLEGE," and eight annas per cent. for the expenses of the BRITISH INDIAN ASSOCIATION OF OUDH.[116]

[115] Metcalf, *Aftermath of Revolt*, p. 133. The wider question of education in Oudh in general and Lucknow in particular has been the subject of intensive scholarly analysis and controversy, compare Paul R. Brass, *Language, Religion and Politics in North India* (Cambridge. Cambridge University Press, 1974), Robinson, *Separatism Among Indian Muslims*; and Metcalf, *Aftermath of Revolt*, pp. 92-133. The discussion here will be limited to the effect of education on the loyal elite.

[116] Deed of Endowment, dated 27 February 1864, BIA papers, JNML, New Delhi.

The government agreed to give a matching grant-in-aid for the college, bringing its annual income up to forty-five thousand rupees[117] By 1869 it had 768 students on the rolls, of whom 62 percent were sons of private and government servants, 18 percent belonged to banking and professional families, but a disappointingly low 6 percent were sons of landholders themselves. The poor classes were deliberately excluded[118] The small numbers from *taluqdari* families did not seriously foil British purposes because all the other students belonged to those segments of society whose loyalty and cooperation was equally essential to the Raj

The *taluqdars* enjoyed the status attached to being the founders of the foremost educational institution in the province and were jealous of their power to constitute half of the managing committee (the other half being government officials or their nominees) and the responsibility for its operation They rejected the suggestion of amalgamating the college with the education department, even though this meant forfeiting government pensions for the teachers, Public Works Department maintenance of the campus, a grant from the government for future expansion, and supplements for professors' salaries. They feared that "their connection with the College will either cease or their power will be lessened"[119] if they chose to let the college become a formal part of the government.

Whether the *taluqdars* founded the Canning College as a monument to their loyalty or as an expression of their own "wise leadership," it certainly brought them the ex-

[117] Letter no. 1261, from Secretary to GOI to Chief Commissioner of Oudh, 7 July 1864, attached to ibid.

[118] *Gazetteer of the Province of Oudh*, comp. W C Benett, 3 vols (Allahabad· North-West Provinces and Oudh Government Press, 1877), 2·385

[119] Letter from the Director of Public Instruction, Oudh, to Secretary, BIA, dated 4 September 1873, file packet no 3, BIA papers, JNML, New Delhi

pected dividend of enhanced power and prestige with the local urban elite The latter were compelled to approach the BIA or its individual members to admit their sons to the school The government too added to the *taluqdar*'s sense of prestige by lending their aura and expertise to the institution The earlier "stringent interdict" against government expenditure on education was relaxed "so as to allow of support being given . to the superior schools for the education of the sons of talookdars and of the leading native gentry, which the Chief Commissioner [Wingfield] had laboured to establish" since this would ultimately facilitate "freer intercourse" between officials and influential natives in the English language [120]

The government pinned even greater hopes for molding the character of the native elite on the Lucknow Wards' Institution, modeled after the Benaras Wards' Institution of the North-West Provinces The object of the Lucknow institution was the "Boarding and Education of minors under the care of the Court of Wards" and other sons of *taluqdars* that were sent to it.[121] It superintended "the moral training and the instruction" of its pupils. Since it was thought to be too ambitious to undertake to "provide for all the sons of the native gentry" it would be limited to those

> whose conduct in the after life will be most powerfully affected and on whose future conduct the prosperity of the Province and enlightenment of the population must depend. That is to say . . the sons of the great landed proprietors and such as are minors . . With this view we should lose no opportunity of bringing every boy born to a high position in life within the reach of its beneficial influence [122]

[120] *Report on the Administration of Oudh, 1859-60*, p 22.

[121] *Regulations for the Management of the Wards' Institutions at Lucknow* (Lucknow Oudh Gazetteer Press, 1864), file no 18, BRLD, UPSA, Lucknow

[122] Letter no. 350 of 13 February 1864 from Secretary to the

Government aid for this institution was prompt and lavish because it was seen as an opportunity to "improve" the moral and social habits of the "lads who will eventually hold high places and have the power of much good or evil in their hands" and because it was the only way that they could be "brought up away from the influences of their homes."[123] The idea was to have a boardinghouse "where the children of the wealthier classes could be brought together, their moral training, exercises, and habits be supervised, as they are in England, instead of boys being allowed to reside altogether under the influence of foolish mothers."[124] The boardinghouse would provide a very rigorous routine with a mixture of bookish instruction, physical training, and worship, with time allowed for dressing in the proper uniform for each occasion. The boys would be "treated as gentlemen," and it would be impressed practically on their minds that punctuality, "regularity, obedience, morality, and diligence in the pursuit of knowledge" were the attributes they should strive for.[125] Book knowledge alone was not sufficient to create the kind of Indian who would be loyal and responsive.

> An *educated* native (look among our subordinate officials) is seldom seen even on horseback, he has no real activity about him, *because* he has been brought up in the very laziest habits, and in the most effeminate manners, and

Chief Commissioner to the Commissioner, Lucknow Division, file no. 18, p. 2, BRLD, UPSA, Lucknow.

[123] Letter no. 4290 (from Financial Commissioner to Secretary to the Chief Commissioner), 8 July 1868, cited in the *Annual Report of the Wards' Institution, 1867-68*, file no. 18, p. 10, BRLD, UPSA, Lucknow.

[124] Letter no. 4896, from Colonel Barrow, Financial Commissioner, to Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, 29 July 1868, file 381, p. 17, BRLD, UPSA.

[125] *Regulations for the Wards' Institution*, file no. 18, p. 45, BRLD, UPSA, Lucknow.

> this is all because there is no attention paid to anything but cramming him with books . Half the money [spent on education] would be better laid out in making a man of him [126]

The experiment in social control enjoyed only limited success in the period under discussion when it was new and the *taluqdars* were only finding their feet in the city, but it became progressively more fruitful in the coming decades. Canning College and the Colvin Taluqdars' College emphasized horse riding, billiards, cricket, tennis, squash, and swimming. Excellence in sport was to become a cherished *taluqdari* ideal [127] The reporter for the *Pioneer* who was always an observer at the "tamashas" at Kaiserbagh wrote of "the little colony" of *taluqdars* in Lucknow who "have their billiard table and cricket ground" and attend "the Canning College, like every petty Rothschild does in England." "Seriously speaking," he went on,

> I think they will someday form the nucleus of a body in Oudh which will make it the model province it ought to be The idea of making the present aristocracy of Oudh understand the true principles of political economy, or wean them from prejudices and bigotry, *or to make them see that their own interests and that of the Government are identical* . is not to be accomplished in this generation . . . It is to be done with the rising generation only.[128]

[126] Letter no. 4896, from Colonel L Barrow, Financial Commissioner, to Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, 29 July 1868, file no. 381, p. 17, BRLD, UPSA, Lucknow Emphasis in the original.

[127] Every single *taluqdari* palace I visited in Lucknow invariably had sport trophies, cups, and shields displayed prominently in the show cases in the "drawing rooms"; antler heads and other stuffed animals and hunting trophies form a large part of the decor of *taluqdari* palaces, both in the city and in the districts

[128] *Pioneer*, 18 September 1865. Emphasis added.

For obvious reasons "the new, English-educated middle-class" did not make its appearance on the Lucknow scene until well beyond the period under consideration, the Canning College was only established in 1864, and it would be another two decades before there would be a generation of lawyers and professionals who would constitute an influential group of their own. As patrons of Canning College the *taluqdars* would be instrumental in its growth. English missionary schools where natives were admitted, such as the Christian College, were also founded in the early sixties, and their impact too was felt later in the century. In the years 1858 to 1877, the British created a conservative class with a common ideology maintained by its ties of loyalty to the government

The Ruling Elite

If the British had been alien and aloof to begin with, harboring a mild distaste for the culture of their subjects, the traumatic and bloody confrontation of the two races added a strong flavoring of mistrust and racial hatred to their sentiments for the "natives "[129] The British officials lived in the civil lines and the cantonments and socialized among themselves in the United Services Club in the Chattar Manzil Palace on the banks of the Gomti. Official "events" such as departures and arrivals and changes and promotions were occasions for parties and gatherings that made up "the shifting scenery of Anglo-Indian society "[130] The

[129] That the mutiny is seen as a watershed in the relations between the two races is accepted as a well-established and documented fact among India scholars For a concise discussion of this see Metcalf, *Aftermath of Revolt*, pp 289-327, and Michael Edwardes, *Bound to Exile · The Victorians in India* (New York Praeger, 1970)

[130] *Pioneer*, 15 March 1865 There has been no effort made to distinguish individuals among the ruling elite because the colonial system shifted them around; they seldom held a particular post

social scene was "sociable, lively, and gay" when the weather was tolerable, judging from the animated comment in the regular "outstation gossip" column in the *Pioneer*, but went into a torpor in the summer. Then the action shifted to Nainital, the summer capital and Himalayan retreat, designed, as were other hill stations, by the ruling elite to resemble "home" In Lucknow Queen Victoria's birthday always generated a week-long program of dinners, balls, and plays, and a formal public banquet attended by dutiful but awkward Indian notables.

The foreign community kept themselves amused in their club reading or gaming rooms, drinking, smoking, and gambling, or collecting in the music room around a grand piano and roaring fire, singing nostalgic songs and telling stories. They played croquet so that the memsahibs could also take part, but cricket, with two important matches, the annual John Company versus The World and the Cantonment versus the Civil Lines, was the favorite station sport. Charity balls, fetes, fairs, and small amateur theatrical events where light-hearted drawingroom comedies such as "Faint Heart Never Won a Lady" were organized with zest and spiced British life at Lucknow station.[131] The race course in the cantonment drew large Sunday crowds all winter long, and the Lucknow Derby and other racing events such as the 8th Lancers Cup, 55th Regimental Cup, and the Native Gentlemen's Purse brought enthusiastic British officials from the *mufussil*.[132]

Lucknow's social life matched its political importance as a regional capital and a regimental headquarters. Here el-

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for more than three years, thus tending to become transferable abstractions for the people—a group of peripatetic "sahibs" with changing names and faces

[131] Ibid., 27 December 1865. For other interesting social "gossip" see the issues of 16 February 1866, 30 July 1866, 4 January 1867, and so on through to 1877.

[132] Ibid , 18, 20, 22, and 24 February 1867.

egant flower shows and full dress balls made the segregated world of the British elite less dull. And yet the shadow of the mutiny never faded, stalking the officials more closely in the high noon of the Raj. Wheeler, a correspondent for the *Central News*, visited Lucknow in 1876 and visited the Services' Club in the Chattar Manzil. He was surprised to find that many of the members talked only about the "Mutiny of '57," repeating thrilling anecdotes touched with bitterness—even as they smoked their cigars, sipped their brandy, or played billiards.[133]

The points of contact with the "natives" were few, well-regulated, and official, even the entertainments at the Kaiserbagh hosted by the *taluqdars* or the public dinners given by the chief commissioner on rare and special occasions were mutual, quasi-official obligations that were fulfilled out of political necessity and wisdom rather than personal warmth. Even at the races where the "Nawabs and Barons of the British (Oude) Indian Association laboured to the ropes in everything vehicular"[134] the conviviality appeared to be contrived. And when Miss Donnelly, "a young lady of irreproachable character," embraced Islam "under the auspices of a Mahomedan Raja of Oudh," the event stuck out as an exception that only reinforced the atmosphere of racial antipathy and separation.[135] The servants who in their menial capacity were the only natives who intruded into the closed world of the ruling elite were bound by regulations: "The question of protecting ourselves against our native servants has now been to some extent solved here," the *Pioneer* informed its readers, since the superintendent of the city police opened a special office for the screening and "registration of all khansamas [cooks], ayahs [nursemaids], &c." to check domestic "annoyances" and

[133] George Wheeler, *India in 1875-76. The Visit of the Prince of Wales* (London. Chapman and Hall, 1876), p. 231.

[134] *Pioneer*, 11 January 1871.

[135] Ibid., 17 January 1871.

crime[136] There were also native public servants in the lower rungs of the administration, but the belief in their innate inferiority was a key tenet of the philosophy of the ruling elite When the post of the assistant civil surgeon fell vacant in Lucknow, the *Pioneer* stated the case

> On an average he [the assistant surgeon] has to appear at least four or five times a week in the criminal court to give evidence in cases of life and death. . Now I would ask any unprejudiced person, or any officer of judicial experience in this country, whether a Native Doctor, by education, experience or instinct, is so well fitted for this great responsibility as a European, and whether justice can be dispensed upon such evidence with the same clear conciseness and truthfulness as upon that of a European gentleman.[137]

The British civil servants sat atop a gigantic native pyramid, and attitudes like these were to make it an increasingly uneasy perch. This then was the psychological and emotional backdrop against which feelings of loyalty and their ritualistic expression, the *darbars*, must be viewed

DARBARS

I have so far in this chapter examined the effects of loyal and disloyal political conduct on the destinies of prominent postmutiny individuals and groups; I will now turn my attention to the rituals of loyalty, the pomp and show of the *darbars*, the title giving and gift receiving, and the dazzling, periodic pageants that occurred in Lucknow In its nawabi format the *darbar* of Oudh was the holding of court: the king granted daily audience, theoretically, to all his subjects, in practice access was limited to members of his family, notables, and officials of the court and administra-

[136] Ibid , 30 July 1866.
[137] Ibid , 4 February 1867.

tion, civilians and officers of the East India Company, and a sprinkling of visitors from beyond Oudh The daily events were recorded by a chronicler or *akhbar-nawis* [138] At the *darbar* the ruler received individuals who came to complain or petition, present *nazars* (gifts from inferiors to a superior) and receive *khillats* (the regalia of honor), and transact the business of state [139] The practice declined, however, as royal control over matters of state was slowly circumscribed by an increasingly assertive resident, and the last three kings held *darbars* only very infrequently [140]

There were also special *darbars* to commemorate a political event, such as the coronation of Ghaziuddin Hyder in 1819 where an amalgam of Mughal, Hindu, Shia, and British symbols were drawn upon to create a "complex and unique ceremony "[141] For some years the British resident had established the practice of holding a rival weekly *darbar*, but this was discontinued in 1833. These *darbars* were "attended with as much pomp, and state as the Resident's establishment . could furnish They were also held on a few other festive days when these . Vakeels of Oude, Princesses, the guaranteed nobles [*wasiqadars*] and other individuals . presented nuzzers to the Resident "[142]

As I have observed in the course of this study, the British brought in their own "modern" administrative machinery where the "office hours" of the English bureaucrats functionally replaced the daily *darbar* The British used the *darbar* only sparingly and with dramatic effect A brief analysis

[138] Fisher, "The Imperial Court and the Province," p 93.

[139] Mrs. Meer Hasan Ali, *Observations on the Mussalmauns of India*, edited with notes and an introduction by W. Crooke (1917, reprint ed., Karachi Oxford University Press, 1974), pp 140-152

[140] Fisher, "The Imperial Court and the Province," p 102.

[141] Ibid , p 70

[142] Resident to Secretary to Government in the Secret and Political Department, 2 May 1833, Foreign/Secret Proceedings, 16 May 1833, no. 3A Cited in Fisher, "The Imperial Court and the Province," p 115.

of each of the four *darbars* held between 1856 and 1877 is necessary to understand the interaction of the new ruling elite with the indigenous elite

As we have seen, after the collapse of the rebellion there ensued on the one hand an obsessive witch hunt for disloyal nawabi notables and on the other a tireless drive to conciliate the *taluqdars* and ensure their unequivocal support. Lord Canning, the viceroy, was himself converted to a "policy of sympathy" by Montgomery and Wingfield, the chief architects of the compromise with the *taluqdars* of Oudh

The British needed to reinaugurate their regime in Oudh because the annexation of Oudh had been rejected out of hand by the rebellion Now as conquerors it would be easier to be accepted as legitimate rulers. So a grand, full-scale *darbar* was planned for 26 October 1859 to imprint this fact on the minds of all Lakhnawis There are unfortunately no detailed eyewitness accounts of this ceremony, but an attending official, Prichard, described it as a "large darbar" for which Lord Canning "made a state entry into the capital of the province "[143] Amid fanfare and glitter the *taluqdars* received *sannads*, the permanent titles to the lands and villages for which they had been granted proprietary rights. The attending *taluqdars* brought *nazars*, which were generally gold coins in velvet purses, and received *khillats* from the new rulers. The finest of the *khillats* given away on this occasion was that given to Digvijay Singh, Maharaja of Balrampore. He had formerly received the *taluqa* of Tulsipur to enlarge his already vast estate, a "priceless" shawl, and two guns from the military commander-in-chief" for his loyalty during the revolt. At the *darbar* he was assigned the "No 1 chair" and, having received the judicial and revenue powers of a first-class honorary magistrate, he was presented with a ceremonial *khillat* [144] The sixteen pieces of

[143] Iltudus T. Prichard, *The Administration of India from 1859 to 1869*, 2 vols (London Macmillan and Company, 1869), 1 34.

[144] Siddiq Ahmad, *Tarikh-i-Anjuman-i-Hind, Avadh*, 3 vols. (Lucknow: Newal Kishore Press, 1935), 3 465.

the *khillat* are worth noting to see how the Western and Oriental effects were combined: 1) a *kalgi* (jeweled brooch for the turban), 2) a *sarpaich* (jeweled crescent, also worn on the turban), 3) a necklace of pearls, 4) a British sword, 5) a British shield, 6) a clock, 7) binoculars for hunting, 8) a full carriage with two British horses, 9) a fine *doshala* (double shawl), 10) an embroidered scarf, 11) a turban, 12) earrings, 13) a cummerbund, 14) an embroidered belt, 15) full robes, and 16) a handkerchief[145]

Mrs. Meer Hasan Ali describes the "splendid articles" given in *khillats* at the Oudh court in the early nineteenth century

> Swords with embroidered belts, the handle and scabbard either enamelled or embossed silver, often set with precious stones, . shields studded with silver, kirrich (dirk) the handle and sheath equally as rich as the swords, embroidered or gold cloth chupkunds (coats); shawl-stuff labaadahs (petisses), trimmed with sable; turbans of shawl or muslin, ornaments for the turban of diamonds and emeralds, the inferior of paste; strings of pearls and emeralds for the neck, shawls always in pairs, of more or less value, shawl-kerchiefs, shawl cummerbunds (girdles), shawl lahaafs (counterpanes); gold cloth, gold and silver muslins and shawl stuff each being sufficient to form a dress. . . In some instances the King confers one hundred and one pieces in a khillat, in others seventy-five, and down to five articles, which is the lowest number given in this much prized dress of honour. . . I have also observed that the higher the numbers rise the quality of the articles increased in value[146]

In contrast to this lavishness the style of the new government was parsimonious since the colonial government with its global imperial commitments could not afford to squan-

[145] Ibid

[146] Mrs Meer Hasan Ali, *Observations*, p. 149

der funds locally on Oriental-style ostentation They did manage to imitate the symbolic effect of the nawabi ceremonial *darbar* on a far smaller budget. Although their "best" *khillat* was but a few notches above the most meager of the nawabi, it included some British imports of value and utility, such as binoculars and clocks, that were highly prized by the recipients

At the reinaugural *darbar* the crisis of legitimacy, which had engulfed the British and the *taluqdars* alike, was resolved, and this ceremony was seen as a major political event that publicly flaunted their new alliance in Oudh. It was, however, thinly attended At the time of the announcement of the *darbar* not many *taluqdars* trusted British intentions of inviting them into the capital, and absentees had to be fined. Several *taluqdars* misunderstood the purport of the occasion

> It is a pity that His Excellency's visit to Lucknow should be associated in the minds of many of the talookdars with fines and penalties . . The Talookdars were not *ordered* to meet His Excellency in Lucknow. They were invited to do so and though, in Asiatic acceptances, an invitation from the Chief Commissioner is equivalent to an order it is hardly in accordance with English notions to punish the neglect of such an invitation as disobedience [147]

Wingfield, the chief commissioner, attributed the absence of the *taluqdars* to "pertinacious mistrust" and suggested that Canning should permit him to reconsider the fines and return them as an "act of grace and favour" while at the same time "duly admonishing the Talookdars for the want of respect for His Excellency's wishes " One absentee was fined two thousand rupees, to be paid within the month,

[147] Note by Foreign Secretary, Foreign Department, Foreign Consultations, 24 February 1860, nos. 152-158, NAI, New Delhi Emphasis in the original I am indebted to Professor Bernard S. Cohn for this reference

in another case the "excuse" of sickness was not accepted and the "invitation" was referred to as "a summons." It could not realistically be expected that the misgivings would evaporate instantaneously

Canning, with his "sonorous voice and truly majestic manner,"[148] read to the *darbar* a speech in English of which not one word made sense to the listeners; an interpreter then read the Urdu version of the speech, which called Canning their patron and the chief commissioner their "best advisor" and "trusted friend "[149] The notables of Lucknow, although present at the *darbar*, were not, it appears, included in the address. Three representatives of the ex-royal family, including Nawab Mohsun ud Dowlah, were received privately and exhorted to be loyal and obedient The *darbar* began the era of collaboration between the Lucknow elite and the British that continued uninterrupted until nationalist forces outside the arenas of collaboration disrupted it

The other three Lucknow *darbars* of this period—the first in 1867 to honor Viceroy Sir John Lawrence's visit to Lucknow, the second in February 1870 for the Duke of Edinburgh, and the final one in 1876 to honor the visit of the Prince of Wales—are all of a piece. They came off as well-rehearsed theatrical events, all similar in outward form and style.

They began with a glamorous and extravagant parade past the tens of thousands of Lakhnawis who thronged Victoria Street to see the endless train of lumbering, caparisoned elephants, horses, and camels bearing eminent personages from the railway station to the grounds of the residency, now a picturesque ruin set in a splendid garden. Each visiting dignitary was treated to sumptuous feasts and entertainments in the evenings by the *taluqdars* at Kaiserbagh, the nawabs at Hooseinabad, and the Europeans at

[148] Prichard, *Administration*, 1 34.
[149] Ibid , p 35

the Lal Baradari in the Chattar Manzil palace complex But the details of each varied enough to represent a symbolic evolution that reflected political and social changes over these twenty years

The 1867 *darbar,* which was preceded by a week-long frenzy in the city, also marked a decade of peace since the mutiny European observers of the pageant could not fail to make the comparison:

> What a difference to think these [Indian] hosts *friends* and not besiegers!! .. *Then* the din of war, now a gorgeous parade in the time of peace. . . . Could the rebels of 1857 have risen out of their graves, . . they . would not have *believed* the change . . . what was once a place of hurriedly dug graves is now a blooming and lovely garden of Roses.[150]

The entire spectacle of Lucknow ten years after the terrible war, and not the parade alone, evoked deep awe. The new roads, the new bridges, the "iron horse that snorts," "the vast cantonment with endless rows of barracks, all mark the 'tight grasp' we have on this once unruly city," boasted the editorial in the *Pioneer.* The *taluqdars* were not the only "symbols" on parade; British artillery, cavalry, and infantry divisions were also on prominent, deliberate display.

> The boom of the salutes too, told that there was no want of powder at Lucknow, whilst the Infantry force was strongly represented by endless bayonets. Where were the rebels now? Britain had long ago set her house "in order," and today was selected for the native to "know their *lawful* lord" and the scene told them (better than words) that all they saw at Lucknow was a drop in the ocean compared with the immense military power ever at the immediate disposal of the viceroy

[150] *Pioneer,* 18 November 1867 Emphasis in the original A long article described this event in minute detail All the quotations are from this article

It also clarified the reordered ranking of the native elite that now obtained in the capital and the supremacy of the British elite Their place in the processional order symbolized their place in society. The chief guest and the chief commissioner and other top Oudh officials preceded the three leading *taluqdars* The Maharajas of Kapurthala and Balrampore, both of whom had already received the imposing title of "Knight Commander of the Order of the Star of India" (K C.S I.) at the 1866 Agra *darbar*, and Man Singh of Ayodhya, who was to receive his K.C.S I at a special investiture ceremony at the present *darbar* on 12 November 1867, led the native contingent Behind them were the nobles and the ex-royal family and several "last relics of the two defunct dynasties," men like Mohsun ud Dowlah and Mumtaz ud Dowlah "who could look back to a long ancestral lineage, and who would consider it an indignity to ride cheek by jowl with the mushroom Talookdar of yesterday's creation " Finally came "the long array of elephants and glittering howdahs" carrying their less august riders, and the "poorer Talookdars rather marred the effect of the scene by riding in on animals of hybrid shape and stunted growth."

The *taluqdars* paid for this entire extravaganza, and the rivalry between the Maharaja of Ayodhya and the Maharaja of Balrampore must have temporarily rejuvenated the luxury industries as they competed in getting the finest and best of everything from the trappings of their elephants to the caps that adorned their heads The time and money spent on such seeming trifles was useful because "the izzut [honor] of these men has been raised ten-fold. To be a Talookdar in Oude is with some to be better than a prince of the blood." These men made the most of a glorious opportunity to bask in the glow of their enhanced status while all Lucknow watched.

And what did this gigantic *tamasha* mean for the "teeming population" of the city? At one level it meant business where commerce had been sluggish. This enormous invasion of

feudal spendthrifts who had to be fitted out for the occasion, whose elephants' and horses' saddlery and ornaments needed repair or refurbishing, must have added up to a decent living for Lucknow craftsmen after years of being in the financial doldrums The "buniyahs on Victoria Road are in a perfect *furore* to exhibit themselves and their wares *to the best advantage*."[151] Shopkeepers were ordered to "show a good front" by whitewashing the portion of their shops or houses that faced the road. Almost a month in advance the public and private buildings in the city were being whitewashed, domes gilded, and gardens tended to look their best The Imperial Hotel was booked to capacity in advance by the visiting dignitaries [152]

The parade was to have yet another meaning for the populace: the men whom they supported during the rebellion—the *taluqdars* and the nawabs—were now riding docilely *behind* the British viceroy. They were no longer *the* political elite. The *taluqdars* who had once competed for political power now competed for the quality of their caps. It seemed as if their grandeur and ostentation was in inverse proportion to the real power of the *taluqdars*

Above all the *darbar* was to illustrate to skeptical onlookers the enlightened attitudes of the new rulers, a native observed, not without wonder.

> Truly . . . the magnanimity of the English is great Within a few yards from his brother's grave [Sir Henry Lawrence's grave in the residency] the Governor-General of India receives, seated before him in Durbar, many of those very men whose bullets helped to cause that grave to be dug [153]

The demonstration of their forgiveness of the bloody past was politically astute The foundations of the future were also symbolically laid in the placing, in that *darbar* week, of

[151] Ibid , 1 November 1867. Emphasis in the original
[152] Ibid , 16 October 1867.
[153] Ibid , 18 November 1867

the foundation stone for Canning College. The *darbar* was a tried and tested device a judicious mixture of native and Western symbols and idioms were harnessed to intimidate and impress those who still rued the new order

The *darbar* of 1870 is especially important because it dispensed with the symbolic core of the event: the exchange of the *nazars* and *khillats*. This practice was discontinued because it was considered wasteful [154] The *nazar* was transmuted into what the British Indian Association files call an "admission fee "[155] This was "fixed" at 25 *asharfis* (gold coins) and there are *taluqdars'* applications on file asking for a discounted admission. A *taluqdar* of Rampur, for example, pleaded to be permitted to attend the *darbar* although he could afford to pay only nine *asharfis* and promised to remit the balance later [156] This sumptuary measure must have curbed the competition among the richer *taluqdars* Their *wakils* had often been dispatched to the jewelers in Chowk to find out what articles had been commissioned by their rivals as *nazars* [157] A collective gift for the visiting personage for which all *taluqdars* contributed replaced the individual *nazar* In 1870 the "Rajgans [royalty] of Lucknow," the *taluqdars*, "caused to be manufactured a most beautiful Hindu sword, studded with jewels and valued at two lakhs of rupees [twenty thousand pounds] for presentation to his Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh."[158] Two lakhs of rupees when shared among 276 *taluqdars* (or fewer, if absentees are taken into account) would make the individual cost approximately just under eight hundred rupees for the

[154] *The Educational Gazette* (Agra), 30 January 1870, VNR

[155] File no. 1, Durbar Papers, 1867-1869, BIA papers, JNML, New Delhi

[156] Ibid

[157] Interview with a jeweler of Chowk whose family supplied many pieces of jewelery to be presented as *nazar* and *khillat*. September 1976

[158] *The Educational Gazette*, 30 January 1870, VNR. It is interesting to note that the *taluqdars* were referred to as the royalty of Lucknow in a vernacular newspaper.

gift (It is not known if the cost was shared equally, but the total sum was impressive and almost surpassed the municipal budget for that year) To this one can add the cost of admission and travel and the expense of their entourages in the city The total outlay was a sizable investment undertaken chiefly to show oneself off as a loyal *darbari* in Lucknow, an expensive gesture the *taluqdars* were spared in the time of the nawabi If the British displayed their power in the tangible shape of a parade of their armed forces, the *taluqdars* and nawabs tried with their extravagant feasts, illuminations, firework displays, and glittering "nautches" to bedazzle and ingratiate themselves with the rulers.

By 1876 the whole show had become a carefully rehearsed and organized exercise. Those receiving titles had special instructions describing their precise role When Munshi Newal Kishore was to be honored, he received a formal printed invitation card (with the blanks filled in by hand) that read:

> Admit *Newal Kishore* to the Chapter of the Most Exalted Order of the Star of India to be held in the Encampment on the Maidan on Saturday, January 1st 1876 Seats to be taken not later than 8.30 a m.
>
> (sd) [illegible] (Cooke)
>
> Instructions·
>
> The holder of this ticket must approach the Encampment from the road opposite the Cathedral and must alight at flag bearing the color and letter (*G*) of this ticket. The police in attendance will direct the driver where he is to remain with his carriage during the Chapter No carriage will be called up till the Grand Master has taken his departure. No person, when once seated, can leave or change his or her seat during the Chapter [159]

[159] Newal Kishore papers, in the custody of Rani Ram Kumar Bhargava, Hazratganj, Lucknow The reverse of the invitation has a detailed diagram of the seating and entrances

The British had indeed infused the *darbar* with their own notions of formality and protocol and robbed it some of its splendor by their economies and efficient management

Although the *darbar* had acquired this modern flavor in terms of planning and organization, there was a memorable and spontaneous request by the Prince of Wales that almost destroyed the carefully orchestrated pageant and shattered not a few bureaucratic nerves. He demanded that the *loyal* sepoys who had defended the Lucknow residency and were still living be produced in front of him There was a hurried scramble to find some of these veterans in the old city and finally a rather piteous assortment of them were brought out to march before the prince [160] The men who arrived were "a mixed band of decrepit warriors" in single file.

> Some of these soldiers had been taken from their sick beds to have their swords touched now by the Prince of Wales In some cases their bodies were supported by their friends and their palsied arms were with difficulty made to give a last salute. There was one man with a single leg, another so paralysed that he saluted the Prince from a crawling position on the ground, and many who looked mere bags of bones—so shrunken was their flesh with age.[161]

The prince "would not allow them to be hurried by, he spoke to each one, ragged as he might be, squalid or unclean "[162] The officials were embarrassed, this wretched looking "muster of the brave"[163] probably made the gaudy pomp of the parade ring false A native contemporary, who also witnessed these *darbars*, remarked:

[160] Wheeler, *India in 1875-76*, pp 227-228.

[161] Ibid.

[162] W H Russell, *The Prince of Wales' Tour A Diary in India, with some account of the Visits of His Royal Highness to the Courts of Greece, Egypt, Spain, and Portugal* (London Sampson, Low, Marston, Searle and Rivington, 1877), p. 395

[163] Wheeler, *India in 1875-76*, p 227

> The relation between the ruler and ruled is wholly artificial and superficial Now loyalty means empty salaaming It is shown in illuminations, explodes amidst fireworks and is eaten up in state banquets. . Active loyalty is gone with the local prosperity, and hollow deeds are followed by hollow effects . . for the loyalty is a huge sham which is not grounded in patriotism. Loyalty now is nothing but indirect selfishness.[164]

This sardonic comment might well have typified the reactions of average Lakhnawis who were mere spectators to the mutually convenient rearrangements at the top The loyalty of the nawab's subjects was based on their having "eaten his salt"; that is, in return for a livelihood and protection noblemen and servants alike owed him their unswerving personal loyalty Disloyalty—expressed as *namak harami* (betrayal of this "salt-eating" relationship)—was shameful and strongly condemned. Thus loyalty had always been the cement of autocratic structures, and the British obsession with loyalty is not surprising They did not reweave the web of traditional patron-client relationships to render all their subjects loyal They chose, instead, a more direct and economical system of reward and punishment to achieve the same effect The penal tax and the *taluqdari* settlement were both political measures, one to punish the disloyalty of the prominent townspeople and the other to ensure the future loyalty of the *taluqdars* of Oudh The city notables received conspicuously less sympathy because the source of their wealth and influence, the Oudh dynasty, had been vanquished and the ex-king was in powerless exile. Hereditary pensions guaranteed by the East India Company in the nawabi era had created a constituency of loyal *wasiqadars* among the nawabi elite and

[164] P C. Mukerjee, *The Pictorial Lucknow* (unpublished galley proofs dated 1883), unpaginated section, Uttar Pradesh Sangharalaya, Lucknow

were selectively continued; the British now pacified the rural chieftans and ensured their future support

The *taluqdars* were made into a favored and protected group because the source of their power lay in the people who lived on the lands they controlled and was therefore unvanquishable Their past was erased by their pledges for future loyalty. So they were assiduously cultivated and their rights in the land and dues to the government made permanent (which gave them the power to be more tyrannical and exploitative of the peasantry). The new *taluqdari* system, with its guaranteed land tenures and fixed revenue demand, was the master stroke that changed rebels into supporters. Their presence in the capital, which formerly was scarce and unwelcome, was encouraged and was necessary to guarantee their fidelity to the Raj. Ironically, the British won the allegiance of the *taluqdars* with favors that closely resembled those granted by the king to extend his romantic alliances with women: both received palaces to live in, guaranteed incomes, and knew only too well that infidelity would cost them their position and prestige. For the future generations there were to be nurseries, boarding schools, and universities to nurture and groom loyal natives, but this policy was to have mixed results.

In the process loyalty became an impersonal and institutionalized sentiment with the creation of the British Indian Association, an institution that represented the collective fealty of the *sannad* holders to the office of the chief commissioner and to the lesser officers, since the officials themselves were transferred triennially And finally there were the periodic rituals to express this political emotion the ceremonial *darbars* with dignitaries who represented the alien, unseen, and almost mythical Queen Victoria. The symbols and functions of the *darbar* were gradually transformed to suit the tastes of the new rulers. They were adapted to express support for the Raj rather than personal bonds between the ruler and his subjects The British stopped giving *khillats* but distributed knighthoods and other exotic

titles to add to the vanity of the upper classes in the city Many a native O B E , K.C S I , K C B., and Rai Bahadur graced the small elite circle in Lucknow

The *darbar* of 1876 was the last that Lucknow was to see for a long while Oudh was amalgamated with the North-West Provinces early in the following year, and Lucknow lost its special status as a regional capital. The nawabi city was now a provincial town.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Epilogue

> The era of the rebellion, 1857-58, often goes by the name of "the Deluge" in India All before was "Antediluvian." And indeed the storm swept away so many antiquated systems, and wrought such a complete revolution in others, that those who have known India for the last twenty years can see many features which render the simile a not inapt one.
>
> —Iltudus T Prichard, 1869.[1]

In January 1877 the amalgamation of the province of Oudh with its larger neighbor, the North-West Provinces, was presented to the people of Oudh as a fait accompli. It came as suddenly and irrevocably as the annexation had come twenty-one years earlier. The move had been fitfully debated as a possibility since 1868 when the British found their hold on this region secure once again The measure was prompted by the need to trim the budget in view of the extraordinary defense expenditure and the increasing demands of the military establishment on the imperial treasury after 1857 The real blow was felt by the citizens of Lucknow because the decision included the declaration of Allahabad as the capital of the newly formed province and their proud city. was relegated to the position of a provincial town for the next five decades. For the officials of Oudh, whose possibilities of promotion and transfer were restricted by the smallness of the provincial administration, it was a welcome expansion of their career opportunities

[1] Iltudus T Prichard, *The Administration of India from 1859 to 1869*, 2 vols (London. Macmillan and Company, 1869), 2.205

The chief executive, the lieutenant governor of the new administrative unit, was located in Allahabad, and the chief commissionership of Oudh was merged with that office. The provincial high court too was reconstituted and relocated and this meant greater expense and inconvenience for Oudhis who had to travel to Allahabad for cases that were not resolved to their satisfaction in the local courts The better lawyers in Lucknow moved to Allahabad for employment. Allahabad was consequently to become the most important city in the Hindi-speaking heartland of India, and it is no accident that several future national leaders, such as the Nehrus, Sapru, and Malviya, were successful lawyers based there.

In Lucknow there were serious misgivings about the implications of this move The *taluqdars* had to be reassured that the amalgamation would neither materially affect their rights and privileges nor would they have to rebuild their urban base in the new capital. The local protest in Lucknow was widespread and the deputy commissioner allegedly held an inquiry and sent a full report on public reaction in Lucknow to the viceroy.[2] The people especially resented the excuse of economy as justification for the union since it did not actually produce "any great saving in public expenditure," and the "revenue of the province is far in excess of the cost of its administration. . . The balance of Rs 19,500,000 finds its way to the imperial treasury every year."[3] All the vernacular newspapers except the *Oudh Akhbar* condemned the action as arbitrary and unnecessary The subject was apparently never even brought up before the municipal committee. The entire proceedings of the committee for 1876 do not betray a trace of such a move in the offing This underscored once again the fact that local members were never party to politically significant decisions.

Yet the move was historically precedented. In earlier cen-

[2] *Karnamah* (Lucknow), 9 July 1877, VNR.

[3] Ibid.

turies too the rise and fall of inland regional capitals had been directly related to the transfer of the courts of indigenous rulers. The peripatetic Mughal court created magnificent cities in Delhi, Agra, Fatehpur Sikri, and Lahore when it switched locations. After the coming of the British, an additional determinant for relocating the capital was the railway network that linked the hinterland to its great port cities. Lucknow was situated north of the Ganga, and it could only be linked to Calcutta via Kanpur or Benares. Allahabad, on the other hand, was not only easily defensible but also had direct rail links with Calcutta.

An attempt has been made in this work to uncover the motive force, the underlying logic that shaped the urban environment in the colonial era. This logic was internalized by the local elite and the future rulers in an independent India. The old city of Lucknow was blighted and is today a striking example of urban decay that is ubiquitous in the old sections of the once splendid regional centers of northern India. What thrived was the "new city," which was a spacious complex of the cantonment, the civil, police, and railway "lines." The British created, as the nawabs had once done, an alien and exclusive cosmos that was based on the culture and value system of the metropolitan society. Members of the ruling elite were temporary sojourners, transferred frequently within the empire, and therefore not many stayed long enough to impress the city with an individual stamp. They managed to stay aloof since they did not participate as consumers of local manufactures nor as patrons of the culture. They imported the goods they needed from Europe instead of manufacturing them locally. They neither made nor encouraged productive investment in a city that was once generative. The two halves did not integrate over time; instead they remained self-consciously and visibly separate.[4]

[4] There is no full-length work on modern Lucknow, and this area requires a detailed, scholarly investigation. An impression-

Underneath the destruction, the uprooting, and the restructuring that went on in these two historic decades, a recognizable historic process was underway. The culture of the new, tiny, alien, elite minority was to permeate and create an Indo-Anglian way of living and thinking that would slowly nudge the Indo-Persian off the center of the urban stage. The future generations of the local elite and the professional classes would claim it as their own The new machinery of municipal government and the all-encompassing nature of its bylaws, English speech and European dress, and the habit of aloof authority were the legacy of this era In 1947 the power that created this new culture was also transferred to this elite

And so this tradition, once colonial and repugnant, now woven into the larger fabric of life in the subcontinent, continues Post-colonial administrators represent the unbroken chain of command. Like their predecessors, they insist on social control rather than "dangerous" social reform, prescribing nostrums from an age when problems of overpopulation and migration from the countryside did

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istic and vivid account of present-day Lucknow is to be found in Keith Hjorshoj, *Urban Structures and Transformations in Lucknow, India*, South Asia Occational Papers and Theses, no. 7, South Asia Program (Ithaca, N Y . Cornell University Press, 1979). Roderick Church examined the role of the municipal council in his "The Politics of Administration in Urban India. Citizens, Municipal Councillors and Routine Administration in Lucknow" (Ph D diss , Duke University, 1973) An excellent analysis of the causes of exacerbated Shia-Sunni tensions in Lucknow in the twentieth century is to be found in Sandrea B Freitag's "Religious Rites and Riots From Community Identity to Communalism in North India, 1870-1940" (Ph D diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1980). Sarojini Ganju looks at the same phenomenon in her article, "The Muslims of Lucknow. 1919-1939," in *The City in South Asia Pre-Modern and Modern*, ed Kenneth Ballhatchet and John Harrison (London and Dublin· Curzon Press, Humanities Press, 1980), pp. 279-298.

not exist, when the specters of unemployment and scarce housing were comparatively small and did not haunt the city as they do today The wounded spirit of nawabi Lucknow is barely discernible amid the decay and squalor of the present city, with its noisy traffic jams, its ugly housing colonies, and its congested squatter settlements It compels the realization that more than a century ago the makers of colonial Lucknow went unwittingly and fundamentally wrong.

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